TO THE RIGHT VALE-ROVS AND WORTHY KNIGHT SIR HORACIO VERE, COLLONEL OF AN ENGLISH REGIMENT vnder the States in the Low Countries.

BEing through lingring ſicknes conſtrained to leaue the warres, I thought it not fit to melt my time in idlenes, but to vndergoe ſome exerciſe of the minde, ſith ſtrength failed in my body: and for me I thought nothing more fit then to write of warres (vnable to follow them) that it might appeare to the world my thoughts had not forſaken Armes, though Armes had caſſered me. Debating with my ſelfe, I at laſt reſolued, that to tranſlate the liues of Emperors was the trueſt ſubiect and moſt honorable; full of vertue and valour, the changes of times, the chaunces of wars, the inſtabilitie of fortune, the force of magnanimitie, and reward of honor. Hauing with no little paines finiſhed what I aimed at, there came more paines into my head, ſtudying to whom I ſhould dedicate my labours; for I aſſured my ſelfe that treating of valour and vertue, it muſt be to one that had both. I needed not to haue paſt the Seas into Flaunders for a Patrone of my paines, knowing that in England there are ſo many of ſuch worthy memory, ſuch exquiſit knowledge both for counſell and execution, for experience and ſucceſſe, for diſciplin and deſerts, as in no age our Iland heretofore hath offered, (though in all ages famous:) but it ſuted with my conceite rather

ther to finde out some that were in present action; to the end that Captaines and Gentlemen after their worthy seruices done by day, might with reading of honorable deedes recreate themselues at night; and seeing the reward of others courage, redouble their owne in hope (although not to come to be Emperors) yet to clime to honors in their life, and leaue to posteritie that which cannot die (though they shall) fame, memorable, and immortall. Nailed (if I may so say) to this opinion, it was easie for me in the Low-countries (without doubt or dispute with my selfe) to finde your selfe as the fittest there, both in regard of your honorable seruices, and vertuous disposition: (what I speake is so farre from flattery, that enuie can alleage nothing to the contrarie) besides when I call to minde the honorable seruices of your auncestors, many yeeres famous for the warres: then the liuing patterne of a perfect Chieftaine, your renowned brother (whom for honors sake I name) Sir FRANCIS VERE *Knight, Lord Gouernour of the* Briell, *whom the Low-countries haue found both wise and valorous, and the Spaniards no lesse; (though they wished it had not been so much:) then againe was I enforced to continew in my proposed purpose. To single out your seuerall seruices, the manner, the valour, and the successe, were to tell that to the world which it knoweth alreadie. If this in me seeme presumption, excuse it, because it proceedeth from the honor I beare you. If your vertues entertaine my labours: my labour then will easily cleere my errors. So praying to the Almightie to second all your honorable attempts with happie successe, I rest wholy in what I shall be able.*

Euer ready to doe you seruice,
humbly at commaund

W. TRAHERON.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

HAuing determined, yea and sometime promised, following my course alreadie begun, to write something for the common good of my countrey, as in satisfaction and account for the time which I haue spent in reading: after many considerations had to that purpose, no kind of writing seemed more fit for me, neither did so much please and satisfie me, as to take in hand some great and notable historie. Truly I had reason and sufficient ground to do so, for that indeede no kinde of litterature can be written, which may be beneficiall to so many, and be generally acceptable and pleasing to all; neither that hath bin so much extolled and commended by wise and great men, as Historie. ARISTOTLE affirmeth it to be profitable for Councels, Senates, and Assemblies, of whose opinion was the good Emperour SEVERVS, who so often as he had occasion to treate and consult of any important matter concerning the wars, called to counsell and was chiefly aduised by wise men, and such as were well read in ancient Histories. ZENO the Prince of the Stoick Philosophers being demaunded by what meanes a man might be made both happie and wise, answered, that he should conuerse with the dead: which is as much as if he should haue said, let him by reading histories vnderstand and know the acts of the ancient. As for CICERO, (before whose iudgement I know not whose to preferre) he discoursing of historie, calleth it the record of times, the light of the truth, the Mistris of mans life, the life of memorie, the messenger of antiquitie. Others call it the ground and foundation of the truth: others, the image of humane life: including in few words great praises and mysteries, and yet true and certaine, if we attentiuely note and consider them. For to the first, it is cleere and manifest that historie is the light of the trueth, and a record of ages and generations, sith that the things which in time are consumed and brought to nothing, are thereby kept and preserued, yea and it maketh them (whether they will or no) to liue and remaine in mans memorie: and it doth in such manner represent things past, that it maketh it seeme vnto vs that we see and attaine to those times, as though that such things had happened in the time wherein we liue. If glorie and renowne be so great a good as SALOMON and all the Sages doe extoll the same to be; and if naturally all men desire to perpetuate their name and memorie, tell me what would be become thereof if Histories were not? Truly it had been but as the winde, which passing by is felt, but cannot be kept nor detained. What speech or remembrance had we now had of the great acts of the Greeke, and the Romanes, and of other people and nations, if Histories had not been? How had I knowne the clemencie

of CÆSAR, the magnanimitie and largesse of ALEXANDER, the bountie and iustice of TRAIANE, or the vertues and excellencies of these and such other great and noble personages to imitate and extoll them, if not by these meanes? Truly all that is past had bin but as a dreame, which waking, a man hath forgotten, and cannot recite. And our forepassed fathers had not onely bin depriued of their fame and renowne, but innumerable great acts had bin left vndone, but that the emulation of glorie and renowne made them to be vndertaken: for it is certaine, that the Trophees of MILCIADES stirred vp THEMISTOCLES; and the historie that HOMER wrote of ACHILLES, ALEXANDER the Great; and of him, IVLIVS CÆSAR; and so of others other men to persourme great and noble exploites. The matter resteth not here, that Historie is onely a record and preseruer of humane vertues: but hath also bin very necessarie for the conseruation of diuine matters; for it hath preserued in memorie the liues, martyrdomes, and godly examples of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, and the greatest part of our holy law and sacred Scripture is historie, being the ground and foundation wherupon standeth all the rest of the building. If not, I pray tell me (passing ouer the rest in silence) what else is the holie Gospell, but an historie and a true relation?

To returne to policie and humane conuersation, what were it, if the Chronicles and memorie of matters past were wanting? For without them the nobleste and antiquitie of houses and linages could not be knowne and continued, and as little the right and title to estates; neither should we haue knowne the beginning and originall of people, Kingdomes and Nations, neither the lawes to gouerne them could haue bin preserued: and in all things would haue bin disorder and confusion, as we see to be amongst those Nations which want the same. So that truly and with much reason it is said, that Historie is the schoolemistresse and director of mans life, sith that besides what is alreadie set downe, it is very necessarie and expedient for all estates, qualities, and ages: for to simple young men it giueth the wisedome of ancient old men, and maketh them expert without hauing had experience: for as saith CICERO, for a man not to know what passed before his time is to be euer a child. So that iustly it may be said, that historie maketh men expert, wise, and circumspect: for by examples and demonstrations of matters past, it giueth a rule and direction to determine of matters present (yea and what is more and seeming impossible) that a man may before hand diuine and vnderstand the issue and successe of his actions and attempts: for knowing the beginning and the middle, he may coniecture them to haue the like issue and euent as such other like actions haue had: for as SALOMON saith, sith there is no new thing vnder heauen, and that all that is hath bin, and that which is to come shall be as what is past, it appeareth plainly vnto vs, that he that hath vnderstood, seene, and well considered it, may well perceiue what will follow. And as I say, this fruite and profit is common to all sorts of men: for Kings and Princes in Histories may finde others whom they may imitate, and with whom they may emulate and contend in vertues and excellencies: and other wicked ones, whose fashions and conditions they may shew and abhorre, and by whose ends and fame they may take example: Captaines, aduice, policies, acts of fortitute and magnanimitie, which they may vse and make profit of: and seeing the errors and daungers, may know how to auoide them. Gouernours and Magistrates, lawes, customes, and manner of gouernment, which they may hold for a rule. Finally, there is not any kind of people, but out of Historie may draw a rule and example vnder which they may liue wisely and vertuously, and warning to

beware

beware of the contrarie. For the true hiſtorie leaueth no vertue without commendation, neither vice without reprehenſion, and to al indifferently giuing their due place and worth; is a teſtimonie againſt the wicked, a reward to the iuſt, and a treaſurie and depoſitorie of heroicall vertues and noble acts. Of all other Artes and Sciences, each of them hath a marke and white whereat to aime: hiſtorie comprehendeth the whole, and is the practiſe and example of the reſt. Great and excellent are other Arts and Sciences, but men are moſt commonly drawne therto through the couetous deſire they haue thereby to attaine to riches and honours: onely hiſtorie is read for the loue of it ſelfe, no other thing is therein expected, but to know which is the true guerdon. Hiſtorie of it ſelfe may liue without the Sciences, and ſo can none of them without it, for it hath been the preſeruation and ſtorehouſe of them all, and ſo conſequently by this account ought to be preferred before them all. Principally for the vſe of hiſtorie letters were found out, to the end to leaue to thoſe that were to come, a memoriall of what was paſt: and as other Arts and Sciences were written, it was but to leaue an hiſtorie of them. So as the matter being well weighed, we may ſay that all that is written, ſeeing it is written for a memoriall and to be kept in remembrance, is but hiſtorie. Another excellencie (beſides what is alreadie ſaid) hath hiſtorie aboue all other Artes; for all the Sciences are not generally pleaſing to all men; ſundrie pleaſe ſundrie humours: but hiſtorie to all wits is indifferently acceptable. The Philoſophers ſometime haue been driuen out of *Rome*, and in like manner the Maſters in Rhetorike and Art Oratorie, for the diſlike the people haue had of them: and in a long time Phiſicke was not admitted. The Mathematicians and Aſtrologians haue ſometimes been baniſhed from thence alſo, and ſome nations haue not allowed of certaine Arts, neither do they yet at this day embrace them: but the Hiſtories and Annales of times paſt, neuer hath there been any man but hath loued and deſired them, and reſpected thoſe which haue been the authors thereof. Yea the reading of hiſtories is ſo delightfull, that we willingly giue eare to fables and tales for the ſympathie they hold with true hiſtories. Of all the excellent Kings and Captaines that haue been in the world, I haue not read of any but were delighted with reading the Chronicles, out of which they drew no leſſe rule and diſcipline for what they were to vndertake, then from the exerciſe and vſe of what they did: yea of LVCIVS LVCVLLVS we reade, that reading made him a wiſe and excellent Captaine. And great men in time paſt made ſo great account of hiſtories, that they not onely ſpent much time in reading them, but did euen glorie, and made no leſſe account to write hiſtories, then to atchieue matters worthie to be written: ſome of which, the hiſtories they wrote made them little leſſe excellent and renowned, then the battailes they fought: as amongſt the Greekes were HERODOTVS, THVCIDIDES and TIMOTHEVS: and amongſt the Latines, MARCVS PORCIVS CATO, QVINTVS FABIVS, ASINIVS POLLIO, and the great Cæſars CAIVS IVLIVS, and his nephew OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS, and ſome others of the one and other nation. Finally, the benefits and excellencies of hiſtorie are ſuch and ſo many, that as an endleſſe piece of work I will leaue to wade any further there in, let this little that I haue recounted ſerue for an Index of the much that is to be ſaid, which hath induced me in our vulgar tongue to bring to light this hiſtorie which is no common matter, but of all the Romane Emperours, wherein all their liues and acts in a meane, betweene faſtidious tediouſnes, and ſterill breuitie are into one volume briefly digeſted. And although it be a bold attempt, yet I hold the will and deſire there-

to

to commendable; which is, that through my endeuour, what in the Latine tongue lieth ſecret and hidden from thoſe which vnderſtand not the ſame, may in our vulgar language be found out; and that therein wee may attaine to thoſe benefits which before I haue recited. This is one of the chiefeſt reaſons whereby I was encouraged to take it in hand, together with what PLINI the Orator ſaith, that Hiſtorie howſoeuer it be written, yet is pleaſing, for that naturally men are inclined to deſire to know new things, as are thoſe which are paſt to them that haue not knowne them. And although I cannot poliſh this Hiſtorie with other beautifying ornaments, yet will I endeuour to write truly; contenting my ſelfe with what CATVLLVS ſaith concerning CICERO; that he of neceſſitie needeth not to be an Oratour that writeth an Hiſtorie; it ſhall ſuffice if he be not a lier. And the ſame CICERO in the perſon of ANTHONY ſaith, that the Greekes in the beginning wrote onely bare naked Annales, and ſo MARCVS CATO, PISO, and other Romane Hiſtoriographers. The other lawes and conditions of Hiſtorie, in the computation of times, in the deſcription and names of countries, together with the perſpicuitie, ſentences, counſels and the reſt concerning the imbelliſhing and perfection thereof, is according to the haſte and breuitie it behoued me to vſe, and as was requiſite for the abridgement of ſo great a matter: and as the weakenes of my wit, and the plainneſſe of my ſtile could attaine vnto. The faults eſcaped in the whole worke, which cannot be but many, in requitall of my paines taken to pleaſe his humour in reading what before he knew not, I in charitie entreate the reader with patience to beare withall, promiſing to be thankfull to him that ſhall doe me that fauour.

A TABLE OF THE NAMES OF ALL THE ROMANE EMPERORS.

A

ADrian Fol. 155
Albert the first 745
Albert the second 810
Adulph 741
Alexander Seuerus 217
Antonius Pius 164
Anastatius the first 413
Anastatius the second 498
Arcadius and Honorius 357
Arnolphus 555
Aurelianus 271
Augustus Octauianus Cæsar 27

B

BAssianus Caracalla 199

C

CAligula 61
Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus 291
Charles the great 524
Charles the second 547
Charles the third 552
Charles the fourth 732
Charles the fifth 847
Claudius the first 71
Claudius the second 266
Clodius Balbinus, and Maximus Pupienus 253
Commodus Antonius 175
Constancius Clorus 303
Constantine the great 307
Constantinus, Constantius, and Constance, the sonnes of Constantine the great 320
Constantine the third 474
Constans the second 476
Constantine the fourth 481
Constantine the fifth 506
Constantine the sixth 518
Conrade the first 563
Conrade the second 601
Conrade the third 644
Conrade the fourth. 723

D

DEcius 245
Didius Iulianus 185
Domicianus 133
Diocleſian. 295

E

EMilianus. 250

F

FErdinand 855
Florianus 281
Focas 460
Frederick Barbaroſſa 653
Frederick the second 701
Frederick the third. 814

G

GAlba 101
Gallus 248
Galienus 255
Gordianus 238
Gratianus. 344

H

HEliogabalus 211
Henry the first 569
Henry the second 597
Henry the third 605
Henry the fourth 612
Henry the fifth 630
Henry the sixth 681
Henry the seuenth 750
Heraclitus. 464

I

IVlius Cæsar 1
Iulian the Apoſtata 329
Iouianus 333
Iuſtinus the first 318
Iuſtinus the second 441

Iuſtinian

Iuſtinian the firſt 421
Iuſtinian the ſecond. 486

L

Leo the firſt 399
Leo the ſecond 406
Leo the third 502
Leo the fourth 516
Lewes the firſt called Ludouicus Pius 531
Lewes the ſecond 544
Lewes the third 550
Lewes the fourth 559
Lewes the fifth 757
Lotharius the firſt 539
Lotharius the ſecond. 639

M

Macrinus 207
Marcus Aurelius 168
Martianus 397
Mauritius 449
Maximinus 225
Maximus Pupienus. and Clodius Balbinus 235
Maximilian the firſt 831
Maximilian the ſecond. 875

N

Nero 83
Nerua 141

O

Otho the firſt 107
Otho the ſecond 575
Otho the third 587
Otho the fourth 590
Otho the fifth. 696

P

Pertinax 179
Philip the firſt 242
Philip the ſecond 688
Philippicus 496
Phocas 460
Probus. 282

Q

Quintilius. 270

R

Robert 788
Rodulph the firſt 732
Rodulph the ſecond. 880

S

Seuerus 190
Sigiſmund. 796

T

Tacitus 279
Theodoſius the firſt 349
Theodoſius the ſecond 374
Theodoſius the third 500
Tiberius the firſt 51
Tiberius the ſecond 446
Titus 129
Traianus. 145

V

Valentinianus the firſt 336
Valentinianus the ſecond 386
Valerianus 252
Veſpaſianus 121
Vitellius. 113

W

Wenceſlaus. 779

Z

Zeno. 406

THE

THE LIFE OF IVLIVS CÆSAR, FOVNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

Iulius Cæsar was of a most noble family, and returning to Rome from the Pretorship in Spaine with great renowne, making friendship with Marcus Crassus and Gneius Pompey, which were the mightiest Citizens in Rome, and pacifying the controuersie betweene them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such grauitie and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but fled retired. Afterwards giuing his daughter Iulia in mariage to Pompey, he went into France, which he subdued, and ouercame the Germaines. He went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force of arme subdued it to the Romane Empire. Iulia afterwards dying and Marcus Crassus being slaine by the Parthians, mortall discord aroſe betweene Cæsar and Pompey: the occasion whereof was, for that the second fiue yeares of Cæsars gouernment of France being expired, it was propounded by Pompeyes partakers that a successor should be sent him: and Cæsar desiring that his command in the French Warres might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demaund the Consulship, which being denied him, he made another demaund, which was, that he would giue ouer his armie in Fraunce vpon condition, that Pompey should doe the like by his in Spaine. Which being also denied, and being inioyned to leaue his armie, he passed the riuer Rubicon (limits assigned him which he was not to passe) and taking the Citie of Ariminum, he

went with ſuch furie directly towards Rome, that Pompey abandoned Italy; and he following him, in the end ouerthrew him in Pharſalia: whereupon Pompey for refuge repayring to Ptolomy King of Egypt, was in a ſmall barke by that Kings direction, ſlaine by the hands of Septimius and Achila, whoſe head being cauſed to be preſented by Ptolomy, Cæſar wept. Afterwards bending his force againſt Ptolomy, and ouercomming him, he paſſed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, purſuing the remainder of Pompeies faction, all which he ouercame; and Cato being in Vtica, for not to fall into Cæſars hands, ſlue himſelfe. Cæſar returning to Rome triumphed, and afterwards going into Spaine (after a moſt fierce battaile, wherein he was likely to haue been loſt) he ouerthrew Sextus Pompeius, eldeſt ſonne of the great Pompey: and returning to Rome, he tooke vpon him the Dictatorſhip: where finally, Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Caſſius, Gaius Caſca, Attilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Cornelius Cinna, with many other principall Romanes conſpiring againſt him, he was ſlaine in the Senat, being of the age of 56. yeares, vpon the fifteenth day of March, with three and twentie wounds. Many prodigious ſignes of his death appearing both before and afterwards, which letted his paſſage againſt the Parthians, and many other high attempts, which he purpoſed to haue vndertaken.

BEginning to write the Hiſtories, and Liues of the Romane Emperours, Monarches of the earth and worldly dominion; or to ſay better, to bring them to a compendiouſnes and breuitie, a worke in truth very great and troubleſome, and which requireth a farre riper wit, and greater eloquence then mine: I hold it not for the leaſt of the difficulties thereof, but rather for one of the greateſt, to proue IVLIVS CÆSAR to be the firſt, of whom it behoooueth me to treate: For although that he were Dictator, and was not called Emperour in the ſignification of Soueraigne Lord, as his ſucceſſors haue been euer ſince; yet he was the beginning and originall of this Monarchie, and from whom all the ſucceeding Emperours haue gloried to take the name of CÆSARS, and to be called his ſucceſſors. The acts and deedes of this man were ſuch, ſo many, and ſo great, and bookes and Hiſtories are ſo full thereof, that it ſeemeth as hard a matter for me to reduce them to any breuitie, as to write and recite the ſame: And therefore out of aboundance and matter ſo copious, I will chuſe that which (in my iudgement) maketh moſt to my purpoſe, and to the ſubiect and end of this worke, handling it with ſome expedition and breuitie; although that it being the beginning and foundation of this edifice, it ſhall be very requiſit to dilate and treate more at large thereof, then of thoſe things which follow. In all other matters concerning this incomparable man, I referre the reader to the infinit number of Bookes, wherein CÆSAR is remembred and extolled, and to the notice and knowledge (which is commonly held) of his excellencies and acts.

All Ceſars ſucceſſors, haue taken from him the name of Ceſars.

Among the great attempts which may be recounted of IVLIVS CÆSAR (in my opinion) the greateſt of all, and which maketh me moſt to wonder is, how he durſt, and had the heart, firſt to thinke and imagine, and afterwards to attempt, and in the end to goe through with making himſelfe Lord of the people and Common-wealth of *Rome* (which was Ladie and Ruler of the moſt and beſt parts of the whole world) and of ſo much, as it, in ſeuen hundred yeeres before, had been able to ſubdue and conquer: for ſo long was the time and ſomewhat more, from the foundation of *Rome* vntill that IVLIVS CÆSAR poſſeſſed that Common-wealth: whereof two hundred fortie yeeres were vnder Kings, and the reſt vnder Conſuls choſen by the people, which gouerned it; ſauing ſome few yeeres in which the Tribunes and Decemuirs ruled. Indeede a very

Ceſars greateſt attempts.

ſhort

ſhort ſpace to conquer and ſubdue ſo great an Empire, as that which the Romanes enioyed when CÆSAR reduced it from free and common, to the dominion of one: which, without all doubt, was the greateſt of all that euer haue been in the world or man hath obtained, aſwell for continuance of time as for greatnes and power; which is approoued and affirmed by all authors and true Hiſtories. For leauing apart the other Kingdomes and Common-wealths now at this preſent, which are not to be named in this diſcourſe, and examining the greateſt and moſt famous which before it were called the Monarchies of the world; which were the Aſſyrians, the Perſians, and Macedonians; it will appeare that the Romane Empire farre excelled them all. For that of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians (which was the moſt auncient of all the Monarchies) in a thouſand two hundred and fortie yeares, which it laſted (as Saint AVGVSTINE reciteth) neuer extended it ſelfe out of *Aſia*, neither attained to hold any part in *Africa*, or *Europe*; neither did the Medes, whoſe raigne ARBATVS eſtabliſhed by the death and deſtruction of SARDANAPALVS King of the Aſſyrians, defeating that firſt Monarchie: then the Perſians, which ſubuerted the Medes by the hand of the mightie CYRVS, which is reckoned for the ſecond Monarchie, notwithſtanding that they made ſome incurſions and entries into *Europe*, as vnder XERXES and others, and in *Aſia* obtained greater power then any of their predeceſſors: yet in the end it laſted but two hundred and odde yeares, and were ouercome and ſubdued (DARIVS being their King) by ALEXANDER the great King of *Macedonia*, whoſe kingdome we cannot deny to be greater then any of the forenamed: for he held a great part of *Europe*, and ſubdued (in a manner) all *Aſia*, and is accounted for the third Monarchie. But this was but like a flaſh of lightening, burning whatſoeuer ſtoode before it, whoſe fire was ſoone extinguiſhed: for ALEXANDER dying, his power ended; and there was a diuiſion, and diuers kingdomes were erected thereof. But the dominion and Empire of the Romanes, which is the fourth Monarchie, notably excelled them all, both in time, in greatnes, and in power: In time; for there are few leſſe then two thouſand and three hundred yeares ſince Rome was builded, and the Empire laſteth vntill this day, vnder the name of *Romane*: whereof in a thouſand and three hundred yeares, it alwayes encreaſed; and afterwards it neuer left to bee the moſt high and preeminent dominion of all others. Then in greatnes and power; for it is certaine, that putting togethers all that euer all the reſt enioyed, it will hardly amount vnto the one halfe of that which the Romanes poſſeſſed. For beſides that which their Emperours enlarged, as hereafter ſhall appeare, before that IVLIVS CÆSAR enioyed it, they had conquered the greateſt and beſt parts of all the world: for in *Europe* they held all the prouinces of *Italie*, and *Gallia Ciſalphina* which wee call *Lumbardie*, *Iſtria* and *Illyricum*, now called *Slauonia*, and vpwards to the riuer *Danubius*; and ſubdued all *Græcia* either by force or friendſhip, as the Common-wealths and dominions of *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, *Peloponeſus* which is now called *Morea*, and all the other prouinces thereof. The kingdomes of *Macedonia* and *Epire* now called *Albania*, together with *Thracia*: they had alſo the *Iles* of *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, and *Creta* now called *Candia*, *Cyores*, *Rhodes*, and *Eubœa* which is now *Negropont*, with an infinit number of Iland[illegible] in the Mediterranean Sea. They poſſeſſed alſo the kingdomes of *Spaine*, although with greater difficultie and reſiſtance then any of the reſt; and the *Gallias* which are the kingdomes of *Fraunce* and all the prouinces thereof, with that part of *Almaine* on this ſide of the *Rhine*, called the *Lowe*, or *Gallia Belgica*; although this by the hand of CÆSAR himſelfe,

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſeus cap. 1. Strabo cap. 6. Appian in the firſt of his triumphes.

Saint Auguſtine in his booke de ciuitate dei, Iuſtin in his 43. booke, Titus Liuius, Plinie, Solinus, in their compariſons, of other monarchies vvith the Romane.

Of the greatnes of the Empire and Monarchie of Rome.

Gallia Ciſalphina, Lumbardie. Illyricum. Eſclauonia, Peloponeſus, Morea.

Creta, Candida. Negropont.

Spaine. Gallia, France.

Britanie, England and Scotland.

himselfe, as hereafter shall be declared; and in like manner *Britannie* which containeth *England* and *Scotland*. They likewise held in *Africa* (being a third part of the world) all that which was or is fruitefull and habitable thereof, after the subuersion of the proud *Carthage*: then in *Asia*, they subdued the greatest and best prouinces, and made them their vassals and tributaries, among which was *Syria* now called *Soria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestina*, *Iudæa*, and the holy citie of *Ierusalem*: in *Asia* the lesse, they held the prouinces of *Pamphilia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Bithynia* by the will and testament of NICOMEDES their King. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their friends and allies: in *Armenia*, in *Colchos*, and in other prouinces they set and established Kings at their pleasure; and from *Albania* and *Iberia* they receiued hostages and tributs, wherein they had subdued, taken and slaine a great number of Kings and excellent great captaines: Finally they were Lords of so many prouinces and countries, that it were an endlesse labour to recite them all; they were then so mightie that no force or power whatsoeuer (but their owne) was able to offend them. And it afterward hapned that discord and ambition, entring into this Common-wealth which was so free and

Syria, Soria.

The Romanes all other forces failing, were ouer throwne by themselues.

puissant, seeing that forraine forces were not sufficient, with their owne forces and armes they subdued and captiuated themselues, which grew through the discord and controuersie betweene the great POMPEY and IVLIVS CÆSAR, two the most famous and most mightie men in *Rome*, although that at that season there were many principall and great men: But the ground of this controuersie tooke roote before, to wit, from the two factions, and ciuill warres betweene SYLLA and MARIVS; wherein MARIVS being ouercome and slaine,

The beginning of the ciuill warres betweene Cæsar and Pompey.

SYLLA made himselfe Dictator and seased vpon *Rome*; neuertheless before his death, he deposed himselfe from his Dictatorship and left it at libertie: POMPEY was of SYLLA his faction and had done great exploites in his behalfe; and CÆSAR followed MARIVS, although then he were very young, to whom he was of kinne and affinitie. This was the roote from whence grew betweene them the ciuill warres, before which passed some matters very necessarie to be remembred: first, to the end that the causes and occasions which happened may be the better vnderstood, and afterwards the processe and successe thereof, which briefly recounted, passed in this manner.

These matters concerning SYLLA being passed, and GNEIVS POMPEIVS, and MARCVS CRASSVS remaining, by meanes thereof in great reputation: for they both followed that faction, and afterwards either of them desirous to haue the preheminence in commaund and gouernment, there was

The emulation betweene Pompey and Marcus Crassus.

a continuall emulation and competitorship betweene them, which at the death of SYLLA tooke beginning. MARCVS CRASSVS made himselfe very mightie, besides his great wisedome, linage, eloquence, and victories which he had obtained, principally by meanes of his aboundant riches, which he had gathered, being of greater value then any other mans of his time. POMPEY likewise obtained great honour, reputation and power, besides that which he inherited from SYLLA, by reason of his great victories and aduentures in Armes, in the time of SYLLA and afterwards both by sea and land in *Africa*, in *Spaine* and in *Asia*, which were such and so many, that I dare not report them. The acts of these two great men being so highly extolled, and the controuersies betweene them encreasing (as betweene the heads of factions) although that at that same time, CATO, CICERO, and LENTVLVS, and others were very principall men: It happened that IVLIVS CÆSAR at this time came to *Rome* from *Spaine* where

he

he had been Pretor, whose credit and estimation was now very great: but his thoughts were much higher and greater, for many causes, aswell for his great linage, being by his fathers side a Patritian and very ancient, and by his mother he came of the Romane Kings which descended from ENEAS of *Troy*; as also for his great frindes and kindred, together with his singular wit and eloquence, and by meanes of the authoritie wherewith he had obtained and administred the magistracies and dignities which he had held, to wit, the Questorship of *Spaine*, the Tribunate of the Souldiers, the office of *AEdil*, the high priesthood, the office of Pretor; and by meanes of his victories obtained in *Spaine* against the Gallegoes and Lusitanians, adding hereto his other merits and graces of his person. Besides this, he was very liberall, very wise, and learned in arts and sciences, very expert and actiue in Armes, both on foote and horsebacke, very strong and valiant; and before that he was a Captaine, he had made maruellous proofe of his person in the warres of *Asia*, vnder MARCVS THERMO Pretor, and SERVILIVS the Proconsul, and had obtained the Ciuicall crowne. He was also of a very good constitution of body, tall, faire, comely, and strongly limmed, and could well endure trauell, for which and many other causes, he was much esteemed; but not so, as that in place or authoritie he could in *Rome* compare with MARCVS CRASSVS or with POMPEY: for they were deepely rooted and of long continuance.

The linage, gifts and excellencies of Julius Cæsar.

CÆSAR with these qualities being come to *Rome*, with a presumption and conceite (although in secret) to commaund more then all the rest, either of these two, CRASSVS and POMPEY, desired his friendship, the one against the other. But CÆSAR very wise and valorous would follow neither faction, because he would not make himselfe subiect or an abbettor to either partie, but rather shewing himselfe neutrall, sought meanes to make them friends, imagining that rather then he should encline to either partie they both would willingly yeeld to what should he require: which policie as PLVTARCH affirmeth, was comprehended by MARCVS CARO onely. The peace betweene them was made, and concluded by his meanes, both of them remaining bound vnto him for the same; and as the one held the other in suspition, so for feare to lose him, they both sought to pleasure him; and by this meane he made himselfe equall with either of them both, and the power which two held before, was now deuided betweene three, and in the end he alone commaunded all. This league being concluded, CÆSAR demaunded the Consulship which was the highest ordinarie dignitie, and was made Consull: which office he executed with such authoritie, that his fellow in office bare no sway with him, but rather (all the time that it lasted) liued retired, and kept his house. And CÆSAR the better to confirme himselfe in the power which he had obtained, and to clime to the height of his desires, procured POMPEY to marrie his daughter IVLIA, and himselfe married the daughter of LVCIVS PISO, who was to succeede him in the Consulship, which being accomplished, he chose the Gallias for his prouince, which is now the kingdome of *France*, whither he went with an Armie, where what he performed, what Battailes and victories he there won, what Countries and Nationes he subdued, what bold attempts, what counsels, what greatnes of minde and fortitude he vsed, in little lesse then tenne yeares that this warre lasted, are not possibly by me (which am to vse breuitie, and to touch matters but superficially) to be expressed and declared. He himselfe left most excellent and true commentaries thereof, approoued afterwards by his very enemies themselues. PLVTARCH also and SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS, APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, LVCAN, PAVLVS OROSIVS,

The league betweene Julius Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey.

Plutarch in his life. Suetonius in his first booke. Apian in his third booke. Lucan in his first.

Paulus Orosius in his sixth. Eutropius in his sixth. Lucius Florus in his third. Himselfe in his 103. of his Epitomes.

OROSIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, EVTROPIVS, and many other authors write thereof, to which I referre the reader. In this warre he wanne such estimation and name of a Captaine, that he was held for the best of his time, or before him: for he conquered and subdued all *France* from the *Pyrenean* mountaines, vnto the *Alpes*, and all the rest vnto the *Rhine*; before which, he subdued and ouercame the valiant Heluetians, and Tigurins, now called Swissers, which as PLVTARCH affirmeth, were 300000. men, whereof 190000. were trained and exercised to the warres. He subdued the Germaines and ARIOVISTVS their Captaine, which came downe into *France*, and draue them out from thence: he tamed and ouercame the Belgians, the Ambians, the Neruians, and other most warlike Nations of the Galles: he shed more bloud then euer was shed in any warre in the world; and passing the riuer *Rhine* with a Bridge made of timber, he ouercame the Germanes, and brought certaine other countries vnder the yoke of the Romanes; and finding no more resistance in that Prouince, he passed with his people into the Isle of *Britannie*, now called *England* and *Scotland*, which was enhabited with a most warlike Nation, and till then vnknowne by any trafficke or other commerce, and by force of Armes compelled them to become subiects to the Citie of *Rome*.

All the time that these warres endured, wherein IVLIVS CÆSAR gat great spoyle and riches, he neuer left to procure friendship in *Rome*, and in all other partes, by letters and gifts, and of Kings and Cities in *Asia*, in *Grecia*, and other countries, with aide of people which he sent them: and this sometime without the leaue or authoritie of the Senate, which he might safely doe, so long as he continued in league and friendship with POMPEY and MARCVS CRASSVS. He also made himselfe much esteemed and beloued of men of warre, giuing them pensions, and double payes, bestowing vpon them other honours and fauours: by which meanes, before that POMPEY was aware thereof, CÆSARS power and authoritie grew to be so great, that he began to be afraide thereof, when he was not able to resist the same. And the loue and friendship betweene these two, began to waxe colde, and to become suspect: for the pledges and bands which sustained the same, began to faile; the first was the death of CÆSARS daughter, who was POMPEYES wife, which was a great linke and chaine of this friendship. The second was the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, the third man of this companie, whom the Parthians slew in *Asia*, whither he went to make warres (as some write) more for the desire of priuate gaine, then of glorie or fame, whose authoritie also continued the concord. These principall causes wherein their amitie consisted ceasing, and being remooued; there ensued discord, and ciuill warre betweene them, which was the greatest and most generall that euer was in the world: for therein were employed and had a hand, all the Senators and martiall men of *Rome*, with all their friends and subiects, Kings and cities of the one part or the other. There were eleuen legions of the one side, and eighteene of the other, all Romane and Italian Souldiers being the whole power of *Rome*, besides the aydes and companies of other prouinces. It was waged in *Italie*, in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *Epire*, in *Thessalia*, in *Egypt*, in *Asia*, and in *Syrica*, by themselues and their captaines; and lastly, after fiue yeares continuance, it ended in *Spaine*. Some authors set downe the occasion of this ciuill warre, who although they somewhat varie, yet the truth is, that the causes thereof were enuie, ambition, desire to commaund, and vaine glorie, wherewith they both were infected. POMPEY began to haue CÆSARS power in suspition;

The cause and occasions of the warres betweene Cæsar and Pompey.

ſuſpition; it grieued CÆSAR to ſee POMPEYES authoritie and dignitie. POMPEY would endure no equall, nor CÆSAR ſuperiour, as though that in the Romane Empire there had not been ſufficient and enough for two men, and ſo either of them ſought the others ruine, ſeeking to haue it wholy to himſelfe. Whether POMPEY intended to make himſelfe a tyrant, and abſolute, it is incertaine: but it plainely appeareth that he would not that CÆSAR ſhould mount to that degree wherein he was. Some ſay that CÆSAR was conſtrained (through feare) to take Armes, to auoyde ſuppreſſion, and not to be condemned; for CATO had threatned to accuſe him for leauing his Prouince: others charge him that he had euer procured and practized to vſurpe the dominion of *Rome*; and that his, and POMPEYES powers conſidered, it ſeemed a fitte match. CICERO ſaith of him, that hee euer had a verſe of EVRIPIDES in his mouth, wherein he ſaid: That if lawes and equitie were to be infringed, it was to be done to the end to rule and commaund onely; and that CÆSAR being accuſtomed to commaund, could not liue without an armie: for my part, I ſuppoſe that the cauſes were thoſe alreadie alleadged.

In the laſt yeare of the ſecond fiue yeares of the captainſhip of the prouinces which CÆSAR held, LENTVLVS and MARCELLVS being Conſuls, it was concluded in the Senate, that there ſhould be a ſucceſſor ſent to CÆSAR, and that he ſhould giue ouer his Armie and gouernment: and that if he deſired the Conſulſhip, as he had written, he ſhould (to that end) come to *Rome* in perſon. CÆSAR deſired continuance of the Captainſhip and charge which he held, or that he might demaund the Conſulſhip being abſent, and before that he left his Armie: whereto POMPEY would not agree, becauſe it was againſt the lawes, which determined that the Conſulſhip could not be demaunded by any man being abſent, little remembring that he was made Conſul before he was of lawfull age, and other dignities which by fauour (with diſpenſation of the lawes) he had obtained. But this is commonly the condition of moſt men, that to themſelues, that ſeemeth lawfull and tolerable, which they reproue in others. This being then denyed to IVLIVS CÆSAR, he yeelded to leaue his Armie, and to come priuate to *Rome*, ſo as POMPEY ſhould likewiſe giue ouer his Armie which he held in *Spaine*. There paſſed many treaties and conſultations about this matter, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO ſought meanes to conclude a peace, and to bring them to agreement: which POMPEY had not refuſed, but thoſe of his faction were ſo hautie and proud (as they were the greateſt and beſt men of *Rome*) ſo that notwithſtanding that CÆSAR dealt mildly and iuſtified himſelfe, yet they gaue no place thereto. And the Senates reſolution was, that CÆSAR ſhould giue ouer his Armie within a certaine time prefixed, and that he ſhould not therewith paſſe the riuer *Rubicon* (which was the bound of his prouince, declaring him for an enemie to *Rome* if he did the contrarie. And LVCIVS ANTONIVS, and QVINTVS CVRIO, Tribunes of the people contradicting this determination in the behalfe of CÆSAR, were ill handled, and thruſt out of the Senate, who fled from *Rome*, and tooke their way towards CÆSAR; which holpe him much more throughly to gaine the goodwill of men of warre, foraſmuch as the office of the Tribunes, was held for ſacred and not to be touched. CÆSAR knowing what paſſed, and ſeeing himſelfe voyde of hope of peace, departed from *Rauenna*, whither he came but with fiue thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe onely which he had with him, ſending commandement to his Legions to march with all ſpeed and to come to ioyne with him. Comming with his people to

Men commonly iudge that lawfull in themſelues which they condemne in others.

The determination of the Senate.

to the Riuer *Rubicon*, which was the furtheſt of his limits; which paſſing he was to loſe all hope of agreement. Some affirme, that he ſtayed there a great while, thinking and conſidering with himſelfe how great a matter it was to paſſe that Riuer, and the euils which would enſue thereof. PLVTARCH writeth, that he diſcourſed thereof with ASINIVS POLLIO, and with other his friends which came thither with him: and SVETONIVS ſaith, that turning his face towards the Riuer, he ſaid to them: Yet is it in our power to returne, but if we paſſe this Riuer, we muſt make way with our weapons. And as APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS reporteth, he alſo ſaid, The truth is, that if I forbeare to paſſe the Riuer, it will be the beginning of euill, and my diſgrace; and if I paſſe, it will be to all mortall men in generall. Theſe words being ſpoken, ſtanding a little while in a doubt, with a furious determination and a loud voyce, he ſaid, The lot is caſt, and with that word he gaue his horſe the rayne, and began to march, and to paſſe the Riuer, all his people following him: and ſo was the ciuill warre determined, and begun with the ſeruitude of *Rome*, and the beginning of the Empire and Monarchie, which is as much as, the raigne and dominion of one, which briefly I will declare.

Cæſars valorous determination.

Who ſo deſireth to ſee it handled more at large, let him reade APIANVS ALEXANDRNIVS in his ſecond booke of the ciuill warres, SVETONIVS in the life of CÆSAR, and PLVTARCH in the ſame life, and in the liues of POMPEY, and of CATO and CICERO; and Saint AVGVSTINE in his third booke *de ciuitate dei*, and the ſame IVLIVS CÆSAR in three bookes which hee wrote thereof in his commentaries, and in the reſt of HYRCIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS in the fourth booke of his Hiſtories, and in the Abreuiats of TITVS LIVIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS in the ſixth of his Hiſtories, and LVCAN in his tenne bookes, and PLINIE in his laſt *de viris Illuſtribus*, and the ſame PLINIE and VALERIVS MAXIMVS and other Authors which treate thereof, and of CÆSARS other actions.

The beginning of the ciuill warres.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing paſſed the Riuer *Rubicon*, as is afore declared, as ſaith SVETONIVS, drew his Armie together, and hauing brought thither the Tribunes in ſuch vile and baſe attire as they came from *Rome*, he made a ſpeech to his people, iuſtifying his cauſe and requiring their ayde and fauour, and being by them al anſwered to his liking, he departed preſently from thence, & was the next morning by break of day, before *Arimino*, and ſeaſed vpon that Citie; and holding his way, did the like by all townes and caſtles as he paſſed. CÆSARS terrible determination being knowne in *Rome*; POMPEY, the whole Senate and people of *Rome*, were therewith much troubled; ſo as it ſhould be a long matter to recite and ſet downe what they did, and what prouiſion they made: The truth is, that POMPEY found himſelfe much deceiued, for he neuer beleeued that CÆSAR would haue aduentured ſo farre, or that he ſhould haue wanted Armes to haue reſiſted him. But it happened otherwiſe vnto him, for although that to him was committed by the Conſuls, and Senate the charge of leuying of Souldiers, and the calling thither of his legions, and that there were Captaines ſent to diuers Cities of *Italie* (whereby CÆSAR was to paſſe) for the defence thereof, all ſufficed not againſt the furie and force wherewith he came, and the newes daily encreaſing, POMPEY and all the Senate abandoned *Rome*: for POMPEY went to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brunduſium* now called *Brindes*, a place by the Sea ſide in the confines of *Italie* towards *Grecia*, in the mouth of the Venetian Sea; whither he ſent for the Conſuls to paſſe thence to *Dyrrachium* now called *Duraſſo*, a place alſo

Pompey and the Senate abandoned Rome.
Brunduſium, Brindes.
Dyrrachium, Duraſſo.

by

by the Sea side in the prouince of *Macedonia*, a great part whereof is now called *Albania*, there to raise the greatest power that they should be able; being out of hope as then to be able to resist CÆSAR in *Italie*, who had alreadie seased on the Citie of *Corsinio*, which DOMITIVS held with thirtie of POMPEIES Cohorts; which being taken by CÆSAR, he pardoned all those which he found therein, and entreated the gouernour very friendly, and gaue him leaue to depart whither he would, who went presently to POMPEY: which truely was an act of great magnanimitie and clemencie, which CÆSAR maruellously vsed in all his actions, and chiefly in the victories which he obtained in these ciuill warres, wherewith (in my opinion) he wan no lesse honour, then by his victories.

Macedonia Albania.

Clemencie and magnanimitie.

CÆSAR hauing brought DOMITIVS his people to his deuotion, he passed forwards, and vnderstanding that POMPEY and the Consuls gathered head in *Brundusium*, with the greatest iourneyes that he was able to make, he marched towards them with his legions: But POMPEY had sufficiently fortified himselfe for his defence, hauing made the Consuls and the most part of the people to embarke themselues and passe to the Citie of *Dyrrachium* aforesaid, where the Consuls attended his comming. And CÆSAR so remaining in *Italie*, without resistance, being very carefull what counsell he should take; for although that he would haue followed POMPEY, yet he had no prouision of shipping thereto, and by reason that it was winter, shipping could not come so soone as was requisit, which he well considered, and how much it imported him not to leaue any enemie behinde him, which might cause any alteration in *France* or *Italie*, in his absence; he determined therefore to deferre the pursute of POMPEY, and to take his way towards *Spaine*, which held for POMPEY, who had therein his excellent legions, and two Captaines, which were PETREIVS and AFRANIVS. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS saith, that when he had resolued thereupon, he said to his friends, Let vs first goe against the Armie which is without a Captaine; and afterwards let vs returne against the Captaine that hath neuer an Armie: for these Captaines, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS, were not held for very politike, or expert in the warres. And to the contrarie, POMPEY was most wise and a very valiant Captaine: but the people which he had with him, were newly leuied and of small experience.

Returning from *Brundusium*, in sixtie dayes without bloudshed or battaile, CÆSAR became Lord of all *Italie*; and comming to *Rome*, they were in incredible feare, remembring the cruelties committed in the time of SYLLA: But CÆSAR vsing his naturall clemencie, did hurt no man of any degree high or low, but rather called to the Senate those Senators which remained, and which came with him, whom with very good words he comforted and encouraged: and laying the whole fault vpon POMPEY, accusing him of all things present, he sought by all meanes to iustifie his owne cause, and declared how much he did then, and euer had desired peace, and therewith requested that messengers might be sent to POMPEY to procure the same: and making himselfe to be presently chosen Consul, he opened the Romane treasurie, notwithstanding that METELLVS one of the Tribunes of the people was desirous and went about to haue hindred and letted the same, and that he should not haue done it. The treasure which he tooke from thence, he payed and deuided among his people, which as PLINIE in his three and thirtith Booke reporteth, was very great, which LVCAN also affirmeth. These things being ended, and CÆSAR desirous to goe from *Rome* into *Spaine* (like a wise and excellent Captaine) first tooke order aswell for the ciuill

Cæsar seased on Rome and all Italie.

Cæsar Consul by force.

ciuill gouernment, as for the warres; and making choise of the legions which were to goe with him, he left part of his people in *Brundusium* and *Otranto*, and in other strong places vpon the Sea side, to keepe POMPEY from landing if he sought to returne into *Italie*. He also nominated HORTENSIVS and DOLABELLA, for his Captaines, to make prouision of shipping to be brought to the port of *Brundusium*, there to be in a readines against his returne from his iourney. QVINTVS VALERIVS he sent with a legion to *Sardinia*, against MARCVS COTTA which held the same for POMPEY: To *Sicilia* he sent CVRIVS against MARCVS CATO, with direction that hauing taken the same, he should passe ouer into *Africa*: LEPIDVS he left in the Citie of *Rome* as Prefect thereof, and MARCVS ANTONIVS for gouernour and Captaine of all *Italie*; and determining to leaue LICINIVS CRASSVS in *France*, with his accustomed celeritie, he went on his iourney, and found no resistance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but onely in the Citie of *Marselles*, which held for POMPEY: which rather (in my opinion) more like bold and aduenturous friends, then wise men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their Citie, but put themselues in Armes against him for their defence. CÆSAR comming thither besieged the Citie, and to auoyde losse of time, left there DECIVS BRVTVS and CAIVS TREBONIVS with sufficient forces, which continued the siege and performed great matters; and himselfe followed his way into *Spaine*, where his comming was alreadie knowne, and AFRANIVS and PETREIVS attended him, with the ayde of their friends, and foure Romane legions; betweene which and CÆSAR the warres continued many dayes, and that chiefly neere the Citie of *Lerida*. In the beginning CÆSAR was in great danger and much distressed, aswell through want of victualles, as by reason of the winter being come, which annoyed him with riuers and waters; before and after the which, there passed many great skirmishes and conflicts betweene the two armies, and other chaunces and aduentures, too long to be recounted. Finally, CÆSAR knew how to warre in such sort, that without giuing oportunitie to come to a battaile, he brought his aduersaries to such extremitie and distresse, that perishing with hunger they came to a composition: which was that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) should be graunted libertie to depart and to goe whither they would; which was performed accordingly, and PETREIVS and AFRANIVS went to POMPEY, and part of the legions which would not abide with CÆSAR, had leaue to doe as they listed: CÆSER still perseuering in his clemencie and gentlenes.

Cæsars going into Spaine against Petreius and Afranius.

This being ended, and sommer being come (to the end not to leaue any thing in *Spaine* to be subdued) he passed forwards, and came into the prouince of *Betica*, now called *Andaluzia*, with part of his forces, leauing commaundement with the Armie, to march whither he had appointed, and there to stay for him, because that MARCVS VARRO being POMPEIES Lieutenant in that prouince held it for him, with one legion of good Souldiers; but daring not to oppose himselfe against CÆSAR, he peaceably deliuered vp vnto him both the countrie and the legion, and so all was plaine before him and at his commaund. Thence he went to *Corduna*, where he called a parliament, and an assemblie of all estates of that prouince, wherein amongst other things which there were treated of, highly commending the Cordoueses and Seuillians which had taken his part (as himselfe writeth) he marched forwards and visiting the prouince, he came to the Isle and citie of *Cales*, and ptouiding there certaine things, he tooke

Cæsar subdued all Spaine.

the

the ſhips and galleys which MARCVS VARRO there had left, and ſuch other more as hee could get, and embarked himſelfe therein. And leauing QVINTVS CASSIVS with foure legions in that prouince, he tooke his paſſage by ſea to *Tarragona*, ſending commaundement by land to his legions to march thither: where being arriued, and in few daies, prouiding and taking order for that prouince, he departed with his armie towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marſelles*, which yeelded vnto him, after that in the ſiege and aſſaults, it had endured many calamities. And CÆSAR nothing reſpecting the ſmall regard and ingratitude of that citie, but the antiquitie and fame thereof, would not permit any hurt to be done to the citizens and inhabitants; but leauing a ſufficient garriſon to guard the ſame, commaunding his legions by appointed iourneys, to march towards *Italie*, himſelfe with a neceſſarie guard for his perſon and others in his companie, tooke paſſage for *Rome*; all things ſucceeding proſperouſly with him, although that ſome of his Captaines had ill ſucceſſe. For CAIVS ANTONIVS, whom (we ſaid) he left with DOLABELLA for Captaine of his Nauie, was ouerthrowne and taken priſoner in the gulfe of *Venice*, by OCTAVIVS POMPEIES Lieutenant; and DOLABELLA was likewiſe ouercome neere to the Ile of *Corcyra*, now called *Corfu*: and CVRIVS, which (according to CÆSARS commaundement) went into *Africa* with two legions, hauing in the beginning good ſucceſſe, was afterward ouerthrowne, and the moſt part of his people ſlaine by POMPEIES friend, IVBA King of *Mauritania*, which is now the kingdome of *Fez*.

The taking of Marſelles and Cæſars returne to Rome.

Corcyra.

CÆSAR being come to *Rome* and made Dictator (as PLVTARCH & APPIANVS teſtifie) new Conſuls were choſen, and he being one of them depoſed himſelfe from his Dictatorſhip, and ſo chaunging and prouiding Pretors for the Prouinces at his pleaſure, ſending MARCVS LEPIDVS into *Spaine*, and AVLVS ALBINVS into *Sicilia*, SEXTVS PEDVCEIVS into *Sardinia*, and DECIVS BRVTVS into *France*: and taking ſuch further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in the moneth of December towards *Brunduſium*, whither he commanded all his forces to march, there to take paſſage for the prouince of *Macedonia*, the greateſt part whereof (as I ſaid) is now called *Albania*, where he knew that POMPEY ſtaied with his armies. Who all one whole yeere, which CÆSAR ſpent in his iourney into *Spaine*, buſied himſelfe in prouiding a Nauie to returne into *Italie*, and to gather treaſure and to leuie ſouldiers for that purpoſe, and had prepared and made a wonderfull great prouiſion of all things: For there came to him, ſhips, money, and men, from many kingdomes, prouinces and cities of *Aſia*, and *Græcia*; from *Syria*; *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia* the leſſe, *Egypt*, *Græcia*, *Theſſalia*, *Boëtia*, *Achaia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countries: there came alſo to his aide in perſon, the Kings DEIOTARVS, and ARIOBARZANES. Of which people and of thoſe which he brought with him from *Italie*, POMPEY had a great armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ſhips and galleys by Sea, which I doe not ſet downe, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of opinions, betweene authors in the number of his people, and of CÆSARS: for certaine, they were very mightie armies, but the greateſt number were of POMPEIES ſide. Who imagining (becauſe that it was in the hart of winter) that CÆSAR ſhould not be able and haue time commodiouſly to paſſe the Seas, and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertiſement that CÆSAR was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Theſſalia*, retiring himſelfe from the Sea, commaunding and charging his Captaines by Sea (of which MARCVS BIBVLVS was chiefe) that they ſhould guard

Pompeies people and prouiſion.

and

and defend the coaſt. But CÆSAR knowing that in the ſpeedie execution, conſiſted the principall point of his victorie, and that occaſion which is let ſlippe is ſeldome recouered; being departed from *Rome* and arriued at *Brunduſium* (as we haue before ſaid) notwithſtanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboorde thoſe ſhippes which he had there in readineſſe, ſo many men as they could containe, which were ſeuen legions of choſen men (as he himſelfe recordeth) and ſent commaundement to thoſe which were comming, to make haſt, to the end that they ſhould ioyne with the reſt which there remained, which he would ſpeedily ſend for. And ſo he departed from *Brunduſium* now called *Brindez*, in the beginning of the moneth of Ianuarie, and croſſing the Seas with proſperous weather, the third day after he arriued in the coaſt of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY had any intelligence of his embarking: and ſetting his people on ſhore in the deſpite of POMPEIES Captaines, he commaunded the ſhippes and gallies preſently to returne to *Brunduſium* to fetch the reſt of his armie, which he had there left, and commaunded to come. And the warres beginning, he preſently ſeaſed vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erico*; driuing from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STRABERIVS which held the ſame for POMPEY: who ſo ſoone as he was aduertiſed of CÆSARS comming, with the greateſt ſpeede poſſible, ſending for his troupes (ſuch as were neereſt hand) he marched towards *Dyrrachium* where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouiſion for the warres, doubting that CÆSAR would come to ſurpriſe the ſame, as in truth he did.

Oportunitie loſt is ſeldome recouered.

Cæſars paſſage to Grecia againſt Pompey.

POMPEY being come, their Campes were lodged within few forlongs the one of the other, and a riuer running betweene them; there paſſed many aduentures, skirmiſhes, and alſo ſome treaties of peace, which CÆSAR offered, which were not accepted by POMPEY, ſo much he aſſured himſelfe of his power: and CÆSAR daily expecting the comming of his other legions, which ſtayed longer then he thought they ought to haue done; without the which, he thought it no wiſedome to come to a battaile; and being much grieued and very carefull forthe ſame, he determined in perſon with three ſeruants only, ſecretly to embarke himſelfe in a Brigandine, and to paſſe that ſtreight of the ſea, to fetch them, thinking to be able to performe the ſame without being miſt; and putting it in execution accordingly, he paſſed downe the riuer to the Sea, which he found ſo troubled and tempeſtuous, that the Maiſter of the Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) nor daring to paſſe any further, would haue returned. Then CÆSAR diſcouering his face, as it is reported, ſaid, be not afraid friend; for thou carrieſt with thee CÆSAR and all his fortune: the Maiſter herewith encouraged, ſtriued to hold on his voyage, but at length, the force of the tempeſt was ſo great and the ſeaſon ſo contrarie, that (notwithſtanding CÆSARS courageous words) they were conſtrained to returne, vnable to paſſe any further forwards: which being vnderſtood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieued, and murmured thereat, praiſing him more for a valiant Knight, then a wiſe Captaine; and ſo VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounteth it for a raſh aduenture, which in my opinion was the occaſion why IVLIVS CÆSAR recordeth it not in his Commentaries.

The raſh aduenture of Ceſar.

This being paſt, within few dayes after, ANTONIVS arriued with foure of thoſe legions which were left behinde in *Italy*, preſently returning the ſhippes backe againe for the reſt, and (after ſome aduentures which hapned) ioyning with CÆSARS Armie, and all things ſet in good order, and the like being done on POMPEIES ſide; there paſſed ſome things betweene them, which for breuitie

uitie I omit, vntill that neere to the citie of *Dyrrachium*, whither CÆSAR went with a determination to haue ſurpriſed the ſame, and POMPEY to relieue it. The two Armies lodged themſelues in the fields, the one ſo neere to the other, that there were daily skirmiſhes and ſlaughters of men of either partie, vntill that one day a skirmiſh waxing hot, and reſcue comming from either Armie, it came to a battaile: wherein the matter was handled in ſuch ſort, that CÆSARS troupes began to flie, and could not be made to ſtand, vntill they came to their campe which they had fortified, and yet ſome abandoned the ſame and durſt not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as ſome thinke) he imagined their flight to be fained, or that there was ſome deceit or ambuſh, or that he ſuppoſed that there was no more to be done, and that CÆSAR might eaſily haue been ouerthrowne, did not proſecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather cauſed a retreit to be ſounded, without aſſailing his enemies camp: Whither when CÆSAR came, he tooke ſuch order as was moſt conuenient, as he, who was no leſſe couragious and politike in time of aduerſitie, then of proſperitie; and it is reported that he ſaid to his friends, Truely this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had had a Captaine, which had knowne how to haue ouercome: This day IVLIVS CÆSAR loſt a great part of his people, among which, were foure hundred Romane Knights, and tenne Tribunes, and two and thirtie Centurions, and his enemies tooke from him two and thirtie enſignes. This battaile ended, POMPEY ſent the newes thereof to diuers parts of the world, holding himſelfe for victorious. And IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing puniſhed ſome of his Captaines, and enſigne bearers, notwithſtanding that all his whole Armie diſpleaſed and aſhamed of their late loſſe, againe deſired the battaile: yet he would not then fight with his Armie being timorous, againſt thoſe which were in heart and victorious; but rather tooke a new courſe, and ſending his ſicke and hurt men to the citie of *Apollonia*, departed by night with the greateſt ſilence that could be, from the place where he was, and tooke his way towards *Theſſalia*, with intent to refreſh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemie further from the Sea coaſt, where his chiefe force lay, and where his campe was fortified and victualled; or at the leaſt, to goe to meete and ouerthrowe SCIPIO, whom he well knew, came to ioyne with POMPEY.

A battaile betweene Cæſar and Pompey neere to Dyrrachium.

POMPEY ſeeing CÆSARS departure, after that he had followed him ſome few dayes, tooke counſell, and as APPIANVS teſtifieth, was determined (leauing ſo ſufficient a nauie at Sea, as CÆSAR ſhould not be able to make any benefit thereof) to paſſe into *Italie*, and to recouer the ſame, with *France* and *Spaine*, and then afterwards to returne againſt CÆSAR, but being oppreſſed and ouerruled by the Romane Lords which came with him, he altred his determination, and preſently departed to purſue CÆSAR, who made a ſtay in the fieldes of *Pharſalia* which are in *Theſſalia*, and made his retreit with ſuch diſcretion and in ſo good order, that in all occaſions that were offred, he had euer the better, vntill that at length he ſaw his people ſo furious and of ſuch force and courage, that it ſeemed to him very requiſit to fight: and therefore cared not any more to refuſe the battaile, but rather daily preſented the ſame to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeede it was true) that CÆSAR began to want many neceſſaries, and that his armie began to weaken and diminiſh, he deferred the ſame and would not fight, and as a wiſe and an experimented Captaine, as he was, would haue prolonged the warre, defeating his enemie without putting his owne ſtate in hazard: and although that POMPEY were of this opinion, yet ſomuch did the voices, opinions

and murmurings of thoſe which were with him preuaile, (as LVCAN, PLVTARCH, and the ſame CÆSAR himſelfe report) that they made him yeeld to giue the battaile, euen contrarie to his owne opinion and will, as he did: wherein met and ioyned of the one ſide and of the other all the flower and force of *Rome*; and although that CÆSARS forces were fewer in number (for all writers affirme, that POMPEIES armies were twiſe as great) yet CÆSARS were more actiue and better trained. How many there were of the one ſide and of the other, I cannot certifie; the authors doe ſo much differ among themſelues therein: APPIANVS ſetteth downe the diuers opinions which are thereof, ſome raiſe the number to three hundred thouſand men, whereof LVCIVS FLORVS is one: others to threeſcore and tenne thouſand: and ſome ſet downe ſomewhat leſſe, among which is PLVTARCH, who ſaith that POMPEY brought to this battaile 45000. men, whereof 7000. were on horſebacke, and IVLIVS CÆSAR two and twentie thouſand a foote, and of horſe men few more then one thouſand. But APPIANVS vnderſtandeth, that this leſſer number of theſe armies, was to be vnderſtoode of Romanes, which were the force and hope of both theſe captaines: for it is not likely, that of all nations, there ſhould be ſo ſmall a number in a warre ſo long prepenſed and preparing, and in my opinion, this is moſt likely to be true. But howſoeuer it was, this battaile was betweene the beſt captaines and beſt ſouldiers, aſwell for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being ſo, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue: So ſtrange and variable are the aduentures which happen in warres and battailes: for where there ſeemeth to be the greateſt force and aſſurance, oftentimes is found the greateſt weaknes; and that which is leaſt feared, doth ſometimes annoy moſt.

Pompey fought contrarie to his owne opinion.

Either of theſe two captaines, hauing reſolued to giue battaile, ordred his battalions and ſquadrons, as to him ſeemed moſt expedient, making their ſpeeches and orations to their people; and the accuſtomed ſigne being giuen, the battaile preſently began on either ſide: in the beginning whereof POMPEIES horſemen, (wherein he repoſed his greateſt hope) which were all of the Romane Nobilitie, and of the order of Knighthoode, and alwayes euery where had the better; began to come where CÆSARS Cauallery was, and forced them to forſake the field. Which CÆSAR perceiuing, loſing nothing by ouerſight, made a ſigne to a battalion, which for that purpoſe he had left apart from the other ſquadrons, to charge POMPEIES Cauallerie; which charged them with ſuch force and furie, ſtriking them according to CÆSARS direction, no where but in the face, which POMPEIES horſemen either vnable or vnwilling to endure, began to retire, in ſuch ſort that from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victorie, from thence ſprang the beginning of his perdition. For notwithſtanding that they had alreadie charged, and the other battalions continued ſtill fighting, and that they maintained the ſame with great reſolution; yet ſeeing that POMPEIES Cauallerie fled, and that CÆSARS came to charge them afreſh, they all did the like in ſuch manner, that in ſhort ſpace the victorie plainely appeared for CÆSAR: and POMPEY hauing left all hope to preuaile, fled to his campe, leauing the field and victorie to his enemie. Who letting ſlippe no occaſion, ſeeing that he found no reſiſtance in the field, aſſembled his forces together to aſſaile POMPEIES campe, which with ſmall difficultie he entred: which POMPEY perceiuing, leauing his enſignes and robes of generall, and putting on other apparrell vpon the firſt horſe that he could get, with foure on horſe-

The battaile of Pharſalia, wherein Pompey was ouercome by Cæſar.

backe

backe only, which accompanied him, which (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS saith) were his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS, and the two LENTVLI, and FAVONIVS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, and neuer staied vntill he came to the citie of *Larisa*; where ioyning with some thirtie other horse, which fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vntill he came vnto the shore side of the *Egean* sea; where finding a certaine Merchants ship of *Rome*, he embarked himselfe therein, and sailed to the Ile of *Lesbos*, which is in that sea, which now is called *Archipelago*, to the citie of *Mitylene*. For in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him, and gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence, very doubtful, and without any determination whither to goe. Some counsailed him to saile into *Africa*, for that King IVBA was his friend and very mightie. Others were of opinion that he should retire himselfe to the Parthians: finally, he resolued to goe into *Egypt*, for the friendship which he held with King PTOLOMY, father of that PTOLOMY then raigning; and did so. Hauing first touched in the prouince of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, and in the Ile of *Cyprus*, and sayling to *Egypt*, and arriuing at the citie of *Alexandria*, he had such an end as we will presently declare.

Pompeies flight.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing obtained so great a victorie, as is aforesaid, vsed therein his accustomed clemencie, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurt after the battaile was ended, and pardoning al those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe; among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIES side fifteene thousande men, and of the conquerors lesse then two thousand, as the same CÆSAR writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meanes to returne and repaire himselfe, without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his armie. And comming to the sea side, bringing to his obedience in his way all the cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such shippes and galleys as he then could, and with those which CASSIVS had deliuered vnto him, who was receiued to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troupes as he was able, and passed into *Asia* the lesse; where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in *Cyprus*, he presumed that he tooke his way towards *Egypt*. For which cause hee tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old souldiers onely; and arriuing in safetie at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* (where wee said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arriued there: who presuming of the benefits and good entertainment which this King PTOLOMIES father had receiued in his house, he sent to request PTOLOMY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen and decayed, few men hold faith and friendship, and in their aduersities the benefits and good turnes receiued from them are commonly forgotten: so the King sent him his promise to performe what he required: and comming vpon safeconduct, in a small boate towards the shore, he was murdered before that he came to the land, by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIVS, and another called ACHILAS, thinking by meanes hereof to winne CÆSARS friendship, which was done by the perswasion and counsell of FOTINVS an Eunuch, who was of great authoritie in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA POMPEIES wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CÆSAR being landed and receiued into the citie, they presently brought him, for a present, the great POMPEIES head, which he would not see:

The clemencie of Cæsar.

Cæsar pursued Pompey.

The death of Pompey.

Septimius.

and his ring and ſeale of Armes being preſented vnto him, he wept a great while for pitie, conſidering the end and ſucceſſe of the great aduentures and proſperities of POMPEY, who with ſuch honour and fame had three times triumphed, and been ſo many more times Conſul in Rome, and had commanded the ſame, and had been the moſt principall man therein for ſo many yeeres, and had obtained ſo many victories and dignities.

Cæſar wept for the death of Pompey.

When IVLIVS CÆSAR landed in *Egypt*, he found the countrey infeſted with ciuill warres, and great diſcord betweene the yong King PTOLOMY and his ſiſter the faire CLEOPATRA, about the diuiſion and inheritance of that kingdome; wherein IVLIVS CÆSAR (as a Romane Conſul) tooke vpon him to entermeddle. For which cauſe (as CÆSAR himſelfe writeth) or becauſe that their guiltie conſcience, for the treacherous murder of POMPEY made them to feare (as PLVTARCH affirmeth) the before named FOTINVS, which had been the practiſer of this murder, and ACHILA which had been the actor thereof, both which were in great authoritie in the Court and with the King, imagining that CÆSAR enclined to fauour CLEOPATRAS faction, amaſſed and ſent for the armie which the King had neere the citie, conſiſting of 20000. good men, purpoſing to doe by IVLIVS CÆSAR as they had done by POMPEY; and ſo within few daies there began betweene CÆSAR and the ſmall forces which he brought with him, both within the citie, and in the harbour, betweene the ſhips and galleys, the moſt cruel warre and fight that he euer had, which I cannot diſtinctly ſet downe, for the many aduentures that paſſed therin. But let this ſuffice, that IVLIVS CÆSAR fought therein many times in his owne perſon, both within the citie, whereof his enemies held the greateſt part, and alſo in the harbour with his ſhips, and was ſometime in ſuch peril and danger, that he was driuen to leape out of the boate wherein he was, into the water, and by ſwimming to eſcape into one of his galleys. But at length his forces and aide being come from *Aſia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for ſo long laſted theſe warres) remained victorious, as in all others he had been, and the young King PTOLOMY was ſlaine in a fight. In this warre CÆSAR did ſuch exploits, and ſhewed ſuch valour and wiſedome, that for the ſame onely he did well deſerue the fame and renowne of a moſt excellent Captaine.

Cæſars warre in Egypt.

The death of Ptolomy king of Egypt.

CÆSAR hauing tamed the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murderers of POMPEY, and eſtabliſhed CLEOPATRA for Queene and gouernour of that kingdome, whom the while that he remained there, he held for his friend, and ſhe by him conceiued and had a ſonne called CÆSARIO; all things being eſtabliſhed: he departed from *Egypt* towards *Aſia*, trauelling through *Syria* now *Soria*, by reaſon that he was giuen to vnderſtand that while he was buſied in the warres of *Egypt*, the King PHARNACES, ſonne of the mightie King MITHRIDATES, thinking it now a fit time (ſeeing the ciuill diſcord betweene the Romanes) to recouer that which his father had loſt: And hauing ouerthrowne DOMICIVS, whom CÆSAR had ſent to gouerne thoſe parts, and alſo had taken by force of armes, the prouinces of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence the King ARIOBARZANES, a friend and ſubiect to *Rome*, and had began to doe the like in *Armenia* the leſſe, which King DEIOTARVS had made ſubiect to the Romanes: IVLIVS CÆSAR comming with his armie ſooner then King PHARNACES imagined, although that with his he had expected him; & hauing intelligence of his approch, within few daies they came to a battaile, in which (not without great reſiſtance) the King was ouerthrowne and put to flight, with great ſlaughter of his people,

Cleopatra Queene of Egypt.

people, from which he escaped by flight. Great was the ioy that CÆSAR conceiued of this victorie, for the great desire that he had to returne to *Rome*, where hee knew that many scandales and insolencies were committed, by reason of his absence: he knew also that POMPEIES eldest sonne had seised on a great part of *Spaine*, and had raised great power of those which MARCVS VARRO had there left, and of his fathers troupes: he also vnderstood that in *Africa* many principall Romanes, which had escaped from the battaile at *Pharsalia*, were gathered together, whereof MARCVS CATO was the chiefe, who is called VTICENSIS, (because that in *Vtica* he slew himselfe) and SCIPIO POMPEIES father in law; and that these went thither with a great part of the galleys & ships of POMPEIES Nauie, and with the greatest power they were able to leuie; ioyning with IVBA King of *Mauritania*, they had subdued all that countrey, and had a great armie in readines against CÆSAR, hauing chosen SCIPIO for their Captaine, because that CATO would not take that charge vpon him, and for that, the name of SCIPIO was very fortunate in *Africa*. CÆSAR hauing intelligence of all these things, within few daies with great celeritie and diligence, he recouered all that which PHARNACES had vsurped, and chasing him out of *Pontus*, he recouered all those countries forwards, and leauing CELIVS MINVCIVS for Captaine with two legions to guard that prouince, pacifying the contentions and controuersies in the rest, rewarding the Kings and Tetrarches which had continued firme in league and amitie with *Rome*; without any longer aboad he departed from *Asia*, and in short space passing into *Italie* came to *Rome*, within little more then a yeere after that he departed from thence; a short time in truth, for the perfourmance of so great matters and so long a iourney.

Cæsars victorie against Pharnaces king of Pontus.

Within few daies after his comming to *Rome*, he made himselfe to bee chosen the third time Consul, and reforming (the best that he could in so short a time) al disorders in *Rome*, being grieued and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessarie, and from *Rome* tooke his way thitherward, commaunding his forces to follow him. First he went into *Sicilia*, and there shipped himselfe, and thence passed into *Africa*: and notwithstanding that, neither his Nauie nor Armie arriued with him, trusting in the valour and goodnes of his people, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with those small forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the citie of *Adrumentum* in the prouince of *Africa*; and from thence marched to another citie called *Leptis*, where hee was receiued: and after some conflicts which passed, his legions being come, and certaine troupes both on foote and horseback, he began the warre, which lasted foure moneths, *viz.* from the beginning of Ianuarie till the end of Aprill, beginning first against PETREIVS and LABIENVS: afterwards it was continued against SCIPIO and King IVBA, which assisted the contrary faction with 30000. men, the one halfe whereof were horsemen, whereof the prouince of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound; among all which were leuied against CÆSAR eight legions of footmen and 20000. horse. In this warre were many encounters, skirmishes and battailes, which *Hyrcius* in his Commentaries, PLVTARCH, LVCAN, LVCIVS FLORVS & others write of at large, in which CÆSAR was in great daunger: but at the last with his force and good fortune, he ouercame them all in a great battaile; wherein, of the enemies, were slaine tenne thousand men, and CÆSAR remained master of the field, and in few daies after of all the land: and SCIPIO and all the principall Captaines which were his aduersaries, died sundrie deaths within few daies; and king IVBA

Cæsar vvarre in Africa against Scipio.

Hyrcius lib. 5. Appian lib. 2. Lucan lib. 3. Lucius Florus lib. 4. Titus Liuius lib. 110. Plutarch in his liues.

The strange death of King Iuba and Afranius.

by flight escaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in despaire, he and AFRANIVS determined to die fighting, the one against the other, vntill they were both slaine, in which combate King IVBA being of greater strength then AFRANIVS, slew him; and afterwards commaunded a slaue of his owne, to kill himselfe, and so he died desperately.

Cato Vticensis slewe himselfe. S. Augustine in his booke de ciuitate dei. 1. Scipio slewe and drowned himselfe. Lactantius Firmianus, Aulus Gellius in his twelfth booke. Cicero in the 3. of his offices. Valerius Maximus. cap. 3.

The good MARCVS CATO which was in the citie of *Vtica*, knowing that CÆSAR marched thitherwards, and notwithstanding that he knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a desire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that he would receiue neither life nor honor from his enemie, he killed himselfe: in whose death passed many notable things, recorded by many authors both christian and heathen. SCIPIO who had been generall in this warre escaped from the battaile by flight, and shipping himselfe in certaine galleyes wherein he fled, was met withall, by CÆSARS nauie; and he to the end that he would not be taken, giuing himselfe certaine woundes, cast himselfe into the Sea, and so was drowned. CÆSAR hauing obtained so great and so entire a victorie, spending some few dayes in ordering the prouinces of *Africa*, confisking and reducing the kingdome and countrie of King IVBA into a prouince, came to the citie of *Vtica*, where he embarked himselfe the third day of Iune, and came to the Isle of *Sardinia*, wherein he stayed some few dayes, and arriued at *Rome* the fiue and twentith day of Iulie. At his comming (as SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, and PLVTARCH record) there were graunted vnto him foure triumphes, the first triumph was for his conquest and victories in *France*, where were set the portraitures of the riuers of *Rodanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in golde: and in the second triumph of *Egypt*, and of King PTOLOMEY, were set the riuer of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumpth was of the prouince of *Pontus* and of King PHARNACES, wherein for the speede wherewith he prosecuted the victorie, was placed a briefe writing which signified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici*, which is to say, I came, I saw, I ouercame. The fourth triumph was of the prouince of *Africa*, wherein was placed King IVBA his sonne, as a captiue, and in this triumpth (as SVETONIVS writeth) were giuen iewels and armes to OCTAVIVS CÆSARS Nephew, which afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare hereafter, notwithstanding that he was not present in those warres by reason of his small age: for he was not then fully sixteene yeares olde. As for the battaile which CÆSAR wanne against POMPEY, he would not triumph thereof, because it was against Citizens of *Rome*.

Cæsars triumphes.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Cæsar would not triumph for his victorie against Pompey.

These triumphes being ended, giuing great rewards to his souldiers, and entertaining the Romane people, with feasts, gifts and other very great alarges, he caused himselfe to be chosen the fourth time Consul: and to the end that there should be no place in the world wherein he would not be obeyed, he resolued to goe into *Spaine*, where he vnderstoode that GNEVS POMPEIVS (POMPEIVS sonne) with the remainder of the armie which had escaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyne with his brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS, who alreadie was there, as I haue said, and was in possession of a great part of *Spaine*, with the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, and many other in that coast, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. CÆSAR departing, carried with him his most experienced and chosen souldiers, and made so good speede that within few dayes he arriued in *Spaine*, and in this iourney (as SVETONIVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS recorde) his Nephew OCTAVIVS followed him.

CÆSAR being entred *Spaine*, came into the prouince of *Betica*, which is *Andaluzia*,

daluzia, where SEXTVS POMPEIVS and his brother GNEVS POMPEIVS were with such legions and people as they had gathered together; and so there began betweene them a cruell and bloudie warre. The ende whereof was, that neere to the citie of *Munda*, CÆSAR and GNEVS POMPEIVS, (for SEXTVS POMPEIVS was in *Cordona*) ioyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that euer was in the world. For CÆSAR being the most excellent captaine, and the people which he brought with him, the most valiant souldiers and accustomed to ouercome; the resolution and courage of POMPEY and his people was such, and they fought in such manner, that CÆSARS esquadrons began to giue ground and were readie to forsake the field, and at the very poynt to haue been wholy ouerthrowne. And the matter came to this issue, that (as SVETONIVS and EVTROPIVS doe write) CÆSAR was about to haue killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe ouercome: and that he tooke a target from one of his souldiers and rushed in among his enemies, saying with a loud voyce (as PLVTARCH reporteth) If you be not ashamed, leaue me and deliuer me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall bee the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his people tooke heart in such manner, that recouering the ground which they had lost, the battaile became equall, which as APPIANVS affirmeth, lasted the most part of one whole day, without shewing any signe of victorie, sometime seeming to encline to one partie, and sometime to the other, vntill that at length CÆSAR and his people did so great matters, that the euening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flie, and the victorie was apparantly CÆSARS: and there dyed of his enemies aboue 30000. men in this fight, and of CÆSARS part, were slaine a thousand principall men and of account, besides many other of lesser estimation. CÆSAR esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the daunger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vsed to say, that onely that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes euer for honour and victorie. He then remaining maister of the field, his aduersarie POMPEY, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good captaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandring through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by CÆSARS friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto TABIENVS. His second brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS fled from *Cordona*, and in the end forsooke *Spaine*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. IVLIVS CÆSAR recouered the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordona*, and all the rest, and disposing of all things in *Spaine* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, and entred therein, in triumph for the warres in *Spaine*, which was his fifth and last triumph: in this place LVCIVS FLORVS and PATERCVLVS make mention of all his triumphes.

Cæsars going into Spaine against Pompeies sonnes.

Betica, Andaluzia.

Cæsars cruell battaile and victorie against Pompeies sons.

Cæsars triumph for his victories in Spaine.

CÆSAR came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that euer had been in the world, hauing subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with armie and by force of armes, in as little time, as it might seeme, that another man might be able to trauaile those countries by resonable iourneyes; all which being in obedience and subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe soueraigne Lord and Monarch of the Romane Empire, within little lesse then fiue yeares after that he began the same. And this was the original and beginning of the Romane Emperours: for IVLIVS CÆSAR would not be called King: for the name of King was abhorred, and odious to the Romanes aboue all things in the world, after that the Kings were chased from *Rome*,

The beginning of the Romane Empire.

The originall of the name of Emperour.

Rome, but contenting himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperor; although not with a name of such dignitie, as his successors haue done since, but as by a name which signified that hee had been a conquerour in battailes in the warres, which in this sense was giuen to the Romane Captaines, when they had obtained any notable victorie: but after IVLIVS CÆSAR, al his successors tooke that name, and gloried to be called Emperours, which was sacred for the most high title and dignitie in the world.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing obtained the dominion which he so much desired, shewed in all things great clemencie and magnanimitie, honouring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiuing and very cheerefully pardoning all those which had bin his aduersaries; and so he not onely pardoned BRVTVS and CASSIVS, CICERO, MARCELLVS, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and priuate familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues and singularities wherewith CÆSAR was endued, his clemencie and liberalitie were most glorious. But this sufficed not to extinguish the desire to recouer the losse of libertie, neither to asswage the hatred and malice conceiued against him by his aduersaries, as in time did appeare.

The clemencie and bountie of Cesar.

And notwithstanding that many were grieued, yet some for the loue which they bare him; others for feare or dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preheminencies and titles of honour, such as neuer had been giuen to any other; neither ought he to haue accepted the same, as PLVTARCH, APPIAN and others doe report. But CÆSARS minde and ambition was so great, and his thoughts so eleuate and so high, that he held nothing for so great, but that he was worthie thereof and had deserued the same: and so he not only accepted that which they offered him, but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and conseruer of his countrey: he was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for tenne yeeres, and perpetuall Censor of their customes. His statue and image was erected among the Kings of *Rome*, and a chaire and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senatours did vse to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. But here the matter ceased not, which they gaue him, and he accepted of some things which only to those whom they held for Gods, ought to haue been attributed, the moneth which they called Quintil, they called IVLIVS after his name, as March of their god MARS, and Iune after the goddesse IVNO: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto IVPITER, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call Thensas; and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

The names and high titles which were giuen to Cesar.

IVLIVS CÆSAR enioying such honour and power, so as he had no equall or second in the world with whom he might contend; it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and imagine and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as PLINIE and SOLINVS and other report) to haue fought for them in fiftie seuerall battailes (in all which he ouercame) sauing in that one at *Dyrrachium* against POMPEY; where, as we haue already said, he was not wholy ouerthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres

and

and battailes which he fought, a million, ninetie and odde thouſand men; and yet they ſay that they reckon not thoſe which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was a man of a moſt high minde, he ſought to doe greater matters, if greater might be. For firſt he determined to paſſe into the Eaſt, there to conquer and ſubdue the fierce nation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, and to paſſe thorough *Hircania* and other countries, vntill he ſhould come to the Caſpian Sea, and ſo thorough all the prouinces of *Scythia Aſiatica*; and paſſing the riuer *Tanais*, to returne thorough *Scythia* in Europe, and in this retreit to come into Germany, and other prouinces bordering thereupon, conquering and ſubduing them all to the Romane Empire: for the which conqueſt he preſently cauſed to be leuied in ſundrie places, tenne thouſand horſemen, and ſixteene legions of choſen footmen, and appointing the time wherin he thought to depart, he commaunded them to march towards their Rendeuous. And beſides all this, he ſought not onely to ſubdue and ouercome all the nations of the world, but to correct and reforme nature it ſelfe: for he purpoſed to haue made an Iland of *Peloponeſus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the necke of the land which is betweene the *Egean* and the *Ionian* Seas.

The high thoughts and purpoſes of Cæſar.

Of the Riuer *Tiber* and the Riuer *Anien* (as PLVTARCH ſaith) he purpoſed to haue altered the courſes, and to haue opened new channels, through which they ſhould run into the Sea, making them to leaue their naturall courſe, and capeable to beare great ſhips. He commaunded and alreadie began to digge downe, and make plaine many hils and high mountaines in *Italie*, and to drie vp and to dreine ſome of the great lakes and mariſhes which are therein: and in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more then a man, which ſeemed to be poſſible to none but to God alone. He amended and corrected (as many authors affirme) the account and computation of the yeere, conforming it with the courſe of the Sunne, and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the account and courſe of the Moone, and the coniunctions and oppoſitions of her and of the Sunne: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie, by thoſe which did emulate and hate him: For one day in a diſcourſe in the preſence of CICERO, it was ſaid, that the next day there ſhould be an Eclipſe of the Sunne; yea (quoth he) it is ſo, for CÆSAR hath ſo commaunded: Many other things CÆSAR began, which were very great, in reforming the lawes, cuſtomes and offices, which for breuitie I omit: among which the reedifying of the deſtroyed citie of *Carthage* by SCIPIO (as all the world knoweth) was one; and he ſent thither Colonies and Romane citizens to inhabite: the like he did by *Corinth*. But all theſe deeds & theſe ſo high thoughts and determinations were abridged by death, which within few daies enſued: & this man which no force could reſiſt, a few men, yea & thoſe diſarmed, were of power to bereaue of life, as hereafter we will declare. Fiue moneths only he liued a ſoueraigne Lord in peace (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS hath noted) when thoſe in whom he repoſed greateſt truſt, conſpired his death.

Cæſar corrected the computation of the yeere. Suetonius, Plutarch, Cenſorinus.

Carthage repeopled by Cæſar.

Some write that CÆSAR was counſelled to haue had a guard alwaies about him: whereto he anſwered, that he would haue none, for hee would rather die once, then liue continually in care and feare. Many ſet downe the cauſes wherefore they deſired to kill him: Some ſay that it was of hatred which they had long borne him: ſome others ſay, that it was for the deſire of libertie, holding him for a tyrant: But the moſt part are of opinion, that it was of ſuſpition that hee would haue cauſed himſelfe to be called and made king of *Rome*, a thing in the higheſt degree

The cauſes of the conſpiracies againſt Cæſar.

degree hatefull to the Romanes: whereof hee gaue many ſignes and cauſes to ſuſpect, which PLVTARCH and others write at large. Hereunto was added, that he began to haue men in contempt, and all other things, whereby he became hatefull to many. For he vſed to ſay, that the Common-wealth was but a voyce and a name without a bodie, or ſubſtance; and that it well appeared that CORNELIVS SYLLA had no learning, ſeeing that he reſigned the perpetuall Dictatorſhip. All the whole Senate, comming one day into the Temple of *Venus*, wherein he was, he attended their comming, ſitting ſtill, and roſe not, as hee was wont to doe; notwithſtanding (as ſome ſay) that CORNELIVS BALBVS counſelled him to riſe: which was a thing much noted and odious to the Common-wealth. His friends and fauourites began alſo to ſay and to publiſh, that in the bookes of the *Sibyls* (which in *Rome* were held in great veneration and for a true prophecie) it was written, that the Parthians could neuer bee ouercome but by a man which ſhould haue the title of king, and they practiſed that CÆSAR ſhould take this name, for that conqueſt, whither he had determined to goe: and although that he made ſhew to be grieued and much moued thereat, yet they ſuſpected the contrarie, which ſuſpition encreaſed (beſides that which is alreadie ſaid) for that, that the Tribunes of the people commaunded a man to be apprehended, which had ſet a Diademe (which is the enſigne of a king) vpon the head of one of CÆSARS ſtatues. Whereat CÆSAR was ſo highly offended with the Tribunes, that he depoſed them from their offices, making ſhew that he did it, becauſe they gaue him cauſe of offence, in this, that they would make the world beleeue that there was cauſe of ſuſpition, that he would make himſelfe a tyrant King. The like in a manner paſſed, when MARCVS ANTONIVS, which was a great fauourite of his, (and that yeere) his fellow and companion in the Conſulſhip, being at certaine publike games, came to CÆSAR and put a Diademe vpon his head: and although that he caſt it downe, yet they all imagined that MARCVS ANTONIVS would not haue been ſo bold and ſo hardie to haue done it, without his conſent and goodwill; and that he did this to proue, what liking the people had thereto, and how they would take it: ſo as theſe and ſuch other like things as paſſed, gaue them occaſion to deſire and to procure his death, as ſome of them did. This did alſo encourage them, and made them attempt to doe it: for that in ſundrie publike places certaine writings were ſet vp, which did incite and animate them to conſpire againſt him: as vpon the ſtatue of *Brutus*, which in ancient time had chaſed the Kings out of *Rome*, wherein were written theſe words; *Would to God thou wert now liuing Brutus.* And vpon the image of MARCVS BRVTVS, which then was Pretor, and deſcended from the other BRVTVS, theſe words: *Thou ſleepeſt long Brutus, truly thou art not Brutus.* And as APPIAN recounteth, at other times, they ſet vp others which imported: *Thou art dead Brutus, would to God thou waſt liuing, thou art vnworthie of the ſucceſsion from the Brutij: ſurely thou art not deſcended from that good Brutus.* And other ſuch like things were ſet vpon theſe ſtatues and in other places. So as for all theſe reaſons and for other added hereunto, there were ſeuentie of the moſt principall men in *Rome* which conſpired to put him to death; one alluring another, vntill that they amounted to that number: of which the moſt principall heads were DECIVS, MARCVS BRVTVS, CAIVS CASSIVS; yet MARCVS BRVTVS was held for CÆSARS ſonne, for his mother was ſuſpected with him, and had receiued from him great honours and good entertainments: with theſe were GAIVS CASCA, ATTILIVS CIMBER, SERVIVS GALBA, QVINTVS LIGARIVS, MARCVS SPVRIVS, and many other men

The conſpiracie againſt Julius Ceſar.

men of account, which after ſome conſultations, concluded to kill him vpon the Ides of March, which is the fifteenth day of that month, in the temple where the Senators were to ſit that day: which was agreed vpon and kept ſo cloſe and ſecret, that (notwithſtanding their great number) there was not any one found that did diſcouer the ſame. But there happened ſo many ſignes and prodigies, and to himſelfe there happened ſo many auguries and forewarnings, that without knowing any cauſe, all men were of opinion that CÆSARS death was neere at hand: the which among many others which recite the ſame, OVID doth moſt excellently ſet downe in his Metamorphoſes, which for breuitie I omit; but chiefly SPVRINA which was his diuiner or ſoothſaier, diuined and forwarned him, that he ſhould looke to himſelfe, vntill that the Ides of Mareh were paſt; for his life was in great danger: and CÆSARS owne wife entreated him vpon her knees, that he would not that day goe foorth to the Senate; for ſhe had dreamed that he lay dead in her lappe. Finally, CÆSAR was ſo many waies forewarned and put in ſuch feare of ſome great danger, that he was about to ſend to MARCVS ANTONIVS to make his excuſe, and to deferre the Senate vntill another day: But as it was Gods will that he ſhould die ſo, MARCVS BRVTVS being in place when this matter was in queſtion (who, as we haue alreadie ſaid, was one of the conſpirators) counſelled CÆSAR that in no caſe he ſhould ſhew any ſuch feare; whereupon he determined to goe thither. *Lib. 1.*

Some (as SVETONIVS, and PLVTARCH) write that CÆSAR made ſmall account of death, and that he ſuſpected that hee ſhould die in this manner; for he ſaid, that he did not ſo much eſteeme his owne life, as the daunger whereinto the common-wealth would fall by loſing him: For as for him, he had wonne and obtained power, fame and glorie enough for himſelfe; and that he in no time could dy with greater honour. It gaue alſo cauſe of this ſuſpition in this, that ſome diſcourſing in his preſence the night before his death, what kinde of death was beſt? euen, quoth he, the ſodaine, and that which is not prepenſed. Whether this be true or no, I know not, but the fifteenth of March he went from his houſe in a litter towards the Senate, and paſſing along the ſtreete, there was a petition deliuered vnto him, which ſome ſay, ARTEMIDORVS his Maiſter in the Greeke tongue gaue him: others ſay, that it was giuen to him by another, and that ARTEMIDORVS could not come ſo neere to him as to aduiſe him: but whoſoeuer he were that gaue it, therein was giuen him in writing, all that which was concluded in this conſpiracie, and he which gaue it deſired him to reade it preſently, which he began to doe; but there came ſo many to ſpeake to him, that he could but begin to reade it, for it was found in his hand when he was dead. And paſſing ſo along the ſtreete, he alſo mette with SPVRINA, who had giuen him warning to looke to himſelfe vntill the Ides of March were paſt, and as CÆSAR ſaw him very pleaſant and ieſting he ſaid, doeſt thou not know SPVRINA that the Ides of March are come? yea anſwered SPVRINA, and I know that they are not yet paſt alſo. Being come to the temple where the Senate was to ſit that day, he came downe from his Litter and entred thereinto, and hauing firſt done ſacrifice, (as then was the cuſtome) which all according to their ſuperſtitious ceremonies of that time, preſaged to be fatall and infortunate, he ſate downe in the Senate in his chaire, and BRVTVS ALBINVS entertaining MARCVS ANTONIVS at the doore of the temple (or after ſome others) TREBONIVS (as it was decreed) one of the conſpiratours (whoſe name was CELER) came to CÆSAR vnder colour to entreate him to be pleaſed to releaſe a brother of his from baniſhment, *A petition giuen to Cæſar.*

and

and presently all the rest of the conspirators drew neere to his chaire: which when CÆSAR perceiued, thinking that they had al come for the same purpose, it is written that he said to them, what perforce is this? and at that instant one of them whose name was CASCA, beginning, they all drew their poiniards and swords, which they had brought in secret for that purpose vnder their gownes, and began to wound him. The first blow that he receiued, they say, that CASCA gaue him in the throate, at which hurt CÆSAR spake a lowde saying, what doest thou traitour CASCA? and wresting the poiniard out of his hands, he arose and stabbed CASCA through the arme, and being about to strike him the second time, he was letted by the other woundes which they gaue him, with great force and courage leaping from one side to the other, to defend himselfe. But when he saw MARCVS BRVTVS, (whose authoritie and reputation was great) with his sworde drawne in his hand, wherewith he had alreadie wounded him in the thigh, they write that he was much amazed thereat, and said in the Greeke tongue (which the Romanes did then vnderstand and vsually speake) Why, how now sonne BRVTVS, and thou also? And hauing said so, and seeing so many weapons bent against him, and that no bodie came to his rescue; for there was so great a hurlie burlie in the Senate, that they all thought to haue dyed, and being in despaire none durst attempt to defend him: he remembred to keepe the honour of his person, and with his right hand couered his head with part of his robe, and with his left hand, he girt himselfe and setled his clothes about him, and being so couered, he fell dead to the ground, wounded with three and twentie wounds; and his fortune was to fall at the foote of the seate or base whereupon POMPEIES statue stoode, which was noted for the iudgement and permission of God. And so in this manner died the most mightie, the most worthie, valiant, wise and fortunate Prince and captaine, that without all doubt before him hath been in the world, and I know not if after him in valour and humane power there hath been the like. For his excellencies, graces and abilities; his inuincible minde, his incomparable force and courage; the battailes and victories which he obtained; the prouinces, Kings and nations, which he ouercame and subdued; his counsels, stratagems, pollicies, and bold attempts which he vsed therein; his magnanimitie, clemencie and bountie with the conquered and conquerors; his high thoughts and purposes, being well weighed and considered: it will plainely appeare, that in none of these thinges aforesaid, neither in many other more which may be said of him, there hath not been any King or captaine that hath excelled him, but that he in the most hath excelled all others, and had fewer imperfections and vices then any other: for setting apart his ambition and desire to raigne, (which he held for no vice, and might alleadge that he was compelled thereto) he was onely noted and blamed, as too much giuen to women; as for the rest wherewith he was charged, it doth rather appeare to be the murmuring and slandering of his aduersaries, then any truth.

Casca.

Brutus.

Cæsar vvas slaine in the Senate, and died at Pompeies feet.

The excellencies of Iulius Cæsar.

The time vvherein Cæsar died.

CÆSAR then was slaine in the sixe and fiftith yeare of his age, foure yeares and a little more (according to PLVTARCHES computation) after the death of POMPEY; in the seuen hundred and tenth yeare (according to OROSIVS) after the foundation of *Rome*; and according to the Hebrew truth, in the three thousand and tenth yeare from the creation of the world; and according to the greater account of the seuentie Interpretors, fiue thousand, one hundred, fiftie and seauen yeares; in the hundred, eightie and fourth Olympiad; and fortie and two yeares before the birth of Christ our redeemer. But I would the reader to vnderstand,

vnderſtand, that in this account of yeeres, there ſometimes happeneth difference betweene the authors.

CÆSAR had neither ſonne nor daughter legitimate, at the time of his death: for notwithſtanding that he was married foure ſeuerall times, yet he had but one onely daughter, named IVLIA, which (as I haue ſaid) was married to POMPEY, and died. Wherefore he adopted and choſe for his ſonne by his laſt will, and made him his heire in the Dodrant, which are nine partes of the twelue of his goods, his Nephew OCTAVIVS CÆSAR; which afterwards was called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, who was nephew of his ſiſter IVLIA and of ACIVS BALBVS, and ſonne of ACIA his neece, and of OCTAVIVS Pretor in *Macedonia*, who died ſodainly. OCTAVIANVS was at this time by the commaundement of his vncle, in the citie of *Apollonia* in the prouince of *Epire*, where he gaue himſelfe to ſtudie, ſtaying for him there; thence to goe with him to the warres of the Parthians, being then of the age of ſeuenteene yeeres.

Iulius Ceſar adopted Octauianus his Nephew for his ſonne.

Octauianus his parentage.

CÆSAR being dead in the manner as I haue ſaid (as it happeneth in great accidents) ſo the newes preſently ranne ouer all the citie, and the tumult and alteration therein was ſo great, that no man knew what to doe, or ſay: all offices ceaſed, the temples were ſhut vp, there was no man but was afraid: CÆSARS friends were afraid of thoſe which ſlew him, and they of his friends. It would be a long diſcourſe to recite what paſſed and ſucceeded, but I will briefly ſet downe that which ſhall be moſt to my purpoſe. BRVTVS and CASSIVS and all the conſpirators, and others which were willing to ioyne with them, hauing put him to death, ſeeing the great hurlie burlie and tumult among the people (and after PLVTARCH) for feare of MARCVS ANTONIVS and LEPIDVS, whereof the one was Conſul, and the other Maiſter of the horſemen, durſt not goe to their houſes, neither to doe ſuch other things as they had pretended; but preſently from thence went to ſeaſe vpon the Capitoll, and crying by the way as they went, libertie, libertie, deſiring and imploring the aſſiſtance and fauour of the people. The reſt of that day and all the next night, MARCVS ANTONIVS and LEPIDVS which tooke CÆSARS part, were in armes, and there paſſed treaties and meſſages from the one to the other; wherein it was agreed that the Senate ſhould ſit, whither BRVTVS and CASSIVS came, MARCVS ANTONIVS his ſonnes (by the perſwaſion of CICERO a great louer of the libertie) remaining hoſtages for them; where they treated of peace and concord, and that all that which was paſt ſhould be buried in perpetuall ſilence and obliuion. Whereunto MARCVS ANTONIVS (who was Conſul) and all the whole Senate agreed, and all the prouinces being diuided, there was a great likelyhoode of peace, for the Senate approoued and commended the fact, and the people diſſembled it: for in one part the authoritie of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, and the name of libertie, ſeemed to giue them ſome contentment; and of the otherſide, the greatnes of the fact and the loue which they bare vnto CÆSAR, did moue and incite them to hate the murtherers, and ſo it reſted indeterminate. But MARCVS ANTONIVS, as one who alſo thought to become a tyrant, euer ſought meanes to incenſe the people againſt them: and it paſſed ſo, that among other things which were done, it followed that CÆSARS teſtament was opened; wherein beſides the adopting of his Nephew OCTAVIVS for his ſonne, and appointing him for his chiefe heire, among other bequeſts which he made, he bequeathed to the people of *Rome* certaine gardens and heritages neere the riuer of *Tiber*, and to euery citizen of *Rome* a certaine ſum of money, to be deuided among them:

The determination of the Senate.

Ceſars will and teſtament.

which being knowne, did much renew their olde loue, and made his death farre more pittifull. And hauing agreed vpon his funerall, which was with great solemnitie to burne his body in the field of Mars, putting it in effect, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who that day made his funerall oration in his praise, and with the intent aforesaid, tooke the robe wherein CÆSAR was slaine, which being so all bloudie, he shewed it to the people, vsing some speeches which prouoked them both to wrath and pittie: So as before the solemnitie of the funerall was throughly ended, they all departed in a great furie, with the brands of the same fire which was made for CÆSARS bodie in their hands, and went to burne the houses of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, running vp and downe the streetes of *Rome* seeking themselues, and the rest of the conspirators, to haue slaine them; and in that furie they vnaduisedly slewe ELIVS CINNA by mistaking him to haue been CORNELIVS CINNA, which was one of the same conspirators. This tumult put BRVTVS and CASSIVS and their confederates, in such feare, that they all fled from *Rome* to sundrie other partes; and MARCVS ANTONIVS not obseruing what was decreed, thinking to inherit CÆSARS power and authoritie, sought their destruction in all that he might. And notwithstanding that the Senate (hauing appeased the tumult of the people) would haue inflicted punishment vpon some of the seditious, and some were alreadie emprisoned, yet BRVTVS and CASSIVS durst not returne to *Rome*, but after a while went into *Grœcia* to gouerne those prouinces, which CÆSAR (whom they had slaine) had consigned vnto them; which were *Macedonia*, to BRVTVS; and *Syria* to CASSIVS, and so all the rest of the conspirators absented themselues. Surely it was a wonderfull thing to see, that within the space of three yeares, they all died, and not one of them of his naturall death.

The murderers of Cæsar fled from Rome.

The death of those which conspired against Cæsar.

At this time CAIVS OCTAVIVS, who (as is aforesaid) was afterwards called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, came to *Rome* from *Apollonia*, being aduertised of CÆSARS death and sent for by his mother and other his kindred, all continuing in the confusion aforesaid: for MARCVS ANTONIVS was now very mightie, for his brother LVCIVS ANTONIVS was Tribune of the people, and other his friends and kinsmen were in offices and dignities, many of which he procured for them, saying, that IVLIVS CÆSAR had so ordained it in his commentaries; and in this season came OCTAVIVS to *Rome*, whose storie wee will now begin.

After the death of Cæsar, Marcus Antonius became the mightiest man in Rome.

THE

THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR AVGVSTVS CÆSAR.

THE ARGVMENT.

OCtauianus: he adopted ſonne of Caius Iulius Cæſar, after the death of Cæſar, applyed himſelfe together with Marcus Antonius, to purſue Brutus and Caſſius with their complices, and ouercomming them he returned to Rome, where plotting the Triumuirat, he ſhed ſo much blood, and did ſuch execution, that there was not any ſtreete in Rome, but was ſtained with ciuill blood. He fought with Lucius Antonius brother of Marcus Antonius, for that it ſhould ſeeme that Octauian made ſmall account of his brother, and beſieging him in Perugia, he conſtrained him (through famine) to come in perſon to ſue for peace, and his life: whom he gently pardoned, together with all thoſe which were his partakers in that warre. He alſo ouercame Sextus Pompeius, after they had warred together many yeares. And falling at variance with Marcus Antonius by meanes of his wife Octauia, ſiſter to Octauian, for that Antonius was beſotted with the loue of Cleopatra Queene of Egypt: Finally after many changes of fortune, he ouercame him, whoſe victorie conſtrained Marcus Antonius (in a manner) in deſpaire to kill himſelfe, and Cleopatra to poiſon her ſelfe; but Marcus Antonius ſlewe himſelfe more for that he heareued that Cleopatra had alreadie killed herſelfe, then that he accounted himſelfe ouercome by Octauian. After this victorie, Marcus Antonius being dead, and Lepidus reduced to a moſt baſe eſtate, Octauian obtained the Monarchie and ſole gouernment of the Empire; in which time, ſubduing many barbarous Nations, he ſeuerall times made Ianus temple to be ſhut, and was called Monarch; in which Monarchie he liued in ſuch manner, that with his greatnes, he no way digreſſed from vertue by reaſon of his high eſtate; and was no leſſe ver-

tuous then a fauourer of learned and vertuous men. He was infortunate in honeſt wiues, and chaſt and continent daughters; and moſt vnhappie in ſonnes, hauing none giuen him by nature worthie of the Empire. He ruled the world ſixe and fiftie yeares, foure and fortie alone, and twelue in companie with Marcus Antonius. In his time our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt was borne. And being little more then threeſcore and ſixe yeares old he died, to the great griefe and ſorrow of the whole world, which through his goodnes had been ſo long time conſerued in peace.

IF in the Hiſtorie and life of IVLIVS CÆSAR, it behooued me to be briefe in the ſtile and relation thereof, I haue now no leſſe neede to doe the like in the Hiſtorie of his Nephew OCTAVIVS CÆSAR, which afterwards was called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, his ſonne by adoption, as by that which is before written may appeare: aſwell for the great matters which paſſed in his time, as for the great number thereof, which cannot be repeated but by a long diſcourſe. But we will doe herein what we ſhall be able, notwithſtanding that his raigne was ſo long, (for it was fiftie and odde yeares) ſo that in reaſon we may ſpend ſomewhat more time, then in the doings of thoſe which were of leſſe continuance. The father and grandfather of OCTAVIVS, I haue alreadie ſaid, who they were. His linage and familie of his fathers ſide, was of the OCTAVII, and was of great antiquitie in *Rome*, from the time of TARQVIN their king, and in the beginning they were patricii (as SVETONIVS recordeth in his life) although that afterwards the order altered, reducing it to the people by adoption, or ſome other cauſe: and in proceſſe of time many of the OCTAVII obtaining offices and Magiſtracies, continued in the order of Knighthoode, which was the middle degree betweene the Patricij and the Plebeians, vntill the time of OCTAVIVS the father of OCTAVIANVS, which was a Senator, and a Pretor in *Macedonia*. Of his mothers ſide (as it was ſaid of IVLIVS CÆSAR) he deſcended from the Kings of *Rome*. And yet notwithſtanding all this, as OCTAVIANVS had many enemies and Emulators, it was ſaid to his reproch, that his grandfather, father of his father, had been a money changer, and that his great grandfather was a Libertine, which is as much to ſay, as a man which had been a ſlaue. But it ſeemeth to me vnlikely, that the ſonne of ſuch parents ſhould haue been admitted into the Senate and made Pretor, and that IVLIVS CÆSAR whoſe place and thoughts were ſo high, would haue married him to his Neece. And ſo SVETONIVS treateth thereof, as a matter which he holdeth for vntruth.

The linage of Octauius.

OCTAVIVS then vnderſtanding of the death of his Vncle IVLIVS CÆSAR, being aduertiſed and ſent for by his mother (as I haue ſaid) departed from *Apollonia*, and with the beſt ſpeede that he could make came to *Rome*, accompanied with ſome of CÆSARS friends and ſome men of warre, of thoſe which in *Epire* and *Macedonia* attended the enterpriſe and warres of *Aſia*, as it was decreed: and arriuing at *Brunduſium*, he found there certaine legions, which by CÆSARS commaundement were come thither to haue been embarked for the warre aforeſaid; by which he was receiued with the greateſt loue and affection that could be: And (after APPIANVS) he was there called, and tooke vpon him the name of CÆSAR, by the adoption of his Vncle, and leauing to be called OCTAVIVS the ſonne of OCTAVIVS, was called CAIVS CÆSAR, ſonne of CAIVS CÆSAR: vulgar, and commonly hee was called OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, wherein he preſerued the memorie of his naturall father, with the name

Octauianus his comming to Rome.

Octauianus tooke vpon him the name of Ceſar.

of

of his adoptiue father: like as PAVLVS EMILIVS ſonne of PAVLVS EMILIVS being adopted ſonne by SCIPIO, the ſonne of SCIPIO the great, was called SCIPIO EMILIANVS, SCIPIO by his adoptiue father, and EMILIANVS by his naturall father, a matter vſuall among the Romanes: So was OCTAVIVS called CÆSAR OCTAVIANVS, and ſo from henceforth we will call him.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR departed from *Brunduſium* towards *Rome*, accompanied with the old ſouldiers, and by the way many more ioyned with him, with many of his vncle and father CÆSARS friends and of his faction, and entred into the citie with great ſhew and pompe. But as MARCVS ANTONIVS was of great power, and therewith very proude, and tooke in ill part that OCTAVIANVS was preferred before him, as PLVTARCH recordeth, hee went not to receiue him: which was much noted, and was the firſt ſigne of the diſcord which afterwards enſued betweene them. OCTAVIANVS had a determination and a great deſire to reuenge the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR: but by his mother and PHILIP his father in law, with whom ſhe was maried, he was counſelled to diſſemble his purpoſe for a ſeaſon: for on the one ſide, they ſaw that the Senate had approued the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR; and on the other, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was to be their principall fauourer herein, did not ſhew himſelfe a friend to OCTAVIANVS: wherefore he following their wiſe counſell, aduiſedly concealed his thoughts for a time, and to iuſtifie himſelfe and to hold correſpondence, and to temporize with ANTONIVS, he went preſently to his houſe to viſite him. And as he knew that ANTONIVS had caried away and had in his cuſtodie all the money and treaſure which IVLIVS CÆSAR had left, after diſcourſe of ſome other matters, he deſired him to commaund it to be deliuered vnto him, therewith to defray his charges, and to make that doale which his vncle had ordained by his will. To this and al the reſt which OCTAVIANVS required, he was anſwered by MARCVS ANTONIVS with greater haughtines and grauitie, then the minde and thoughts of OCTAVIANVS were able to beare, denying to him what he required; yea, and reproouing him for his demaunds: whereupon preſently contentions and diſcord aroſe betweene them; OCTAVIANVS aiding himſelfe with the counſell of MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO, a great enemie to ANTONIVS, whoſe authoritie at that time, by reaſon of his wiſedome and eloquence, was very great. The enmitie thus encreaſing, although that friends of either ſide paſſed between them to bring them to ſome conformitie, and to haue reconciled them; yet in the end it brake out. And OCTAVIANVS his power encreaſing, principallie (as I ſaid) through the fauour and aſſiſtance of CICERO, MARCVS ANTONIVS was driuen to leaue *Rome*, and began to raiſe forces in *Italie*, and ſo leuied foure legions of old ſouldiers againſt him. And becauſe that DECIVS BRVTVS which commaunded *Gallia Ciſalpina*, which is now called *Lombardie*, was againſt him, procured thereto by CICERO his counſell and letters, MARCVS ANTONIVS went to beſiege him in the citie *Mutina* now called *Modena*. This being knowne in *Rome*, CICERO his credit and authoritie in the Senate was ſuch, that after many replies and contentions which paſſed, MARCVS ANTONIVS was declared for a common enemie, and the new Conſuls called HIRCIVS and PANSA were ſent againſt him, and with them OCTAVIANVS, with enſignes of Conſul and title of Propretor, with part of the armie, hauing been firſt receiued into the Senate (notwithſtanding that hee was not yet eighteene yeeres old) by the meane and procurement of CICERO, although that afterwards he did ill requite it.

Octauianus and Marcus Antonius fall at variance.

There were also assigned vnto MARCVS BRVTVS the prouinces of *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*, and the armies therein; and to CASSIVS were assigned the prouince of *Syria* in *Asia*, and the armies also therein. This and other things being graunted by the Senate, OCTAVIANVS and the Consuls with their armies, drew neere to MARCVS ANTONIVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO remaining for chiefe in all matters in *Rome*. And after some skirmishes and conflicts which passed betweene the two armies, they came to battaile, or (as some record) battailes, which are declared in sundrie manners: but in effect they agree, and the truth is, that the Consuls and CÆSAR had the victorie, and one of the Consuls (which was HIRCIVS) was slaine in the battaile, and PANSA the other Consul came wounded from it, and died shortly after: and so OCTAVIANVS remaining with the whole armie, DECIVS BRVTVS was vnset & freed from the siege, and MARCVS ANTONIVS with part of his people escaped by flight. In this seruice OCTAVIANVS made marueilous proofe of himselfe (as SVETONIVS reporteth) not onely as a Captaine, but also as a priuate souldier: and among other things which he did, one was, that seeing him which bare the standard to be sore wounded and readie to fall, with the Eagle the ensigne of his legion, which were the armes of *Rome*; OCTAVIANVS tooke the same and bare it a great while, vntill that he put it in safetie: yet for all this, some of his enemies forbare not to defame him, saying, that being in the battaile, he himselfe slew the Consul HIRCIVS; and that afterwards he caused poyson to be put into the medicines applied to the Consul PANSA, and that thereof he died.

The battaile against Marcus Antonius, wherein Octauianus and the Consuls had the victorie.

MARCVS ANTONIVS being escaped from the battaile, gathering together the remainder of his armie, passed the Alpes and went into *France*, soliciting the friendship of LEPIDVS, which there remained with an armie from the time of the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR, with whom after some treaties and matters which succeeded, he concluded to be his friend: And OCTAVIANVS after the battaile and victorie obtained, seeing himselfe at libertie from the authoritie of the Consuls, began to put in effect the high conceits which with the goods and name of CÆSAR he did inherite, and presently sent to the Senate to require triumph for the victorie, and also the Consulship for the rest of the time, which remained to the dead Consuls, with succession in their charge and Captainship. But his demaunds were not so admitted by the Senate as he desired: for the kinsmen and friends of the conspirators which slew CÆSAR, began to stand in feare of him; and it grieued them to see him now of so great power. Wherefore (as APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS distinctly set downe) they vsed a meane to deferre and delay that which he required, and in the end they resolued to assigne the armie vnto DECIVS BRVTVS, and temporizing with OCTAVIAN, they graunted him the triumph, without admitting him to the Consulship. Whereat he shewed himselfe much grieued, and took occasion thereby to attempt that, which peraduenture hee had before proiected: which was this, he had secret treaties and practises of friendship with MARCVS ANTONIVS, and hauing procured and drawne vnto him the hearts and good will of the armie, imitating IVLIVS CÆSAR; accompanied therewith, he tooke his way to *Rome*, and approching neere vnto the citie, in despite of the Senate, he made himselfe to bee chosen Consul, being then not fully twentie yeeres old. Wherein he presently entred, and discouering his desire and determination, he made accusations to be exhibited against BRVTVS and CASSIVS, and the rest of the conspirators, which was declared against them all; and as there were none

Octauianus made himselfe to be chosen Consul.

Those which murdered Cæsar accused and condemned.

to defend their cauſe, and they abſent, not daring to appeare, they were condemned. This being done, he againe departed from the citie, and with the armie which he brought, returned, to draw neere to LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS their campe, which were alreadie entred *Italie*.

DECIVS BRVTVS knowing, and being aduertiſed of the treaties and league betweene OCTAVIANVS, LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, not daring to ſtay in that countrey, departed with his people; by which ſeeing himſelf abandoned, part whereof going to CÆSAR, and part to MARCVS ANTONIVS, he fled into ſundrie parts, and in the end was taken and brought to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and put to death by his commaundement, and his head being brought vnto him he cauſed him preſently to be buried. The armies of theſe Captaines approching neere together, with which ASINIVS POLLIO and PLANCVS, with the legions which they commaunded, were ioyned; the league was made and friendſhip concluded betweene theſe three, to wit, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, MARCVS ANTONIVS, and LEPIDVS, all three meeting to that effect three daies together, at an appointed place in the fields betweene *Bologna* and *Perugia*, as APPIANVS recordeth, which was an Iland, which the Riuer *Lauinum* which paſſeth thereby, maketh; where they ordained and concluded their accurſed peace. And OCTAVIANVS putting away SERVILIVS his daughter, to whom hee was maried, contracted himſelfe to CLAVDIA ANTONIVS his daughter in law, daughter to his wife FVLVIA, which was then a childe; from whom he was alſo diuorced afterwards, without touching her, by reaſon of the diſcord which aroſe, as ſhall be declared at time conuenient. In this proſcription and league which they made, beſides the diuiding of the Empire and prouinces thereof, as hereafter ſhall be declared, they concluded alſo each of them to kill his enemies, and the one deliuering them into the others hands, hauing more reſpect and care to be reuenged of an enemie, then to the ſauing of a friend: and ſo was made the moſt cruell and moſt inhumane proſcription and butcherie that euer was ſeene or heard of, giuing and exchaunging friends and kinſmen, for enemies and aduerſaries. For MARCVS ANTONIVS gaue his fathers brother; and LEPIDVS, LVCIVS PAVLVS his owne brother; and OCTAVIANVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO, whom he called father, and by whom he had been entreated and honoured as a ſonne. Beſides theſe, they proſcribed and condemned to die, three hundred other principall men of *Rome*, as PLVTARCH ſetteth downe in their liues, although LVCIVS FLORVS and TITVS LIVIVS do but briefly ſet down the number of the Senatours: of which one ſaith, there were put to death 130. and the other 146. But if we ſhall beleeue APPIANVS a moſt diligent and graue author, there died of the Senatours in a manner 300. according to PLVTARCH, and neere 2000. Romanes of the order of Knighthood: ſo great power had ambition and hatred in the hearts of theſe three men.

The triumuirat and league betweene Octauianus, Marcus Antonius and Lepidus.

The cruell proſcription made by Octauianus, and Marcus Antonius. Cicero deliuered to his enemie.

Hauing made their agreement, & reſolued what they would do, they all three (new friends) went to *Rome*, where they tooke vpon them the gouernment of the Common-wealth, by the name of Triumuirat, for that they were three, the time being appointed for the ſpace of fiue yeares, although they neuer meant to leaue the ſame. And preſently thoſe which by them were condemned and proſcript, were by their commandement put to death, being ſought out in al parts & places, ranſacking their houſes, and confiſking their goods: In the execution whereof there was ſo great confuſion, ſorrow and heauines in the citie of *Rome*, and almoſt in al *Italie*, as the like was neuer ſeene nor heard of therein by man. And although

APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS very eloquently recounteth the cruell death of many, it ſhall be ſufficient for vs to deſcribe the murdering of CICERO onely, who vnderſtanding that his name was in the catalogue of thoſe which were proſcript, onely for that he had euer been a louer of the Romane libertie, fled towards the Sea, where imbarking himſelfe he had ſo cruell fortune, that he was forced to returne to the ſhore; and comming to certaine his poſſeſſions neere to *Capua*, not farre from the Sea, ſleeping, he was awakened by crowes, which with their bils pluckt the cloathes from his backe: His ſeruants moued with this euill preſage, tooke him and put him in his Litter, and againe caried him towards the Sea; but he was ouertaken by the executioners, which ſmote off his head and right hand, wherwith he had written the orations againſt MARCVS ANTONIVS called PHILIPPICKS, imitating thoſe which DEMOSTHENES made againſt PHILIP father of ALEXANDER the great: and ſo CICERO was ſlaine by one whom he had defended and deliuered from death, and his hand being ioyfully beheld by MARCVS ANTONIVS, was by his order nailed vp in the place where he was wont to plead, whither repaired all the Romane people to behold ſo miſerable and ſorrowfull a ſpectacle: whereof there was not any one but was heartily ſorie for the death of ſo great a man, and ſo feruent a louer of the Commonwealth.

Theſe Princes hauing done their wils in *Rome*, and knowing that BRVTVS and CASSIVS had a great and mightie Armie in *Græcia*, able both to defend, and offend, calling themſelues deliuerers of their countrey, and gaue it out publikely that they would goe to ſet *Rome* at libertie from oppreſſion; CASSIVS hauing before ouerthrowne and ſlaine DOLABELLA in *Syria*, who was made Conſul in the place of IVLIVS CÆSAR, when he was ſlaine; and in the time that CICERO bare ſway, was adiudged for an enemie to his countrey: and being certified that they had (with the aſſiſtance of the Kings and prouinces of *Aſia*, and ſuch people as they could leuie) ordinarie and trained eighteene legions: This (I ſay) being knowne, MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIANVS agreed to go againſt them with the greateſt Armie that they were able to leuie, which they had of expert and old ſouldiers, and that LEPIDVS ſhould remaine behind to guard *Rome*. Being departed from thence, and arriued in *Græcia*, diuiding their Armie for the more commodious marching thereof, they drew neere to the place where BRVTVS and CASSIVS were encamped, which was in *Macedonia* in the fields called *Philippicks*, for that they were neere the citie *Philippos*. And theſe contrarie Armies being ſo neere together, after ſome fights and skirmiſhes, came to a battaile, wherein the victorie was diuided in a ſtrange manner: for either partie hauing ranged their Armie into two ſquadrons or battailes, the right wing of BRVTVS his Armie ioyned with the left wing of that which OCTAVIANVS commanded; and the right of that whereof MARCVS ANTONIVS was leader, with the left of that which CASSIVS gouerned: where wounding and cruelly ſlaying one another, BRVTVS his Battailion was of ſuch power, as that it brake and put to route OCTAVIVS CÆSARS Battailion, who, as APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, PLVTARCH and LVCIVS FLORVS report, was not in the battaile, for that he was then very ſicke; neither durſt he abide in his Tent in the Campe, for a certaine augurie or dreame of one who was his Phiſition, who (they ſay) aduiſed him, that he ſhould not abide in his Tent in the Campe: for if he did, he would be ſlaine by his enemies. Yet SVETONIVS, VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS meane that he was therein, and that being ouercome he retired

to

to ANTONIVS his battaile. And although that this be diuerſly reported (as it vſually happeneth in great exploits and aduentures) the truth wherein all agree, is, that his people being ouerthrowne, and his campe entred by his enemies, imagining that he had been in his bed, there were many thruſts and ſtabs giuen thorough the curtaines and into the bed, and it was publiſhed abroad that hee was dead. And while as BRVTVS followed this victorie, his companion CASSIVS was ouerthrowne by MARCVS ANTONIVS, notwithſtanding that hee performed all that was poſſible for him to defend his people; ſo as there was victorie on either ſide, whereof the clowdes and duſt of that day, were a great occaſion: for the one could not ſee nor vnderſtand the other; and CASSIVS ſeeing his people ouerthrowne and ſcattered, retired himſelfe to a high ground, where hee had pitched his Tent, whereinto he could not come, for that the enemie had alreadie poſſeſſed it: And ſo ſtanding and looking about, he ſaw his companion BRVTVS his troupes come to his aide, which came victorious to relieue him: but he imagining that they came flying, or that they were his enemies, as he had before reſolued and determined (ſo great was his griefe and ſorrow) ſo commaunded hee a ſlaue of his, whom he had made free (named PINDARVS) to kill him, who performed it, and ſo he died fooliſhly, although valorouſly. *The death of Caſſius.*

OCTAVIANVS his people eſcaped by flight, and retired to MARCVS ANTONIVS his campe, whoſe forces returned to him with victorie: although their captaine MARCVS ANTONIVS (as ſome write) did not that day diſcharge the part of a good captaine, but rather affirme that the battaile being begun, he left it, and went into a lake which was thereby, where he remained vntill that he certainly vnderſtood that the victorie remained on his ſide: which truly is hardly to be beleeued in ſo valiant a man, and of ſuch experience as he was; ſo as there was a great broile and a confuſion. But PLVTARCH affirmeth, that if BRVTVS his people had not that day buſied themſelues in ranſacking and pillaging of OCTAVIANVS his Campe and Tents, his partie had obtained an entire victorie: for they might in ſufficient time haue reſcued CASSIVS, and both being ioyned together, might eaſily haue broken MARCVS ANTONIVS his battaile. But the victorie being diuided in ſuch manner as I haue told you, the Captaines of either partie withdrew their people, whereof of BRVTVS his part were ſlaine 8000. men; and of his aduerſaries a farre greater number: and BRVTVS, the beſt that he could, comforted the ſouldiers and gentlemen which followed CASSIVS. And although that the next day there were a ſhew betweene the two armies of a deſire to fight, and that they were neere the one to the other, yet they came to no battaile: but within few daies after, wherein happened matters of ſmaller importance, it was tried betweene them, whereto BRVTVS was forced by his people. For he would haue delaied and prolonged the warre: for he was aduertiſed that his enemies wanted victuals and many neceſſaries, and alſo for that he repoſed no great truſt in CASSIVS his forces; for he perceiued that they were fearefull, by meanes of that which was paſt, and were ill to commaund: but being come to the encounter, he did throughly diſcharge all the offices which to a good Captaine and a valiant Knight did belong. But in the end his people vnable to endure the force of OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, were by them broken and ouercome: And BRVTVS after that he had done al that which was poſſible to gather his people together, out of hope to be able to make any reſiſtance, the night being come, counſelled by ſome which ioyned themſelues with him to flie, he ſaid, that he had reſolued to doe ſo, not with his feete, but with his hands: *The battaile againſt Brutus.*

and

Brutus slew himselfe.

and hauing spoken these words, he tooke a sword from a seruant of his, named STRATVS, and slew himselfe therewith. Some affirme that this STRATVS killed him by his commaundement. And so DRVSVS LIVIVS and QVINTILIVS VARRO, and some others of the conspiracie, slew themselues, besides many others which died fighting in the battaile. And in this manner were OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR and MARCVS ANTONIVS Lords and masters of the battaile, and of the field, and all things happened vnto CÆSAR according to his desire: for whom alone, God in his secret iudgement, had reserued the sole Monarchie, which then was diuided and shared betweene three.

This exploit being atchieued, and BRVTVS and CASSIVS legions being reduced to their obedience (sauing those which flying sundrie waies went to SEXTVS POMPEIVS, sonne of the great POMPEY, who in these troubles and confusions seised on the Ile of *Sicilia*, and was very mightie by Sea) OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS agreed together, that ANTONIVS should remaine in the prouinces of *Græcia* and *Asia*, LEPIDVS should goe into *Africa*: and that OCTAVIANVS should goe to *Rome*, whither with much adoe he came, through want of health; and MARCVS ANTONIVS went into *Asia*, and afterwards gaue himself to sensualitie, delights and pleasures in *Egypt*, with Queene CLEOPATRA, of whom we haue spoken in the life of CÆSAR.

Marcus Antonius fell in loue with Cleopatra Queene of Egypt.

Within few daies after that OCTAVIANVS came to *Rome*, there arose new warres and troubles: for although that he were in peace with LEPIDVS, to whom was giuen the prouince of *Africa*, OCTAVIANVS remaining with the rest of *Spaine*, *France*, and part of *Germany*, *Italie*, and *Illyricum*: LVCIVS ANTONIVS, which at that time was Consul, incited thereto by his sister in law FVLVIA wife of the said MARCVS ANTONIVS, began to contradict and contend with LEPIDVS and OCTAVIANVS, murmuring and attempting to defeate the Triumuirat, and the league and gouernment of three; which began about the diuision of the fields, which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR had made to the men of warre which had serued him. APPIANVS writeth, that FVLVIA did this with intent to disturbe *Italie*, and so to moue and procure her husband MARCVS ANTONIVS to come vnto her, for that she was iealous, hearing of his conuersation and companie keeping with CLEOPATRA the Queene of *Egypt*. The discord in *Rome* grew to so high a degree, that it came to blowes: and LVCIVS ANTONIVS departed from thence, and leuied an armie and forces against OCTAVIANVS, who marched towards him with his power: but LVCIVS durst not ioyne battaile with him, but rather suffered himselfe to be shut vp in the citie of *Perugia*, where CÆSAR besieged him, and at that time diuorced himselfe from CLAVDIA the daughter of FVLVIA, to whom he was contracted (as is aforesaid) without euer touching her, and was maried the third time with SCRIBONIA, by whom he had one daughter. *Perugia* was so strictly besieged (OCTAVIAN being then 23. yeeres old) that LVCIVS ANTONIVS, and the rest which were besieged with him, endured so great hunger, that it grew to a prouerbe to say (the *Perugian* hunger) wherewith LVCIVS ANTONIVS oppressed and forced, yeelded himself to OCTAVIANVS, who pardoned him, and vsed him well, and those which were with him: and so this warre was ended without shedding of bloud, and hee came victorious to *Rome*, and was euer after Lord thereof. Wherefore many account the beginning of his Empire from this time, which might be about some foure yeeres after the death of his vncle CÆSAR: and the account which is commonly called CÆSARS computation, agreeth with this

The beginning of Octauius his Empire.

this time: foure yeeres (as I said) after the death of CÆSAR, and thirtie and eight yeeres before the birth of Christ.

CÆSAR being in this quietnes (as it cannot long continue in the course of this life) presently without any delay, FVLVIA with letters and false perswasions, sought by all meanes to set MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIAN at variance, seeing that LVCIVS ANTONIVS his attempts tooke no better effect: and with this determination she went out of *Italie*, by OCTAVIAN his permission, and tooke her way towards her husband, in hope to perswade him to come into *Italie* against OCTAVIAN, as he did. When she parted from *Italie*, MARCVS ANTONIVS parted from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and comming to the Ile of *Rhodes*, he was enformed of all that happened to his brother; and arriuing in *Græcia* at the citie of *Athens*, he found his wife FVLVIA there sicke, but sound and constant in her determination against OCTAVIAN: whom he there leauing by her owne good-will and consent, he came with two hundred galleys into *Italie*, and landing neere vnto *Brunduſium*, now *Brindez*, the warres began betweene him and OCTAVIANVS his forces, who then was in *Rome*. SEXTVS POMPEIVS (as I said) held *Sicilia*, and was in such sort Lord of the Sea, that he made great scarcitie and want of corne in *Italie*. But as this warre was not through OCTAVIANVS his fault or by his will, MARCVS ANTONIVS by the aduertisement of sundrie persons, perceiued and vnderstood it to be so; and therefore there was meanes found for some friends to passe betweene them to reconcile and make them friends: and it was agreed that there should be vmpiers and arbitrators, which should take vp the matter betweene them: whereto were nominated of OCTAVIANVS his side, his great and priuate friend MECENAS, chanted by *Virgil*, *Horace*, and other Poets; and for MARCVS ANTONIVS, was ASINIVS POLLIO. And in this time newes came that FVLVIA the wife of MARCVS ANTONIVS was dead, wherein was taken away a great let to the peace. MECENAS then and ASINIVS POLLIO, set downe the agreement betweene them; the effect and principall points whereof were, to renew the league and Triumuirat for other fiue yeeres, and to share the Romane Empire betweene them, as they before had done. To MARCVS ANTONIVS was assigned al the East from *Italy*, from the beginning of the *Ionian* Sea, which is the entrie into the gulfe of *Venice*, vnto the Riuer *Euphrates* in *Asia*, wherein were included all the prouinces of *Græcia* and of *Asia*, and the Ilands contained betweene these two limits: To OCTAVIAN was allotted from the said *Ionian* Sea to the West Sea, which wee call the Spanish Sea, *Italie*, *France*, the prouinces of *Spaine*, *Germanie*, *Britannie*, with their Iles and bounds. And to LEPIDVS was confirmed *Africa*, wherein hee then was, and all the prouinces therein contained, subiect to the Empire. And for the better corroborating of this friendship, it was agreed, that MARCVS ANTONIVS, which was a widower, should marrie with OCTAVIA, who was sister to OCTAVIANVS by his fathers side, and lately widow of MARCVS MARCELLVS, with whom she had bin maried, and had by him one sonne called MARCELLVS, whom he much loued, and OCTAVIAN adopted him for his sonne, of whom VIRGIL maketh much mention. This mariage was made by dispensation of the Senate, because that in *Rome* it was not permitted to widowes to marrie, vntill that they had liued tenne moneths in widowhood.

Sextus Pompeius in Sicilia.

The death of Fuluia wife of Marcus Antonius.

Marcus Antonius maried Octauia sister to Octauianus.

This being concluded, OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS went to *Rome*, where the wedding was solemnized, & they returned again good friends. But this peace was greatly disquieted, by meanes of the ill neighbourhood of

SEXTVS

SEXTVS POMPEIVS: for he commaunded the Sea from *Sicilia* where he liued, and with his ſhips and Pirats (for he had many in his ſeruice) he diſquieted CÆSARS part (relying on the friendſhip of MARCVS ANTONIVS) and OCTAVIANVS had determined to make warre and to ruinate him: but at the entreatie of the Senate and MARCVS ANTONIVS, he gaue eare to a peace, and by the mediation of ſome which were friends to them both, it tooke effect, in this manner: That all matters paſt being forgotten, they ſhould become good neighbours and friends, and that SEXTVS POMPEIVS ſhould enioy *Sicilia*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, which he had in poſſeſſion; and that hee ſhould cleere the Seas from daunger, for Merchants and paſſengers; and that hee ſhould furniſh *Rome* yeerely with a certaine quantitie of corne. This being concluded, they agreed vpon a meeting betweene them three, ANTONIVS, OCTAVIANVS and POMPEY, vpon the Sea ſide, in the ſtreight of *Mecina*, in a fortreſſe built for that purpoſe, which reached into the water, whither SEXTVS POMPEIVS might come with his galleys, and might be in ſafetie on all parts: which was performed with great ioy and ſolemnitie, and afterwards POMPEY feaſted them in his galleys, and they him likewiſe by land: and from thence he returned to *Sicilia*, and OCTAVIAN and ANTONY to *Rome*, where they remained certaine daies in very friendly manner. And MARCVS ANTONIVS making preparation for his iourney into the Eaſt, ſent VENTIDIVS away before with a great armie againſt the Parthians, againſt which he had determined to make warre, as he did. And VENTIDIVS had ſo good ſucceſſe in his iourney, that he ouercame and defeated PACORVS the kings ſonne of the Parthians, and ſlew of them twentie thouſand men: ſo as he ſufficiently reuenged the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, for which hee afterwards triumphed in *Rome*.

Ventidius triumphed of the Parthians.

MARCVS ANTONIVS departed *Rome* towards the Eaſt with his new wife, with whom he wintered in *Græcia* in the citie of *Athens*, and from thence he continued his iourney. In a while after, as OCTAVIAN remaining in *Rome*, grew mightie, and in great eſtimation; ſo likewiſe he became couetous: and as the companie and neighbourhood of SEXTVS POMPEIVS in *Sicilia* was diſpleaſing vnto him, ſo would he haue been glad to haue had any occaſion to warre againſt him: and ſo hee determined, and prepared a great fleete for that purpoſe, vnder pretext that POMPEY with his galleys and ſhips hindred the comming of prouiſion of corne into *Italie*. Theſe warres of *Sicilia* were long (pauſing and reſting ſometimes) and continued certaine yeeres, in the beginning whereof OCTAVIAN had ill ſucceſſe, more through tempeſts and foule weather at Sea, then the force of his enemies, although there were ſome fights betweene the ſhips of either partie; but by tempeſt and ſhipwracke, OCTAVIAN loſt ſundrie fleetes. And if SEXTVS POMPEIVS had been as able to offend and conquer, as he was to defend himſelfe, and ouerthrow his enemie; and as hee was valiant, if he had been wiſe and politicke, moſt authors affirme, that he might haue greatly diſtreſſed OCTAVIAN in all matters concerning *Italie*. But the matter was ſo handled, that in this warre MARCVS ANTONIVS came twice out of *Græcia* into *Italy*, whither he came from the Eaſt at OCTAVIANVS requeſt; in one of which he came to *Brunduſium*, and not finding him there according to his appointment, and as hee had ſent him word, he returned without ſeeing him, vpon ſome ſuſpitions and iealouſies which grew betweene them. Wherfore OCTAVIANVS hauing loſt the moſt and beſt part of his Nauie in a ſtorme, he ſent MECENAS his priuate friend vnto him; at whoſe entreatie, MARCVS ANTONIVS returned againe into *Italie* with three

The firſt wars betweene Octauian and Sextus Pompeius.

three hundred saile of shippes and gallies, giuing out that he came to CÆSARS aide: And notwithstanding that there were some differences and suspitions betweene them, yet in the end OCTAVIA which came thither (being wife to the one, and sister to the other) preuailed somuch, that she brought them to agreement, so as they met together in the mouth of a Riuer neere to *Tarentum*, where MARCVS ANTONIVS gaue to OCTAVIAN one hundred and twentie gallies for the warres: and OCTAVIAN gaue to him certaine troupes of Italian trained souldiers; and renued their companie and Triumuirate for other fiue yeares then begun: And MARCVS ANTONIVS againe returned towards the East to the warre which he had began against the Parthians, (which concerne not me to write) his wife OCTAVIAN and her children remaining in *Rome*.

ANTONIE being gone; OCTAVIANVS, who was resolued to prosecute the warres with all his whole power against SEXTVS POMPEIVS (whom it seemed that fortune and the windes did fauour) was not contented with the arming of two nauies and armies (AGRIPPA being captaine of the one, and himselfe of the other) but hee very instantly intreated LEPIDVS a Triumuir and his companion, to come from *Africa* to his aide: who came with such power, that APPIANVS affirmeth, that he brought with him a thousand shippes little and great, and fourescore gallies, wherein he brought fiue thousand horse and twelue legions of foote. SEXTVS POMPEIVS, whose power by sea was very great, seeing so great preparation made against him, did maruellously fortifie all places vpon the sea side in *Sicilia*, and in the frontiers towards *Africa*; and neere vnto *Lilybæum*, he placed a very good captaine named PLINIVS, with very good companies of souldiers; and his whole fleete by sea (whereof he was abundantly prouided) he ioyned together in the port at *Messina*, where he purposed to follow the warres with his shippes and gallies, for by land he had not of such experience nor power; and in this order he stoode readie to prosecute it, which APPIANVS, TITVS LIVIVS, and LVCIVS FLORVS write at large. The sum thereof is, that LEPIDVS parting with his whole fleete from *Africa*, was ouertaken with a tempest, wherein with great losse of his shippes, he landed at *Lilybæum*, and hauing taken certaine places in that quarter, might haue done much hurt, but as one of small iudgement and little experience in the warres, he warred with greater cost & outward shew, then to any effect or profit. And the very same day that he was in that tempest, OCTAVIVS also passed the same, and lost thirtie gallies, besides foists and Brigandines, and with much adoe returned into *Italie*: and TAVRVS which had the command of the gallies which MARCVS ANTONIVS left with him, the same day took land at *Tarentum*, with great losse and daunger, so as it seemed that the winds & weather tooke part with POMPEY. Wherewith OCTAVIANVS was so much grieued, that he was about to haue giuen ouer the war for that yeere; but altering his determination he repaired his nauies and armies, and commanded AGRIPPA with a great fleet to passe into *Sicilia*, and there to make warre by sea and land, and he with all the rest, afterwards did the like.

Octauianus his second warre with Sextus Pompeius.

In this time or a little before (as it seemeth by SVETONIVS) OCTAVIANVS diuorced himself from SCRIBONIA, notwithstanding that he had by her one daughter called LIVIA, and married LIVIA DRVSILLA: wherefore TIBERIVS NERO to whom she was married, and by him had a sonne called TIBERIVS, as his father, was driuen to leaue her, which he vnwillingly did, to please OCTAVIANVS, she being with child of a sonne. This LIVIA he much loued, and continued with her till his death. But returning to our storie of the warre, I say that AGRIPPA assaul-

Octauianus put away his wife Scribonia and married Liuia.

ted and tooke certaine places in the coaſt of *Sicilia:* which when POMPEY vnderſtoode he departed from *Meſſina,* to relieue them; at which time he had of his owne and of pirats which ſerued him, one hundred, ſeuentie and fiue gallies.

It is a wonderfull thing to conſider the great fleets which were put to the ſeas in thoſe dayes. AGRIPPA being aduertiſed of his comming, put his gallies in a readines, which were but few leſſe, and ſo they ioyned battaile: wherein although at the firſt the victorie was doubtfull, yet in a ſhort ſpace it plainely appeared that AGRIPPA had the better: which POMPEY perceiuing, fled, before he would be wholy ouerthrowne; and his gallies and foiſts withdrew themſelues to ſome places and Riuers neere at hand: and AGRIPPA, for that his gallies were greater, could not follow the chaſe, nor come ſo neere the ſhore as he would; but yet this notwithſtanding, POMPEY loſt thirtie of his gallies: And AGRIPPA the next day went to a citie called *Tindaria,* which he thought to get by reaſon of certaine ſecret practiſes which he had with thoſe therein: and POMPEY in the dark of the night, giuing ſecret aduiſe to his whole fleet, tooke his courſe towards *Meſſina.* And OCTAVIAN to loſe no occaſion, embarked aboord his ſhippes and gallies a great part of his armie, and paſſing ouer into *Sicilia,* ſet them on ſhore placing CORNIFICIVS for their captaine, where he thinking that POMPEY had not been ſo neere, of whom and of his people he was in great danger if he had then been charged by him at vnawares, ſo as if POMPEY had then giuen him Battaile he had defeated him: but the matter comming to no ſuch iſſue, OCTAVIAN embarked himſelfe againe, with intent to determine the matter by a Battaile at Sea, leauing CORNIFICIVS with his land ſouldiers fortified on land: and POMPEY with the ſame deſire, after ſome dayes and matters which paſſed, ſallied out of *Meſſina* with al his whole fleete, and neither partie refuſing it, they came to fight; in which conflict (although the hiſtories recite it with ſome difference) OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR was ouercome, and all his great fleete ſcattered and loſt, and he driuen to flie into *Italie* in a Brigandine, where he eſcaped many dangers and hazards, and in the end arriued where his armie was, whereof MESALLA was captaine, and being nothing diſcouraged with this aduerſitie, he preſently tooke order for a remedie thereof. To *Rome* in haſt he ſent his familiar friend MECENAS, to ſee that theſe newes ſhould cauſe no alteration therein: and by a Brigandine he preſently ſent direction to AGRIPPA, who (as is ſaid) was Admirall of his other fleete, that with the greateſt ſpeede that might be, he ſhould goe to ſuccour CORNIFICIVS, who remained in *Sicilia* with his armie by land: and to LEPIDVS he ſent word that (all matters ſet aſide where he was) he ſhould make his preſent repaire to the Iſle of *Lipari,* which is betweene *Sicilia* and *Calabria,* whither he ſhould come ſo ſoone as he might poſſibly.

A battaile by Sea.

Octauianus Cæſar ouercome in a battaile at Sea by Sextus Pompeius.

With theſe prouiſions, diligence and good order which he tooke, he ſo much preuailed that within a ſmall time being holpen with the wars which LEPIDVS and AGRIPPA made, (in deſpite of POMPEY) he paſſed ouer all his forces into *Sicilia,* and ioyning himſelfe with LEPIDVS, he encamped neere to the citie of *Meſſina,* and the warre began to be moſt cruell both by ſea and land: which truely was admirable, to conſider the power and ſufficiencie of POMPEY, to know how to defend himſelfe againſt ſo great enemies. Who ſeeing himſelfe oppreſſed, (notwithſtanding that he had well fortified the land, and wanted no forces for his defence by ſea) he ſent a challenge to OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR with a meſſage, that to auoyde ſo many ſlaughters and the effuſion of blood, and to make an end of this warre; that although he were well prouided and furniſhed

niſhed with ſingular good Galleys, and well trained ſouldiers; yet that he would come to a battaile by ſea, ſo many againſt ſo many Ships and Galleys; whereunto were made many anſwers and delayes, but in the end they agreed to do ſo. And appointing the number, which were 300. Ships and Galleys of either ſide, and the time and place thereto, either of theſe parties prepared himſelfe the beſt that he could for the battaile; and OCTAVIANVS leauing LEPIDVS with his army by land, embarked himſelfe in his Fleet; and POMPEY doing the like, they ioined battaile; which without doubt was one of the moſt cruell in the world, conſidering the Captaines and power of either partie; wherein after that POMPEY had done all that which to a good and valiant Captaine did appertaine, and after the death of much people of either ſide, he was ouercome by OCTAVIANVS, and all his Fleet was taken, burnt, or ſunke, ſauing xvij. ſailes which eſcaped by flight, and he in one of them, and ſo he entred into the hauen at *Meſſina*: Wherein, although it were ſufficiently fortified, and knowing that PLINIVS his Captaine aforenamed came to his reſcue, yet acknowledging that all ſufficed not to defend him frō ſo great enemies (as it was true) in a darke night, he embarked himſelfe in a Galley, & with the other xvi. which eſcaped, abandoning *Sicilia*, he fled towards the Eaſt, and ſayled to MARCVS ANTONIVS, in hope to haue found ſome reliefe in him; but it happened contrarie to his expectation: for being arriued, after ſome great chaunces and matters which ſucceeded, which for breuitie I omit, he was there put to death by the commaundement of MARCVS ANTONIVS, by the hands of one named TICIVS. And ſo ended the power of SEXTVS POMPEIVS, which truly was very great, and in him the linage and memorie of his father the Great POMPEY.

A battell by Sea.

Octauianus Cæſar ouerthrew Sextus Pompeius.

The death of Sextus Pompeius.

It is a great example and a moſt faire document of the inconſtancie of all things in this life, to ſee and reade the changes in the hiſtorie which we are now about to declare: for when it ſeemeth that matters go forwards in ſuch ſort that quietnes and peace may thereof enſue, there begin new motions and greater troubles, as we haue ſeene heretofore, and ſhall ſee hereafter in the proceſſe of this diſcourſe.

OCTAVIANVS hauing obteined ſo great a victorie (although not without great loſſe) taking land with his Ships, and the Armie which was therein, commaunded AGRIPPA preſently to ioyne with LEPIDVS and go to *Meſſina*, whither PLINIVS POMPEIES Captaine had retired himſelfe (ſo ſoone as POMPEY fled) with all his troupes; who for that he would not ſtand vpon his defence, yeelded himſelfe to LEPIDVS with all his Legions: whereof LEPIDVS grew ſo prowd, that coueting to haue all *Sicilia* for himſelfe, he preſumed to contend with OCTAVIAN: And entring into the citie of *Meſſina* (notwithſtanding that AGRIPPA requeſted him to ſtay for OCTAVIANVS) he placed a garriſon therein to his owne vſe, and did the like in many other places in that Iland. And OCTAVIAN being come, he ſent the next day to ſpeake with him, greatly complaining of his doings. And as in rule and commaundement companie and equalitie is intolerable; ſo either of them coueting the Ile of *Sicilia* particularly for himſelfe, they fell at variance, and CÆSAR made his Nauy to draw neere the ſhore, and both Armies began to ſtand vpon their guard the one againſt the other, and many meſſages and complaints paſſed betweene them, and in the end although they met and ſpake together, yet they could not agree. But as OCTAVIAN was much more beloued and better eſteemed by men of warre for his many vertues and nobilitie, and for the names ſake and remembrance of IVLIVS CÆSAR, this

Diſcord betweene Lepidus and Octauianus.

dissension did much grieue them all, and both the one part and the other layd all the fault on LEPIDVS. Which when OCTAVIAN vnderstood, before that they would fall so farre out as to take armes, he practised secret treaties with sundry in LEPIDVS his army, and with gifts and promises drew them to his will: and hauing well effected this deuise, he one day with a great troupe of horsemen roade neere to LEPIDVS his Camp, and singling himselfe from his companie, he began to parley with his souldiers, complaining of him, & laying the fault of all that was like to ensue vpon LEPIDVS: which being heard by them, many of them began to come ouer to his side. And LEPIDVS aduertised hereof, commanded the alarme to be giuen, and to sally out against him, so as they skirmished, wherein in the beginning OCTAVIAN was in some danger, but it lasted not long: for the most part of LEPIDVS his troupes passed ouer to OCTAVIAN, which LEPIDVS could not resist; who seeing himselfe in danger to be abandoned by the whole, for his last refuge rendred himselfe into CÆSARS power, and putting off his roabe of Generall, went out of his Tent, and yeelded himselfe vnto OCTAVIANVS, humbly crauing him to pardon him: whom OCTAVIAN receiued, as though he had neuer offended him, very courteously and honorably, but he restored him neither to his estate nor power, but sent him to *Rome* well accompanied and enterteined, but without Magistracie or office, with the dignitie of highest Priest only, which he had euer held from the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR whose it was: and so this quarrell was ended without battaile or bloudshed, which some feared would haue brought both danger and calamitie.

Lepidus depriued of his prouince of Africa.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR remained Lord of *Sicilia*, depriuing LEPIDVS of the league and Triumuirat, appropriating to himselfe the prouince of *Africa*, and remained generall of the three armies, *viz.* that which was LEPIDVS his army, POMPEIES army, & his owne, wherein APPIANVS affirmeth, were 45. Legions of footemen, and 25000. horsemen well armed; besides many other light horsemen and Numidians, which seemeth not incredible to him that considereth how great a part of the world they commaunded which leuyed the same. He affirmeth also, that there were then at sea and vpon the coast 600. Galleys, and a greater number of Ships, Foists, and Brigandines: And although that OCTAVIANVS had so great forces, yet would he not pursue or send after POMPEY, who (as we haue sayd) fled, which he did (as some did suspect) beleuing that MARCVS ANTONIVS would haue harboured and succoured him, being glad that occasion might haue bin offred to quarrell with him, as now there was no other man in the world that was any eye-sore vnto him, but he: or else he did it, as he himselfe sayd afterwards, for that POMPEY was none of those which conspired CÆSARS death. And purposing now to disperse his armies and to returne to *Rome*, he payd his souldiers, giuing crownes and other ensignes and armes to those which had performed any notable exploits in the warres, and hauing giuen many gifts and made many faire promises to his legions, pardoning the Captaines and souldiers which had followed POMPEY, and in the best manner that he could, paying and contenting LEPIDVS his companies, he sent them home to their houses; notwithstanding that there were some scandales and mutinies, but he pacified and brought all in good order, and leuying in *Sicily*, and sending into *Africa* Pretors and Gouernors, he tooke his way towards *Rome*, where he was receiued with ouacion entertainement, which was little lesse then a triumph, with incredible ioy and honor, and began to be so beloued and esteemed, that in many places they erected Temples and Altars vnto him, as to their gods; and he

An exceeding great assembly of men of war.

ordered

ordered and reformed al things, which by reaſon of the warres and troubles were corrupted and out of order. It would be a large diſcourſe to declare the particulars of all things which he did in *Rome* and in the prouinces, as well concerning the gouernment and iuſtice, as the decencie and beautifying thereof.

At this time MARCVS ANTONIVS who was in the Eaſt, notwithſtanding that in the warres of the Parthians he had no proſperous ſucceſſe; yet neuertheleſſe was ſtill of very great power, very rich, and much ſerued and obeyed in all the prouinces of *Græcia*, *Aſia*, *Egypt*, and all the reſt in his dition. But he was ſo much blinded and beſotted with the loue and companie of CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt*, that he thought of nothing but how to ſatisfie her humour, being vnable to depart from her, or to haue any regard or remembrance of his wife OCTAVIA and ſiſter to OCTAVIANVS, who in beautie and wiſedome was nothing inferiour to her, and in vertue and goodnes did farre excell her. *Antony captiuated by Cleopatra.*

And ſo the Monarchie of the world was diuided betweene theſe two men, the one in the Eaſt, and the other in the Weſt: and as the deſire and hunger to raigne is endleſſe, and the thirſt with continuance encreaſeth, as though that each of them had not had enough to his ſhare, both of thē bethought themſelues how they might be able to obtaine the whole, principally OCTAVIAN, ſeeing that ANTONY cared not for his ſiſter, neither ſent for her after that he had left her in *Rome*, he therefore continually counſelled and vrged her to goe to her husband, to haue (as I beleeue) occaſion to fall out with him (as PLVTARCH recounteth in the life of ANTONY) if ſhe were not well entertained. And ſhe not vnderſtanding this deuice, with intent to ſtop and let any controuerſie that might ariſe betweene her husband and her brother, departed from *Rome*, bearing with her many iewels and preſents, which ſhe had gathered together, to carrie them to MARCVS ANTONIVS, as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS recordeth. But he who had fixed his heart vpon CLEOPATRA, wrote to her vpon the way, that ſhe ſhould ſtay in *Græcia* in the citie of *Athens*, vntill hee ſhould returne from the iourney which hee purpoſed to make againſt the Parthians; which hee neuer performed, CLEOPATRA hindring the ſame. Finally, to bee briefe (for otherwaies there were much to ſay) OCTAVIA ſent all thoſe things which ſhe brought with her, to her husband; and this nothing auailing, ſhe returned to *Rome* ſorrowfull, and by him forſaken. Whereupon OCTAVIAN began openly to complaine of MARCVS ANTONIVS, and to ſhew himſelfe his enemie: and MARCVS ANTONIVS which had the ſame deſire, entred into league and amitie with the King of the Medes in *Aſia*; and CLEOPATRA, beſides the title of *Egypt*, he made to be called Queene of *Syria*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*, and ioyntly with her to a ſonne of hers named CÆSARION, of whom (as we haue alreadie ſaid) IVLIVS CÆSAR left her with child when he was in *Egypt*, and to two ſonnes which he had by her, the one named PTOLOMY, and the other ALEXANDER, he gaue titles of Kings, to ALEXANDER of *Armenia* and *Parthia*, which he meant to conquer; and to PTOLOMY of *Cilicia* and *Phœnice*, for which and many other cauſes which were offered, the enmitie between him and OCTAVIAN was publike and apparant; but the warre was yet deferred, for that OCTAVIAN was hindred by the warres in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Slauonia*. The people of which countries, ſeeing the ciuill warres of the Romanes, roſe and rebelled, with other nations which conſpired with them, and did aſſiſt them, although not ſubiects as they were, to wit, the two *Pannonia*, the vpper which is now *Auſtria*, and the lower, which is *Hungarie*, and *Noricum*, which is now part of *Bauaria*, with other their borderers and neighbours. *Cæſarion the ſonne of Iulius Cæſar.*

The warres which Octauianus made in Illyricum.

bours. Which warre OCTAVIAN vndertooke of set purpose, and followed it in his owne person, which was very cruell and dangerous: wherein he was twice wounded, and made marueilous proofe of his person, both for valour and wisedome: wherein there passed more and greater matters then I haue time to recite. APPIANVS in his sixt booke which he calleth *Illyricque*, writeth thereof at large: and also VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS, although more briefly, LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS abreuiated by him and some others. The end thereof was, that OCTAVIAN not onely reduced and tamed *Illyricum*, and sundrie Nations, contained vnder that name, but also the *Pannonias*, and the rest which had conspired with those of *Illyricum*, partly by himself in person, & partly by his Captaines.

These victories being obtained, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR came victorious to *Rome*: and notwithstanding that the triumph was granted vnto him, yet he would not triumph as then; so great was the desire hee had to warre against MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was no better affected vnto him, but rather leuied souldiers, procured friends and armes against him, and promised his friend CLEOPATRA, to bring her triumphing into *Rome*. LVCIVS FLORVS writeth, that she requested of him the rule and Empire of *Rome*, and he promised it her: as though the Romanes had been more easie to subdue then the Parthians. And the matter standing in these termes, MARCVS ANTONIVS sent to his wife OCTAVIA sister to OCTAVIANVS, a diuorcement and renunciation of his mariage, in such manner as then was accustomed; commaunding her to goe out of his house, wherein she dwelled in *Rome*: All which with many other matters OCTAVIAN signified in the Senate, complaining thereof against him, and in his orations and speeches to the people, accusing him also; that the second fiue yeeres of his Triumuirat and league being expired, without comming to *Rome*, or respecting the authoritie of the Senate, he exercised the same, and held the possession of *Græcia* and the prouinces of the East, and so vsed many speeches against MARCVS ANTONIVS to perswade and incense the people against him.

MARCVS ANTONIVS on the other side, complained by messengers and letters, alleaging that OCTAVIAN had often broken the peace, and had cast SEXTVS POMPEIVS out of *Sicilia*, remaining with those prouinces and others which he held; and that therein he had no minde of him, neither had giuen him any part thereof; and that hee detained the galleys which he lent him for that warre: and besides this, that he had vsed meanes and deuices to depriue LEPIDVS, and so held all the prouinces of *Africa*, and all the legions which were his, without imparting any thing thereof vnto him of all these things: and that hee had giuen the fields and lands of al *Italie* to his people and souldiers, without contributing any part thereof vnto his. And in this manner the one accused the other, and either of them made shew, and fained that he was vrged and enforced to vndertake this warre. But the truth is, they both desired to bee Lords of the whole, and in my opinion, vainglorie, ambition, couetousnes, and enuie, moued them thereto, each of them putting his determination in [illegible] calling and leuying forces and aides; so as the whole world in a manner, either of the one side or other, was moued and troubled therewith: those of the West in the behalfe of OCTAVIAN, and those of the East in fauour of MARCVS ANTONIVS; at the least, the best and most choise people of all, although not so many as they might haue leuied: for the Romanes neuer vsed to make warres with such huge multitudes and excessiue armies, which they should not be well able to maintaine and rule, as the Persians and other barbarous nations did.

The causes of the warre betweene Octauianus and Marcus Antonius, and the beginning thereof.

ANTONY

ANTONY was first on foote, and came with great troupes to the famous citie of *Ephesus*, which was in *Ionia* a prouince in *Asia* the lesse, whither he had sent for his ships and Nauie to come, to passe into *Europe*, and had there in readines 800. betweene galleys and ships of burthen, 200. whereof CLEOPATRA gaue to him with all the munition and victuals necessarie for the fleete; and her selfe he caried with him, contrarie to the opinion of all those which were of his counsell: And herewith came to the Ile of *Samos*, whither he had appointed to come by a certaine day, all the Kings, Tetrarches and people of cities, which came to serue him in this warre, and from thence he parted and came to *Athens*. PLVTARCH describeth the Kings which came with him, and those which sent some forces to his aide, part whereof were friends and allies to the Empire, and others vassals and subiects; to which was giuen the title and gouernment of prouinces: of which he named TARCONDEMVS of the vpper *Cilicia*, and ARCHELAVS of *Cappadocia*, PHILADELPHVS of *Paphlagonia*, and MITHRIDATES of *Comagena*, & others also; besides those which sent their forces, as were HERODES king of *Iudea*, AMYNTAS of *Lycaonia*, and the king of *Arabia*, the king of the *Medes*, and PALEMON king of *Pontus*, and some others: wherein (it was said) he brought 100000. singular good and well trained footmen, and 22000 horsemen: and according to the same PLVTARCH, besides this armie by land, his Nauie by Sea consisted of fiue hundred galleys, besides the ships of burthen which brought the munition and victuals.

Samos an Ile in the Ionian Sea ouer against Ephesus.

The people and preparation of Marcus Antonius.

Although that in the number of ships and galleys the authors doe varie, which ought not diminish the credit of the historie, sithence that in matters which passe now adaies which we see with our eyes, wee can hardly know the certaine number of the ships and of the armies. MARCVS ANTONIVS came with such power, that the Historiographers affirme, that if he had presently taken his passage for *Italie*, he had put OCTAVIAN to his shifts, and in great hazard: for he had not sufficient forces leuied to haue fought with him, neither had hee necessarie prouision for the warres. And so MARCVS ANTONIVS his long delaying of time, was imputed vnto him for want of discretion, knowledge and foresight of the good fortune which was offred him: For he spent so much time in *Athens*, that OCTAVIAN had leisure to prouide all things wanting, from *Italie*, *France*, *Spaine*, and other prouinces in his subiection: and leuying 80000. chosen and trained souldiers, and aboue 20000. horse, seeing that hee taried so long, he sent him word, that for as much as he had ships and prouision fit thereto, he should draw neere to *Italie*, where he staied in the field to giue him battaile, promising to giue him free Ports and Hauens, where he might safely take landing without any interruption, to the end that he might the more commodiously order and prouide all things thereto necessarie. Whereto ANTONY answered, that it would be better if hee would determine this quarrell in person against him bodie to bodie, which hee would willingly accept, notwithstanding that he was now old and crazed, and the other young and lusty: if he liked not hereof, he would stay for him with his people in the fields of *Pharsalia*, in the same place where his father IVLIVS CÆSAR fought with GNEVS POMPEIVS.

These Ambassades and messages passing betweene them, without effect; ANTONY drew his Armie by land, and his Nauie by sea, towards the coast of *Italy*; and OCTAVIAN amassing his ships in *Brundusium*, embarked his legions, and crossing the Sea came to a place called *Torma*, in the prouince of *Epire*, which is now called *Romania*. And after certaine notable matters which passed, the two armies

Epire, Romania.

armies drew neere the one to the other, and the like did the Nauies by sea. OCTAVIANVS Nauie (as PLVTARCH affirmeth) consisted of 250. galleys, but better appointed and swifter, then MARCVS ANTONIVS his galleys were, which were more in number, although (as I haue said) the authors agree not: but the most common opinion is, as I haue said. But howsoeuer it were, MARCVS ANTONIVS perswaded by CLEOPATRA (who euen in this also was the cause of his perdition) would needes trie his fortune in a battaile at Sea, notwithstanding that in his armie by land hee had the aduantage. CLEOPATRA did this (as some write, and as it after appeared) thereby to haue the better meanes to flie if the battaile should be lost. ANTONY chusing 22000. men out of his armie, put them aboord his fleete, which was neere at hand: and OCTAVIAN, who refused not the combat vpon the water, made his prouision also for the battaile; and shipping himselfe aboord the galleys, committed the charge of his armie by land to TAVRVS: and ANTONY doing the like, left his with CANIDIVS; in sight of both which, the two most mightie men, with the best troupes and Nauies of the world, tooke the Seas, which fought for no lesse matter then the Empire and Monarchie thereof: Which was deferred for three daies space in despite of both parties, the Seas swelling so high that they could not gouerne their vessels. The fourth day they came to encounter at a Cape called *Acius*, which is in *Epire*, not farre from whence were their armies by land. The battaile was one of the most fierce and cruell that hath been written of; for it lasted tenne houres before that OCTAVIAN, who was the victor, did wholy obtaine the victorie, although that ANTONY staied not so long therein: for as CLEOPATRA knew better how to mollifie and soften mens harts, then to encourage them; in the hottest and greatest furie of the battaile, with a feminine minde vnable to endure the sight of so fierce a spectacle, she fled away in her galley, whom seuentie of her other galleys followed; which is not to be wondred at, but how she durst stay so long. But the vnluckie MARCVS ANTONIVS, who all his life time had been a most valiant and excellent Captaine, that day metamorphosed into CLEOPATRA, seeing her galley flie, wherein he had fixed his heart and eyes, went out of his, for that it seemed too heauy, and embarking himselfe in another more swift (desiring rather to flie with CLEOPATRA, then to preuaile without her) followed her, without respect of his armies by land or sea, which remained: and ouertaking her, he went aboord the same galley wherein she was; wherein hee sailed three daies without seeing or speaking to her, for shame (as it is most likely) for the great weakenes which he had shewed. And after some wandring, he arriued in the harbour at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where he afterwards ended his life, as we will declare.

The battaile at Sea betweene Octauianus and Marcus Antonius.

The shamefull flight of Marcus Antonius.

His Nauie which he left fighting, although without a captaine, made resistance so long as I haue said, and there were slaine thereof aboue fiue thousand men: but in the end it was wholy ouerthrowne, more through want of a captaine, then through any force of the enemie: although some write that the lightnes and swiftnes of OCTAVIANS gallies was a great helpe vnto him: and so he remained conqueror, and graunted life and pardon to the conquered, and had in his power three hundred of their gallies. And in the armie by land there wanted neither constancie, nor faith to their captaine ANTONIE although abandoned by him, which remained seuen dayes in their campe readie to giue battaile, without accepting any composition or offer, sent or made vnto them by OCTAVIAN, with a shew that they would yet haue stayed longer time, if CANIDIVS, whom ANTONIE left in his steede, had not abused his charge, as he which placed him therein,

Octauianus his victorie.

in, had done. For it was ſo, that after ſeauen dayes were paſt, in the night ſecretly he fled from the campe to ſeeke ANTONIE, and abandoned the armie, which being forſaken, yeelded to the enemie; and OCTAVIAN vſed his victorie with great clemencie: which being obtained, he either thought it not good, or could not at that time purſue ANTONIE, but tooke his way towards the citie of *Athens*, where taking order for all matters in *Græcia*, by reaſon of ſome commotions in *Italie* (as SVETONIVS recordeth) he returned thither, where he ſtayed ſomewhat longer then he would haue done, aſwell for that which is aforeſaid, as euill weather to ſaile in the which followed.

After all this, OCTAVIANVS hauing ſet all things neceſſarie in a readines, he ſailed with great power into *Egypt*, with a determination to make an end with MARCVS ANTONIVS (as indeede he did) and arriued at the citie of *Alexandria:* wherein ANTONIE recouering courage, and Queene CLEOPATRA making great preparation for the warres, in the time of OCTAVIANVS his ſtay, had leuied great forces, both of foote and horſe for their defence. They had alſo a great nauie by ſea, as well of CLEOPATRA, as of thoſe which came from other places: and MARCVS ANTONIVS with his old courage, which now too late and to no purpoſe he recouered, tooke the field and entertaining a skirmiſh with CÆSARS horſmen, which were then landed and ſtrongly entrenched, he vſed ſuch skill, and charged them with ſuch dexteritie, that he made them flie to their ſtrength: and being returned to the citie, he againe ſent to challeng OCTAVIANVS to fight with him body againſt body. Whereto CÆSAR anſwered, that MARCVS ANTONIVS had other waies and meanes enough in a readines to die, without dying by his hands.

ANTONIE receiuing this anſwere, determined to die fighting, although it happened not ſo. The next day in the morning he againe ſallied forth into the fields, with an intent to fight; and ſtanding vpon a high ground, and looking towards the ſea, he ſaw that his nauie and gallies moued, and made towards OCTAVIAN his fleete, which he thought they had done, with determination to fight; and ſtaying a little to ſee the ſequell, within a while, he ſaw them ioyne together in good friendſhip and companie, by meanes of a ſecret practice paſt betweene them. Which when he ſaw, and fearing the like in thoſe which he brought with him to the field, he returned to the citie, miſtruſting and affirming that CLEOPATRA had betraied him, although that in truth ſhe was blameles therein, and ſhe being aduertiſed of what ANTONIE had ſaid, ſtoode in feare of him; and withdrew hir ſelfe into a ſtrong temple or ſepulcher: and commaunding the doores thereof to be ſhut and fortified, ſhe ſent ſome fainedly to tell him that ſhe had ſlaine hir ſelfe with her owne hands. Which MARCVS ANTONIVS beleeued as ſtedfaſtly, as though he had ſeene it, and refuſing to liue any longer without hir, or to ſtay to die fighting, after he had vttered certaine ſpeeches, he ſtabbed his poiniard into his owne breſt, and ſo (deadly wounded) he fell downe vpon a bed in a ſwoune: and within a while comming againe to himſelfe, being aduertiſed that CLEOPATRA yet was liuing, he made himſelfe to be carried thither where ſhe was: who receiued him with ſomany teares and ſuch pitifull complaints, that he being ſo neere to death, began to recomfort her, ſaying, that ſhe ought not lament for him, neither to hold him for infortunate, ſith hee accounted not himſelfe for ſuch, for he had been a great captaine and very mightie, and in the end died ouercome by the Romanes. Her he counſelled to yeeld to the mercie of OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and ſpeaking theſe words, his ſtrength failing within

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alittle while after he dyed: and so ended the power and life of MARCVS ANTONIVS. I haue peraduenture more largely discourſed hereof, then to the breuitie of my hiſtorie did appertaine, becauſe it was a caſe ſo notable and ſingular.

OCTAVIANVS hauing intelligence of this aforeſaid, and of the ſmall order and guard of the citie, marched thither with his forces and entred the ſame, and ſent to comfort CLEOPATRA, and to make great offers vnto her, to the end that ſhe ſhould not kill her ſelfe, and going to ſee her in perſon, he did the like: but all his care little auailed. For ſhe being aduertiſed, that he would ſend her to *Rome*, and would place her and her ſonnes in his triumph, choſe rather to dye, then that he ſhould triumph ouer her: and ſome ſay, that ſhe tooke poiſon which ſhe had prouided for that purpoſe, wherewith ſhe killed her ſelfe. Others (and this is the moſt common) that ſhe put to her arme an Aſpicque (which is a certaine kind of Serpent or venemous Adder) to the end that it ſhould ſting her, which was brought to her in a basket of flowers; ſo as ſhe was found dead without any ſigne of any blow or wound, but as though ſhe had bin aſleepe. Whereat OCTAVIAN was much grieued, not without great admiration at the valour and great mind of that woman, and commaunded her to be buried in the ſame Sepulchre wherein ſhe had entombed her ſelfe, together with MARCVS ANTONIVS, with whom ſhe had liued and raigned 14. yeares, ſhe being 39. yeares old when ſhe dyed, and MARCVS ANTONIVS 56. or (after ſome) 53.

The death of Cleopatra.

OCTAVIANVS eaſily pardoned all thoſe which had ſerued or ſent ſuccour to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and alſo his children, which were ſeauen, by three women, FVLVIA, OCTAVIA ſiſter to OCTAVIANVS, and CLEOPATRA, ſauing the eldeſt, which he commanded to be ſlaine, and the like he did by CÆSARION CLEOPATRAS ſonne by IVLIVS CÆSAR, of whom we haue alreadie made mention, the eldeſt (they ſay) he ſlue vpon particular diſpleaſure which he conceiued againſt him, and CÆSARION, by the counſell of ARRIVS a Philoſopher, who told him that it would not do well to haue many CÆSARS.

This matter touching MARCVS ANTONIVS being ended, and the kingdome of *Egypt* being made a tributarie prouince, he departed from thence, and afterwards paſſing through *Syria* and *Aſia* the leſſe, leauing all quiet and in peace; he paſſed into *Græcia*, and there doing the like, he came into *Italy*, where hauing ended all ciuill warres, and hauing the whole Empire ſubiect to himſelfe alone; he entred into *Rome* in triumph, with the greateſt feaſts and ſolemnities of the Senat and the people of all *Italy*, that could be deuiſed or imagined. It was granted vnto him to triumph three times, to wit, for the victorie in *Illyricum*, and for the victorie in his battaile by Sea, and the ouerthrow of MARCVS ANTONIVS, the conqueſt of the kingdome of *Egypt* and Queene CLEOPATRA, whoſe ſtatue was placed in his triumph, with the Aſpicques ſet to the veines of her armes.

And ſo OCTAVIANVS throughlie finiſhed the building and erecting of the Monarchie, which his Vncle IVLIVS CÆSAR had begun and founded, which (as it ſeemeth by PAVLVS OROSIVS his computation) was fourteene yeares after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR: And although that he obteined it by meanes hardly iuſtifiable, yet truly he afterwards gouerned it moſt iuſtly and wiſely, and was one of the beſt Princes that euer was in the world, gentle, mercifull, liberall, iuſt, valorous, endued with many vertues and excellencies, moſt happie and fortunate in all his affaires, and beloued aboue meaſure of all the world.

As there was now no man to contend with OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and he ſo beloued of all men (as is aforeſaid) the people and Senat of *Rome* gaue him a

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new name which before then was neuer heard of, AVGVSTVS; and ſo he was afterwards called CÆSAR AVGVSTVS: a name which they held for holie, venerable, of high maieſtie, and which appertained to the gods and their temples, as we find it vſed by CICERO, VIRGIL, OVID, and other authors; although that ſome deriue it from the verbe *augeo*, in Latin, to increaſe, becauſe that OCTAVIAN enlarged and increaſed the Empire; and ſome others giue it other deriuations, but whether ſoeuer be the moſt certaine, it was giuen him for the moſt honorable name of all others: they alſo intituled him father of his countrey, and gaue him all other titles and names which they could deuiſe.

CÆSAR AVGVSTVS (for this name henceforth we will ſometimes giue him) ſeeing himſelfe now in ſuch reſt and without warre with any body in the world, commaunded the temple of IANVS to be ſhut, which they religiouſly obſerued, that during the warres it ſhould ſtand open, and neuer had bin ſhut but twiſe from the foundation of *Rome*, according to TITVS LIVIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, PLVTARCH, and other Authors: one, in the time of NVMA POMPILIVS ſecond King thereof; and the other after the end of the ſecond Punick warres which they waged with *Carthage*, at what time as TITVS MANLIVS was Conſul. I know that ſome Authors ſet this ſhutting vp of IANVS his temple by OCTAVIAN to be a great while after, at the time of the birth of Chriſt our Sauiour. But I in this place follow the authority of PAVLVS OROSIVS a chriſtian Author, who vſed great diligence and truth, and is of 1200. yeares antiquitie, who reckoneth that CÆSAR AVGVSTVS ſhut this temple three times, and that this was the firſt, and I hold his opinion for certaine: for he is aſſiſted by the authoritie of TITVS LIVIVS, who in his firſt booke affirmeth, that AVGVSTVS did ſhut this temple after the warres with ANTONY: and LVCIVS FLORVS and other Authors ſet downe that this temple was ſhut after that. And hereby it appeareth that OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR did ſhut the temple of IANVS more then once, and euery one ſheweth his time when, and PAVLVS OROSIVS all, which was thriſe, ſetting downe the time to euery one of them as he noteth, which is alſo drawne out of SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS, following the letter as PHILIPPVS BEROALDVS followeth. I haue a deſire to ſet this downe here (although it little importeth) to the end that the varietie and difference which the reader ſhall finde among the authors ſhall not offend him, and that he may know that I haue an approued author whom I follow, although I name him not, if he ſhall finde ought written by me contrary to that which he hath read. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR liuing in this peace and tranquillitie, omitted no part of his care for the gouernment of the Romane Common-wealth and prouinces thereof; creating and ſending thither Pretors, Proconſuls, and other gouernours, which were excellent men to rule and gouerne, and himſelfe gaue direction and was very diligent in all things touching iuſtice, cuſtomes, religion and publike buildings: ſo as in all things, his raigne was moſt happie, peaceable and quiet, and ſo did it continue ſo long as he liued.

How many times the temple of Ianus was ſhut.

Note the ſaying of the Author.

VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS ſpeaking like a Gentile, doth ſo extoll his raigne, that he ſaith, that men could not deſire or aske any thing of the gods, neither thinke nor imagine ought; neither could the gods giue that to men, which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, after his victories and returne to *Rome*, did bring and giue to the Romane people, and the whole Empire. Notwithſtanding that this was then ſo eſteemed (as great minds naturally deſire libertie) yet in that ſo proſperous a time, ſome people and nations were ſo bold as to ſhake off the

Romane

Romane yoke, and to moleſt and diſquiet the Empire, as the Spaniards, the nations of *Illyricum* and the Pannonians. In *Spaine* the Cantabrians, which are the Alaueſes and Biskains, the Aſturians, and part of *Gallicia*, which were not onely diſcontented to obey, but paſſing their limits, began to make warre againſt the ſubiects to the Empire. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR knowing this, holding it to be a doubtful warre and of importance, cõmanded (as ſaith PAVLVS OROSIVS) the Temple of *Ianus* to be opened, & determined to go thither himſelf in perſon, and to ſend other captaines to follow the other wars. In the time of theſe wars, which were firſt, or laſt, the authors doe handle very confuſedly, ſo as I cannot bring it to light: whereof it might be that ſeuerall of theſe things did concurre at one time. But OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS tooke his iourney into *Spaine*, and began the warre with three armies againſt the people before named, which rebelled; which warre was very doubtfull and deſperate, and laſted fiue yeeres. In this time paſſed many conflicts; and although that CÆSAR did oppreſſe the Cantabrians and Aſturians, and draue them to the rockes and mountaines; yet they did ſo well defend themſelues in them, that it behooued him before he could ſubdue them to raiſe a great Nauie in the coaſt of *France*, to inuade the Sea coaſt of *Cantabria*, *Aſturias* and *Gallicia*, at which time he draue the people of thoſe countries to ſuch extremities by land, that he compelled them to yeeld and ſubmit themſelues to his obedience: His great fauourite AGRIPPA, ſeruing him well and faithfully in all this warre (as in all the reſt) whom he maried to his daughter IVLIA, which at that time was the widow of his nephew MARCELLVS, ſonne to his ſiſter OCTAVIA, with whom ſhe had been maried. And ſo CÆSAR accompliſhed the full ſubiection of all *Spaine*, aboue two hundred yeeres after that the Romanes began to make their firſt warre therein: ſo as no prouince coſt the Romanes more bloud, more toyle, and more time then *Spaine*. And this long and doubtfull conqueſt being finiſhed (*Paulus Oroſius* ſaith) that OCTAVIAN eſteemed the ſame ſo much, that hauing eſtabliſhed peace in *Spaine*, in ſigne thereof he againe commaunded the doores of *Ianus* his Temple to be ſhut, and himſelfe came to *Rome* in great triumph. But this Temple continued not long ſhut: for ſome Nations of the Germanes aroſe & kept a ſtir (although at diuers times) ſo as the Temple was againe opened to make warre againſt them, which were the inhabitants of *Noricum*, which is now *Bauaria*, and the *Pannonies*, which are *Auſtrich* and *Hungary*, as is aforeſaid, and the two *Miſsias* which are *Bulgaria* and *Seruia*, and alſo *Illyricum* which is *Slauonia*, although at another time tamed by him; and the prouince of *Dacia*, which now is *Tranſiluania* and *Walachia*, and ſome others alſo. Againſt all theſe Nations, the moſt happy Emperour CÆSAR AVGVSTVS ſent his Captaines and armies, among which were his ſonnes in law, ſonnes of his wife LIVIA, TIBERIVS NERO, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, and his brother DRVSIVS NERO, of whom LIVIA was with childe when OCTAVIAN maried her: and theſe two brothers (although the warre laſted ſomewhat long) tamed thoſe Nations, & obtained great victories in Germanie and the confines thereof, eſpecially TIBERIVS (as SVETONIVS writeth in his life, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his hiſtories) who in three yeeres ſpace ſubdued the *Pannonies*, *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*: for which victories, he afterward entred into *Rome* in Ouacian triumph, with great honour and ſolemnitie. And another Captaine whoſe name was MARCVS CRASSVS (as LVCIVS FLORVS and TITVS LIVIVS report) ouercame and put the *Miſsians* to flight in their owne countrie, a nation which had neuer ſeene the Romanes; which (as LVCIVS FLORVS recordeth) being

readie

readie to giue battaile, in manner of iuſtification, ſaid to the Romane armie: Tell vs, who you are that ſeeke to grieue vs? Whereto they were anſwered: We be Romanes the Lords of Nations. Whereto they anſwered: It ſhall be ſo, if we be ouercome. And ſo they were afterwards, both they and thoſe alſo which conſpired with them. But OCTAVIAN had not theſe victories without ſome croſſes: for in this warre died his ſonne in law DRVSVS, who was highly extolled and eſteemed for his great acts and victories, for whom he and the Empereſſe LIVIA his mother were very ſorie. But that was farre greater without compariſon, which he conceiued for the miſhap which befell to QVINTILIVS VARRO, who being Captaine of three legions in *Germany*, and being retchleſſe, was ſurpriſed by the Almaines, and himſelfe and all the reſt ſlaine, and two ſtandards with the Imperiall Eagles taken: wherewith he was ſo exceſſiuely grieued, that they write, that he cried out very vnaduiſedly, and knocked his head againſt the walles, ſaying, QVINTILIVS VARRO, giue me my legions againe. Of his ſonne in law DRVSVS there remained two ſonnes, called GERMANICVS and CLAVDIVS, which he had by ANTONIA, OCTAVIAN his neece & daughter of his ſiſter OCTAVIA and of MARCVS ANTONIVS: of which, CLAVDIVS was Emperour: and this GERMANICVS which maried with AGRIPPINA, daughter of IVLIA which was OCTAVIANS daughter, was father of CAIVS CALIGVLA, who afterwards was alſo Emperour. But theſe loſſes confirmed the victories which his ſonne in law TIBERIVS obtained: Wherefore OCTAVIAN maried him to his daughter IVLIA, who was a widow by the death of AGRIPPA, cauſing him to put away AGRIPPINA the daughter of the ſame AGRIPPA, by his firſt mariage, to whom he was maried, and had by her one ſonne named DRVSVS: ſo as after many notable victories, and taming of ſometime one nation, and ſomtime another, which were compelled to ſue for peace, OCTAVIAN againe commaunded the Temple of *Ianus* to be ſhut, and from thencefoorth all things ſucceeded vnto him moſt proſperouſly.

The ſubiects of the Empire were very obedient vnto him, and all others ſent him ambaſſades ſeeking his fauour and friendſhip, offering him their ſeruice: the Indians a people of the fartheſt part of the Eaſt, and alſo the Scythians which inhabite in the North, and the Parthians a people moſt fierce and vntamed, ſent their Ambaſſadours to him, giuing ſecuritie to keepe the peace, and deliuered the Standards and Eagles taken in the battaile, wherein MARCVS CRASSVS was ſlaine. There came alſo Kings, friends and ſubiects to the Empire, to *Rome*, to doe him honour, as his familiar friends, laying aſide their Enſignes and royall Robes; and many of them built cities to his name, for his honour, calling thē Cæſareas in remēbrance of him: ſo did HERODE in *Paleſtina*, & IVBA in *Mauritania*, & others. *The greatnes of the Romane Emperours.*

The world being in this quietnes and generall peace, fortie and two yeeres being fullie expired, ſince that OCTAVIAN, after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR, came to *Rome*, from which time is commonly accounted his Empire. In this peace and reſt of times was borne IESVS CHRIST our Lord and Sauiour in *Bethlem*, of the holie wombe of our bleſſed Ladie the Virgin MARY; HERODE being King of *Ieruſalem*, placed there by the Romanes (hee who ſlew the innocent children) comming to the world in humane forme and nature, to ſaue and redeeme mankinde with his bleſſed death and paſſion, whoſe moſt holie life, [illegible] and infinite miracles ought not to be mixed with prophane matters, and therefore I will not intermeddle to treate thereof. But returning to my purpoſe, I ſay, that OCTAVIAN enioying ſo great proſperitie

and good fortune, was not altered in his naturall condition, as in other Princes it hath happened, but rather made more gentle, milde, iuſt, and affable, more curteous, more liberall and more temperate. He eſtabliſhed wonderfull good orders and lawes, for the amending and reformation of abuſes and euill cuſtomes: he erected in *Rome* and without it, great and ſumptuous edifices, and beſtowed great liberalitie and fauours vpon all ſorts of people: he reioyced the people with feaſts and playes in ſundrie manners, going himſelfe in perſon thereto, and ſent Colonies and inhabitants to ſundrie parts and prouinces: he made an excellent and ſingular good order for the gouernment and gouernours of the whole Empire. The like hee did for the warre and martiall diſcipline; he ſhewed himſelfe plaine and ſociable to his familiars and friends, and honoured and loued them much. Some conſpiracies which were diſcouered againſt him, he puniſhed without rigour, giuing more pardon then puniſhment and correction. Of murmurings and defamatorie libels he neuer ſought nor deſired to know the authors, but with great grauitie anſwered, giuing ſatisfaction, and purging himſelfe of thoſe things which were imputed vnto him. He was much giuen and affected to letters and learning, and was very learned and eloquent, and compiled bookes and notables workes: He did much honour and reward the wiſe and learned men of his time, wherein were many very notable in all Artes. But for all theſe vertues and perfections, and other which for breuitie I write not, yet he eſcaped not to be noted of ſome vices, cauſed through humane weakenes and great libertie, principally to be much giuen to women, although that in eating, drinking, in his apparell and ornaments, he was very decent and temperate: he gaue himſelfe alſo exceſſiuely to play at dice, and other games then accuſtomed. But SVETONIVS ſaith, that the moſt part thereof was vpon ceremonious and feſtiuall daies, which ought well to be noted for a ſhame and example to our time, wherein Chriſtianitie is profeſſed. For that is accounted by many for brauerie and valour, which to OCTAVIAN being an Heathen and vnbeleeuing Prince, was noted and imputed for vice. Wherewith to conclude and make an end of his hiſtorie, as is reaſon, I ſay, that although that in many things hee was happie and fortunate, yet beſides all his troubles and daungers, he was vnhappie and infortunate in his children and ſucceſſion: for by foure wiues, with which he was maried, onely by SCRIBONIA, which was his third wife, he had one daughter named IVLIA; and yet this one ſcarcely proued honeſt of her bodie: ſo as for want of ſons to ſucceed him, he firſt adopted for his ſonne, his nephew MARCELLVS, his ſiſter OCTAVIAS ſon aforenamed, with whom he firſt maried this his daughter IVLIA: and MARCELLVS dying without iſſue, he maried her to his fauourite AGRIPPA, who alſo left her a widow, as is aboue ſaid: but he left by her three ſonnes, and two daughters, the daughters prouing no honeſter then their mother, and two of his ſonnes died in OCTAVIANS time, hauing bin firſt by him adopted. Wherefore deſiring to ouercome the ill lucke which he had herein, he adopted the third, who was called AGRIPPA as his father was, the which adoption he afterward reuoked for ſome diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him, and taking this care for his ſucceſſion, he adopted and made his ſonne in law TIBERIVS NERO, his ſonne, whom, as is aforeſaid, he married to his daughter IVLIA, who [illegible]d, was AGRIPPA his widow. But hee commaunded TIBERIVS [illegible] adopted him, that he (notwithſtanding that he had a ſon called [illegible]) ſhould alſo adopt his Nephew GERMANICVS ſonne of his brother [illegible], who, as is aforeſaid, died in *Germanie*, becauſe he had married his neece AGRIPPINA the daughter of

The vertues and qualities of Octauianus.

IVLIA;

IVLIA: and by this meanes came TIBERIVS to be OCTAVIANVS his succeſſor, more through the diligence of his mother then any good liking that his father in law had to him; who rather was, and ſeemed to be very ſorrie, that he ſhould ſucceede him.

And things ſtanding in this ſtate, OCTAVIAN being now ſeuentie and ſixe yeeres old and odde dayes, and hauing raigned aboue fiftie and ſixe yeeres, and being the beſt beloued and moſt obeyed prince, that euer was in the world, death ouertooke him: the cauſe thereof was a flux which held him for certaine dayes, whereof in the end he died in the citie of *Nola* (whither he came ſicke from *Naples*) a quiet and peacefull death, in the fifteenth yeere after the birth of Chriſt our redeemer. His death was generally lamented, and there was an vniuerſall ſorrow and heauines ouer all the whole Empire for him: for he happened wiſely and vprightly to gouerne that, which by force and cunning he had gotten. OCTAVIAN was of a meane ſtature, and of a very good ſhape and proportion of his body, exceedingly faire of geſture mixed with honeſtie and grauitie, his eyes were exceeding cleere and bright, he was very aduiſed, and loued to ſpeake quicke and briefly.

The death of Octauianus Ceſar Auguſtus.

Octauian his proportion of body.

THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR TIBERIVS.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the death of Auguſtus, ſucceeded his ſonne in law the wicked Tiberius Nero, who was [illegible]ly was th[illegible] knew how to diſſemble and faine to loue thoſe well which he hated [illegible] whom he loued. He fained himſelfe vnwilling to accept of the Empire, [illegible] his friend and who his enemie: and whereas before this dignitie, he was very [illegible]ty and prudent, he became afterward ſo diſorderly and ſuch a drunkard, that he was called in ſcorne Biberius. In his time died Ieſus Chriſt and Iohn Baptiſt

tiſt in Ieruſalem, he cauſed Germanicus a great Captaine to be ſlaine, although he made ſhew to Agrippa to be very ſorie for it. He ſubdued many prouinces which rebelled againſt the Romane Empire, and was no leſſe cruell then libidinous, and of theſe three vices (to wit) cruelſtie, incontinencie, and gluttonie, it is hard to ſay, which was leaſt. He ruled the Empire foure and twentie yeeres, and was no great enemie to Chriſtians: and propoſed in the Senate whether Chriſt ſhould be accepted for a God or no, whereto the Senate conſented not. Finally, he died through the treaſon of Caligula, whom he had nominated his ſucceſſor, being ſeuentie and eight yeeres old: which he did, as it was thought, to the end that Caligula his vices ſhould make his to ſeeme leſſer, who was ſo wicked and cruell, that he wiſhed that the world might end at his death.

AFter the excellent and good Emperor OCTAVIAN, ſucceeded his ſonne in law, and adopted ſon the wicked and peruerſe TIBERIVS NERO, vnworthy truly of his ſucceſſion and of the Empire: for he was one of the moſt cruell and wicked men that euer was in the world: notwithſtanding that in OCTAVIAN his time, in *Germanie* and in other parts he did many great and notable feats in armes. In the beginning of his Empire he made ſhew of a good prince, and did many good deedes, but afterwards (as this was but fained) he diſcouered his malice, and gouerned cruelly, couetouſly, and diſhoneſtly. This TIBERIVS (as I haue aboue ſaid) was the ſonne of TIBERIVS NERO and LIVIA his wife, which OCTAVIAN afterwards tooke to wife, of both ſides deſcended of the auncient family of the CLAVDII, whoſe grandfather by his fathers ſide was TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS NERO; and by his mothers ſide hee deſcended from APPIVS CLAVDIVS PVLCHER, and by adoption he likewiſe deſcended from the LIVII, an excellent family, although but Plebeian, for Conſulſhips, cenſures, and triumphs. He was of a tall and ſtrong body, and had a large breſt and broade ſhoulders, whereto all parts of his body were anſwerable: he had a faire face, and great eyes, and ſo cleere, that they affirme a ſtrange thing of him, which is, that awaking by darke in the night, for a good ſpace he cleerely ſaw the place wherein he lay, and al that therein was, aſwel as though he had had a light. He was a man of great ſtrength, and had the vſe of both his hands alike; whereas commonly euery man vſeth the right hand with greater dexteritie then the left, and had ſo great ſtrength in his fingers, that with a fillip he would (as often as he liſted) breake a pages, or a yong mans head, as SVETONIVS reporteth. He was very learned both in Greeke and Latin, and principally delighted in poeſie, and made many verſes in both tongues, which truely was ill employed in him, ſeeing he ſo little profited thereby. When OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS fell ſicke, TIBERIVS was gone towards the prouince of *Illyricum* or *Slauonia*, and his mother LIVIA ſeeing that his ſicknes encreaſed, ſent in great haſte for him, and he happily arriued at the citie of *Nola*, CÆSAR AVGVSTVS being euen neere his end, but yet in ſuch time as he could ſpeake, and (as SVETONIVS reporteth) conferred with him a great while in ſecret: Although CORNELIVS TACITVS ſaith, that it is not certainely knowne whether he found him aliue at his comming or no; for his mother the Empereſſe had ſet ſomany gards that the death of OCTAVIAN was not knowne, vntill that all had agreed and conſented that TIBERIVS ſhould rule, and ſucceede him. And at that time was AGRIPPA her adopted OCTAVIAN, and ſonne of his daughter IVLIA, by AGRIPPA [illegible] husband ſlaine by the hand of a Tribune, who had him in keeping (as it was thought) by the commaundement of his father in law TIBERIVS, and by the counſell of his mother

The lineage and corporall conſtitution of Tiberius.

Tiberius his learning.

mother LIVIA, to the end that hee ſhould bee aſſured of the ſucceſſion.

In *Rome* libertie now was ſo forgotten, and the Monarchie was ſo eſtabliſhed by cuſtome of ſo many yeeres continuance, vnder the raigne of OCTAVIANVS, that notwithſtanding that there were Conſuls, Pretors, Tribunes, and other names of dignitie and magiſtracie; yet there was in a manner no man in *Rome* that did remember and vnderſtand the manner of the old gouernment, which was before that IVLIVS CÆSAR ſuppreſſed the Common-wealth; and the death of OCTAVIAN being knowne, there was no man that durſt to name or to ſpeake of libertie, but ſo ſoone as TIBERIVS came to *Rome*, to him was preſently giuen the gouernment and adminiſtration of the Common-wealth. And he was the firſt Emperor that did quietly and peaceably inherit the Empire, ſo as he needed not to make a conqueſt thereof, as IVLIVS CÆSAR and OCTAVIAN had done. And although that before that he would accept thereof, he cauſed himſelfe to be much entreated, and made great ſhew to haue no deſire to the Empire, yet afterwards it was plainely perceiued, that he did but faine it, to the end to know euery mans good will towards him: For to all thoſe which yeelded to accept of his excuſes, and did not importune him, he bare a perpetuall hatred; for although that one way he excuſed himſelfe, yet in many other things he began to vſe the authoritie of an Emperor, taking a guarde, and muſtering the armies, as Emperor.

Hauing accepted and receiued the Empire, there were ſome occaſions offered him, which put him in great feare and heauines: the firſt was, that the armies in *Pannonia* or *Hungarie*, mutined, and reuolted from IVLIVS BLESVS their captaine, a captaine called PERCENIVS being principall of this reuolt, and they ſent to require many exceſſiue things: againſt which TIBERIVS ſent his ſon DRVSVS, whom he had by AGRIPPINA, with whom he was married before he married IVLIA. It happened alſo that the legions which were by the riuers ſide of the *Rhine*, as the cuſtome was, did the like, through the abſence of GERMANICVS their captaine before named, TIBERIVS his adopted ſonne and Nephew: And thoſe of *Pannonia* were not onely not contented with the paies and exemptions which they required, but they preſumed to chuſe a new Emperor againſt TIBERIVS, nominating their captaine GERMANICVS, who (as is before ſaid) was TIBERIVS his Nephew and adopted ſonne, and preferred before his naturall ſonne, by the commaundement of OCTAVIAN. But GERMANICVS was ſo loyall, that when theſe newes were brought vnto him, he not onely refuſed their offer, but with great danger and hazard of his life, and with much trouble pacified thoſe alterations.

TIBERIVS was another way aſſaulted: for he was aduertiſed that one LVCIVS SCRIBONIVS a principall man, and one which bare great ſway in the common-wealth, had ſome ſecret practiſes againſt him: but he freed himſelfe from all theſe matters, and they were redreſſed, although not without great difficultie. For his ſon DRVSVS on one ſide (after ſome treaties) brought the legions of *Pannonia* to his obedience, and did iuſtice on PERCENIVS. And GERMANICVS (as I ſaid) after ſome great matters (which CORNELIVS TACITVS reciteth at large) made thoſe of *Germany* to obey: and not therewith content, he paſſed the riuer of *Rhine* (which commonly was the bounds of the Romane Empire on that part) and made war with the whole countrie of *Germanie*, in good order and with good ſucceſſe. While theſe matters were a doing, & for ſome ſpace after, TIBERIVS did cloake and conceale his accurſed inclination and vices; and (as I ſaide in the beginning) performed

What good Tiberius did in the beginning.

formed many partes of a good, discreete and gentle prince, wherewith he deceiued the people, especially those which did not particularly know him; whereof (although they be recited before their time) it shall not be amisse to set downe some, to the end that (as of a venemous beast) that which is profitable and medicinall, may be taken. First, many of the names and titles of honor which were offered him by the Senate, and other honors and ceremonies, he refused, and would not consent that they should erect or builde vnto him any temples; and forbad them to set vp his statues and images without his expresse commaundement: and if at sometime he did permit it, it was vpon condition that they should not place it among the images of the Gods.

He seemed also to grieue to heare himselfe praised, crossing and interrupting them in speeches which did it. One, in a discourse called him Lord, whom he commaunded to vse that word no more: but insolencie and presumption since that time hath so encreased, that that which at that time seemed pride in an Emperor, there is now none, be he neuer so base, but presumeth that he deserueth the same. The like discretion did TIBERIVS shew in other words, which were also proper to the gods, and the things to them appertaining. He fained also patience and meekenes: for although that in the Senate there passed some matters contrarie to his will and opinion, and that in other affaires they gainesaid him, yet he seemed not any way to be displeased or offended therewith. And vnderstanding that some spake ill of him, and murmuring, vsed iniurious speeches against him, he shewed no discontentment or alteration thereat: but said, that in a free citie, mens tongues ought to be free, and men might lawfully speake freely. And whereas the Senate would haue exhibited an information, and haue proceeded against those which had written defamatorie libelles against him, he would not consent thereto, saying, that he had not so little to doe, as to lose so much time about such matters: affirming that he would doe nothing against them which spake ill of him, but trouble them with keeping account of what he said and did; and if that were not sufficient, it should satisfie him, to loue them as little as they loued him.

In the beginning TIBERIVS bare great reuerence vnto the Senate, and gaue them so great power and authoritie in all things that hee did nothing without their counsell, willing that all should be done by their aduise and consent. In execution of iustice and gouernment he made many good beginnings, taking care, and order that there should be no theeues nor robbers by the high wayes side in all *Italie*, but that men might trauel in safetie: and that iustice should be executed in townes and villages. The ensignes and pretorian cohorts which in *Rome* were the Emperors guarde (to ease the citizens of their gueستes and other troubles) he made to encampe and lodge themselues without the citie in the fields, where they should continue and abide: which although that then it seemed profitable, yet afterwards it bred great inconuenience and domage. By these aforesaid meanes, he not onely cloked and couered his crueltie, pride and ambition, but he was so double and false, that but euen his auarice and couetousnes, (which of all other seemeth to be the most apparant passion) and his incontinencie and dishonestie, he knew so well for a time to maske and dissemble, shewing himselfe to be no way couetous: So as when some gouernors of prouinces gaue him to vnderstand of meanes how to encrease his rents & reuenues, he answered, that a good shepheard ought to sheare his flock, but not pill them: and so he diminished certaine tributes, and shewed fauours to certaine particular persons.

The pretorian Cohorts were the Emperors guarde.

The fained vertues of Tiberius.

The speeches of a good pastor, and the minde of a Wolfe.

ſons. His diſhoneſtie he ſought to couer, by ordaining a publike informer againſt diſhoneſt and adulterous Matrones of *Rome*, which he did (as it afterwards appeared) to the end that there ſhould be no other adulterer but himſelfe. He did other ſuch like things (which for breuitie I omit) which ſeemed to grow from a good roote and meaning: but it failed in the end; for he fauned to bite, and drew back, to come againe with the greater force: As we will hereafter declare in part, for the whole cannot be related, as it was neither ſpoken for the filthines thereof, which is the occaſion that that order and ſtile cannot be obſerued as behooueth: for certainly the diſorderly and obſcure liues cannot be cleerely and orderly written. And beſides this, the diſgrace and crueltie which hee vſed to his wife IVLIA, forgetting that by her, as for her dowrie, he enioyed the Romane Empire: for hee neuer liued nor kept companie with her after the death of OCTAVIAN.

One of the firſt ſignes that he ſhewed of an euill Prince and gouernour, was, that notwithſtanding that there came great complaints againſt the Proconſuls, Pretors, and Prefects, placed in Prouinces; yet hee would not remoue them, nor alter them: which was againſt the order and cuſtome of *Rome* and his predeceſſor OCTAVIAN; which ſome attributed to his negligence and careleſnes; others iudged it to be of malice, and ill diſpoſition, to the end that many men ſhould not enioy the honour and profit which grew in ſuch charges. He began after this to enuie and to beare hatred againſt GERMANICVS, becauſe hee was preferred before his ſonne DRVSVS, and it grieued him to ſee his good ſucceſſe in the warres of *Germanie*. Wherefore to finde occaſion to remoue him from that charge, he diſſemblingly cauſed the triumph to be granted vnto him, for the victories which he had obtained, and wrote to him many times to come to triumph: but GERMANICVS vnderſtanding his euill intent, deferred his comming. It happened in a while after that the King of the Parthians aroſe, and made warre againſt the Romane Empire, breaking the peace eſtabliſhed in the time of OCTAVIAN, entring into the prouince of *Armenia*, the King whereof was ſet there by the Romanes: wherewith TIBERIVS was nothing diſpleaſed, thereby to haue the better occaſion to draw GERMANICVS from his captainſhip and gouernment of *Germanie*, vnder colour to ſend him to the warres of the Parthians, as he did. And ſo GERMANICVS being ſent for, came for this purpoſe, hauing within few daies before wonne a great battaile, and ſlaine tenne thouſand of his enemies, and entred into *Rome* in a ſolemne triumph, and (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) hee brought thither with him the enſignes which QVINTILIVS VARRO had loſt, and preſently began to prepare for the warre againſt the Parthians.

A little before GERMANICVS his triumph, there aroſe a man in *Italie*, who named himſelfe to be AGRIPPA, nephew to OCTAVIAN (whom we haue ſaid to be ſlaine by TIBERIVS his order) to whom it ſeemed of ſome importance, and much looſe and ſeditious people ioyned with him, which cauſed a great tumult in *Italie*; this man alleaging that he ought to be Emperour, and not TIBERIVS: But as he had a weake foundation, ſo was he ſoone ouerthrowne, taken priſoner, and brought to TIBERIVS, and finally was executed, although ſecretly. And euen about the ſame time TIBERIVS committed a notable great wrong and crueltie: for hauing with gracious and amorous words allured ARCHELAVS King of *Cappadocia* to come to *Rome* (who was a friend and vaſſall to the Romane Empire) for fained and vniuſt cauſes he made him to be accuſed and apprehended, and afterwards to die in priſon, and his countrie was made a tributarie prouince. *Cappadocia made a prouince.* In the like manner he dealt with many Princes and great men of *Spaine*, *France*, *Gracia*,

Gracia, and other parts. Alſo the iourney which TIBERIVS commaunded to be made againſt the Parthians, was much haſtened by reaſon of the death of ANTIOCHVS King of *Comagena*, and PHILOPATER King of *Cilicia* in *Aſia*, vaſſals to the Empire: by meanes of whoſe death ſome alterations aroſe in thoſe prouinces; for ſome would haue a King, and others would be gouerned by the Empire.

GERMANICVS being in a readines for his iourney into the Eaſt (as hee was commaunded) departed from *Rome*, carying his wife AGRIPPINA and his children with him: betweene whom and LIVIA the mother of TIBERIVS was great enuie and emulation. There was alſo at this time great controuerſie and parts-taking, both in words and liking, in TIBERIVS his Court; ſome taking part with GERMANICVS, who (as before is ſaid) was his adopted ſonne and nephew: others held of DRVSVS his ſonne legitimate. TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA euer ſought to aduaunce the reputation of DRVSVS, and in ſecret to diſgrace GERMANICVS: for which occaſion he gaue the charge of all the legions of *Illyricum* to his ſonne DRVSVS. And to the end, that GERMANICVS ſhould not be too mightie in the Eaſt whither he went, he made GNEVS PISO captaine of the prouince and legions of *Syria* (who was a mighty man, and in *Rome* greatly allied, and of a great houſe) becauſe he held with DRVSVS, and diſpoſſeſt CRETICVS SYLLANVS of that charge, for that he was a frend to GERMANICVS. This PISO was married to a Romane Matrone called PLACINA, of the ſame condition, but of an hautier heart then her husband; to the which husband and wife the Emperour TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA gaue in charge, to ſtirre vp and procure hatred and enmitie againſt GERMANICVS; yea and his death alſo: as it after appeared. And with this determination they departed from *Rome* towards the Eaſt, where PISO preſently, with gifts and flatterie, began to draw to himſelfe the loue and good will of the armie againſt GERMANICVS, and to murmure and ſpeake ill of him: who, while as PISO practiſed theſe things, tooke ſo good order in the warre and gouernment, that hee placed a King in the prouince of *Armenia*, who was a friend and ſubiect to the Romanes; and the kingdomes of *Comagena* and *Cilicia* being voide by the death of their Kings, he reduced into prouinces, and placed in them Pretors and gouernors. In *Comagena* QVINCIVS SERVIVS, and in *Cilicia* QVINTVS VERANIVS; moderating in them both the royall ſubſidies and tributes. And after this he tooke ſo good order, that hee compelled the King of the Parthians to ſue for peace and friendſhip: which hee graunted and concluded, to the honour of the Empire. And while as he was buſied about theſe things, PISO and his wife neuer left to murmure againſt him, and to blaſpheme him openly: which he diſſembled, knowing from whence it did proceed. And hauing made an end with the Parthians, hee departed from thence to viſit the prouince of *Egypt*: and in his abſence (although it were not long) his competitor PISO plotted ſuch matters againſt him, that when he vnderſtood of his returne, he departed out of that prouince. But as he had plotted and practiſed his death, he went not farre off, but remained ſome daies in an Iland: in which time, GERMANICVS comming on his way, was poyſoned by the practiſe of PISO, but by the direction and counſell of TIBERIVS (as it was thought) wherewith he dyed ſuddenly, leauing behind him ſonnes and daughters; among which was one named CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was afterwards Emperour. For which cauſe it hath been very expedient to [illegible]e ſo much mention of his father GERMANICVS, who if he had liued had b[illegible]n Emperour and ſucceſſor to TIBERIVS.

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The excellent Captaine GERMANICVS being dead in ſuch manner, as is aboue ſaid, his wife AGRIPPINA came to *Rome* with her children, and brought with her the aſhes of her deceaſed husband. The Emperour TIBERIVS made ſhew of great ſorrow (although fained) for the death of GERMANICVS: the like did LIVIA and her ſonne DRVSVS, who then was come to *Rome*, who in truth was very glad thereof: for by the death of GERMANICVS he did aſſuredly hope to ſucceede in the Empire. But true and vnfained was the ſorrow which all the people of *Rome* conceiued for the death of GERMANICVS, and great were the fauours and loue which they ſhewed to AGRIPPINA and her children: and great was the enmitie and hatred they bare againſt PISO, whom they openly charged to haue murdered him; who preſuming on TIBERIVS his fauour (being altogether ſhameleſſe) came to *Rome*, where, in the behalfe of AGRIPPINA and her friends, he was accuſed for the aforeſaid murder. Which TIBERIVS diſſembling, (as one who was not to loue him any better then the reſt) he was driuen to ſuch a plunge in the accuſation, that before that the matter was determined, hee was found dead in his bed (as it was thought) by his owne hands: although (as CORNELIVS TACITVS ſaith) it was neuer certainly knowne: but there were many opinions cõcerning the ſame. Who alſo writeth that a mighty man named TAFARINAS roſe in *Africa* in the prouince of *Numidia*; and leuying great forces, ouerthrew certaine Romane cohorts, thinking to haue been able to poſſeſſe the countrie: againſt whom went the Proconſul LVCIVS ASTRONICVS with an armie: and comming to a battaile he ouercame and put them to flight, to their great domage and loſſe. Which (as it ſeemeth) happened in the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS; although afterwards the ſame TAFARINAS was againe ouerthrowne, by the Proconſul BLESVS, in a ſecond rebellion.

The next yeere following, the Emperour TIBERIVS made himſelfe to be choſen Conſul, and his ſonne DRVSVS for his compañion, as at other times hee had done: and faining that it behooued him for his health, he went foorth of *Rome*, to the end to ground and eſtabliſh DRVSVS in the gouernment of the Empire; for of his brother CLAVDIVS vntill then he made ſmall account: but God diſpoſed of all in another manner. In the ſame yeere many cities in *France* rebelled, being vnable to endure the intolerable tributes and extortions which TIBERIVS anew impoſed vpon thẽ. The captaines & mouers of this rebellion, were two hardy men, the one called FLORVS, and the other SACROBIS, which did ſo much trouble the countrey, that they put *Rome* it ſelfe in great feare, a great deale being there reported more then was true. But this did nothing trouble TIBERIVS; ſo much had hee forgotten all vertue and goodnes, giuing himſelfe wholy ouer to vice and ſenſualitie in his old age. But CAIVS SILIVS, who was Captaine of thoſe parts, did ſoone repreſſe the troubles of *France*, who with his legions came againſt thoſe which rebelled, and ouerthrew and put them to flight in a battaile, and ſlew a great number of them: and ſo he pacified that countrey, and his ſonne DRVSVS did principally employ himſelfe in the gouernment. TIBERIVS paſſing the moſt part of the time in *Campania*, betweene whom and his mother LIVIA began ſome ſecret (which grew to publike) quarrels and enmities, he being very vnreuerent and vndutifull; and ſhe much diſcontented with his manner of gouernment, and chiefly for the priuate familiaritie betweene him and ELIVS SEIANVS, whom he fauoured ſo much that he made him captaine of the Pretorian cohorts, and gaue him many other dignities, and finally made him ſo great, that he preſumed to contend with his ſonne DRVSVS, and his preſumption was

ſuch,

ſuch, that by wicked practiſes and deuices, he allured to his diſhoneſt luſt the wife of the ſaid DRVSVS, daughter in law to TIBERIVS, whoſe name was LIVIA daughter of GERMANICVS. And committing this adulterie (with a conceit to ſucceed in the ſteed of DRVSVS) he practiſed his death, and found meanes for an Eunuch his ſeruant, to poyſon him: which tooke effect, and DRVSVS died thereof, and left one ſonne named TIBERIVS, as his grandfather, and it was not then knowne who was the cauſe of his death. Whereof aroſe great murmuring in *Rome*, although it little grieued the greateſt part: for they deemed that GERMANICVS his three ſonnes ſhould haue ſucceeded in his place, which they much loued for their fathers ſake, whoſe names were CLAVDIVS NERO, CAIVS CALIGVLA, and DRVSVS. This happened in the ninth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS, which was the manifeſt beginning of his misfortunes: we may ſay the like of the Common-wealth; for from that time forwards, all his actions and purpoſes had ill ſucceſſe, and his deteſtable vices diſcouered themſelues, and the ſubiects endured infinit cruelties, robberies, outrages and oppreſſions: as alſo in this ſame yeere, TAPARINAS againe rebelled in *Africa*, who in his laſt rebellion eſcaped by flight: and hauing leuied much people, in the end was the third time ouerthrowne in battaile, and wholy defeated by PVBLIVS DOLABELLA the Proconſul.

In *Rome* the wicked SEIANVS (TIBERIVS his fauorite) although that at the beginning he made ſhew publikely to fauour GERMANICVS his ſonnes, which (as it hath been ſaid, and it was thought) ſhould haue been TIBERIVS his ſucceſſors: But afterwards all his ſtudie and practiſe was to abaſe and ruinate them, and to that end, procured falſe accuſations and ſuſpitions to be ſowne againſt all ſuch as tooke their, or AGRIPPINA their mothers part. And to bring this and other his wicked deuiſes to effect, he procured TIBERIVS to returne from *Rome* whither he was come: who following the others counſell, aſwell for this, as the more freely to giue himſelfe to his deteſtable vices, went into the Ile of *Capra*, which lieth vpon the coaſt of *Naples*, where he remained for a time, and being returned into *Italie*, making his progreſſe into diuers places, neuer came any more to *Rome*, neither in the reſt of his life is there any more to be ſpoken, but of his vices and cruelties, whereof in ſome we will make ſome briefe relation. Before which it is requiſit that all men know, that during this peregrination of the Emperor TIBERIVS in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt true God and man ſuffered his death and paſſion, PONTIVS PILATE being preſident or gouernor of *Ieruſalem* in the prouince of *Iudea*. And to the end that it may be the better knowne and vnderſtoode how PILATE came to concur with one of the HERODES, and how many there were of the HERODES, of whom mention is made in the holy Scriptures, which is a matter whereof ſome haue made a doubt, in few words I will here ſet downe: which was in this manner, as the euangeliſt teſtifieth, and as out of Saint IEROM and IOSEPHVS it is gathered. HERODE the great ſonne of ANTIPATER, who was called HERODE ASCALONITA, was placed there by the Romanes, and hauing raigned many yeeres, was the ſame to whom the three Kings came from the Eaſt guided by a Starre, and he who murthered ſo many innocent children, and ſome of his owne children alſo, when Chriſt was borne; who within ſhort ſpace after died, and by his death his ſonne, whoſe name was ARCHELAVS, had the kingdomes of *Iudea*, and of *Idumea*, and to his other two ſons (for the other three died before their father) were giuen certaine tetrarchies, whereof to this HERODE ANTIPAS

The paſſion of Chriſt our redeemer.
Ioſephus in his antiquities in his 15. 16. 17. and 18. bookes, and in his firſt and ſecond of the warres of the Iewes.
Saint Ierom vpon the ſecond chapter of S. Matthew.
The Herodes how many they were.
Herodes Aſcalonita.
Saint Mathew the ſecond chapter, 2.

ANTIPAS (which was one of them) was allotted the Tetrarchie of *Galile*, and by this meanes he is called Tetrarch; and this was he which put Saint IOHN BAPTIST to death, and he, to whom PILATE ſent Chriſt, who diſdained him. And to PHILLIP his other ſonne was giuen the Tetrarchie of *Trachonitis*, and the other brother, who (as I ſaid) had the title of a King, was accuſed to OCTAVIAN, and by him depriued and baniſhed into *France*, to the citie of *Vienna*, by meanes whereof PILATE was ſent to gouerne that prouince; and by this meanes it happened that Chriſt died in the time of PILATE and of HERODE ANTIPAS the Tetrarch, from whom the Tetrarchie afterwards was alſo taken by CAIVS CALIGVLA, and he died baniſhed in *Lions* in *France*, and his Nephew the ſonne of his brother ARISTOBVLVS, which was one of the three which their father ſlew in his life time. And HERODE AGRIPPA was hee, to whom CAIVS CALIGVLA reſtored the kingdome of *Iudea*. And afterwards the Emperor CLAVDIVS gaue the Tetrarchie of *Galile* to his Vncle: and this was he, who put Saint IAMES to death, who beginning to perſecute the Apoſtles, died ſtriken by an Angell, as Saint LVKE beareth record.

Herodes Antipas. Saint Luke chapter 2.

Herodes Agrippa.

The acts of the Apoſtles chap. 12.

Chriſt being put to death by the ſentence of PILATE, and he knowing afterwards that Chriſt was riſen againe, by the report of thoſe which he himſelfe had ſet to watch his bodie, and being alſo informed of the many miracles which he did in his life time (notwithſtanding that he was an idolator and a wicked iudge, and had adiudged him to die) yet TERTVLLIAN and EVSEBIVS in his eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his ſeuenth booke, moſt ancient and true authors, doe record, that by his letters, he aduertiſed the Emperor TIBERIVS thereof, to the end that he ſhould conſider and determine, whether Chriſt ſhould be held for a God or no; and TIBERIVS ſent to the Senate to conſult thereof, he giuing his opinion that he ought to be ſo: but the Senators, as the diuels ſchollers, counſelled TIBERIVS that he ſhould not doe it. Which (as theſe authors affirme) was becauſe that he had not firſt made the Senate acquainted therewith, which pretended by an auncient law which they had, to haue the ſuperintendence in all matters of religion: yet TIBERIVS notwithſtanding that the Senate conſented not to his opinion, commaunded that the chriſtians ſhould be free from perſecution; but he neither embraced the faith of Chriſt as he ought, neither left his ſinne and vices.

Pilate made relation of the miracles which Chriſt wrought to the Emperor Tiberius.

Firſt he gaue himſelfe to his old vice of exceſſiue gluttonie and drunkennes, for which cauſe from his youth (in ſteede of TIBERIVS NERO) they called him BIBERIVS MERO, which ſignifieth a drinker of the beſt: and euen in this his old age, he hath been often knowne to ſit all a whole night, and part of the day, at a banket, giuing gifts and rewards to ſuch as dranke moſt, and in fauour thereof he inſtituted a new office and magiſtracie, as maiſter of delights and ſports. After this, his chiefeſt buſines was in abominable luxury and incontinencie, which was ſuch and ſo abominable that chriſtian eares can hardly endure the hearing thereof, nor chriſtian hand write the ſame, wherefore I will paſſe it ouer in ſilence. Let this ſuffice, that it was horrible and deteſtable, and not contented to commit it himſelfe, he induced and drew others thereto, and gaue iewels and rewards to thoſe which inuented and committed moſt filthines. And this wicked old Emperor, perſeuering in his libidinous ſinne, forgot not his crueltie and couetouſnes, whereto he was no leſſe addicted: for hee encreaſed his ſubſidies and tributes in ſuch manner that the prouinces became ruinate and deſolate; and committed many other [illegible] of the like qualitie.

[illegible]BERIVS

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As for his crueltie, all the examples cannot be repeated, they did ſo exceede: for he condemned the moſt principall and beſt men in *Rome* to death, and confiſcated their goods, for very light cauſes, and moſt of them forged. One he put iuſtly to death, and with much reaſon cauſed him to be ſlaine, which was his great fauorite SEIANVS, for many ſinnes which he had learned of him (as DION COCEIVS recordeth:) but for the reſt, it is a matter ridiculous, and otherwiſe lamentable, for what cauſes they were accuſed and condemned. One he cauſed to be ſlaine, becauſe that commending BRVTVS and CASSIVS, he ſaid, that they were the laſt Romanes: another he cauſed to be ſlaine, becauſe that in a tragedie which he had compiled, he ſpake ill of AGAMEMNON: another Romane Knight he commaunded to be ſlaine, becauſe that in a garden he had taken vp a Capon: and for other ſuch like matters as theſe, he made to be ſlaine ſixteene, of twentie noble old men; which he had choſen for his counſellors. And he forbare not to execute theſe cruelties vpon his allies and kinsfolkes: for beſides that which is alreadie ſaid, he commaunded his Nephew GERMANICVS to be ſlaine, and afterwards the three ſonnes which he left, ſeeing them to growe in eſtimation; the two elder of them he cauſed to be accuſed by falſe witneſſes, and he himſelfe wrote ſuch things to *Rome* againſt them, that in the end they were condemned to death, the one of them deſperatly killed himſelfe, and he cauſed the other to pine to death with hunger, as SVETONIVS reportteh. It was a maruell that he had not done the like by the third, whoſe name was CAIVS CALIGVLA, and by their Vncle CLAVDIVS; but it is to be beleeued that he would haue done it, if he had liued a while longer. Theſe executions hee thus commaunded to be done, to the end that his crueltie might attaine to the higheſt degree, which were not ordinarie: for before their death, they paſſed hunger, torments, and diſgraces, to qualifie them. Finally, to conclude, they were ſo many and ſo fearefull, that many which were condemned, ſlew themſelues, ſome with poyſon, and ſome with yron, for feare; for TIBERIVS did execute his furie with ſuch crueltie, that he accounted it a deede of charitie, to put them to an ordinarie kinde of death: ſo as for that one killed himſelfe before that he could execute his rage vpon him, he cryed out aloud, oh how hath CORNELIVS eſcaped me? for ſo was that mans name: and to another, which entreated him that he would not deferre his death, TIBERIVS anſwered, I am not ſo much thy friend, as to doe ſo. And employing himſelfe in theſe deuiliſh exerciſes, wherein he perſeuered euen vntill his death; ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, breaking the peace and league which he had contracted with GERMANICVS, was ſo bold as to enter into the prouince of *Armenia*, and the limits of the Empire, and alſo the Sarmates inuaded the prouinces; for which TIBERIVS tooke no care, neither leuied any new armie; but they defended themſelues with their ordinarie legions and armies the beſt that they could.

Now, foraſmuch as in many places of this hiſtorie, mention is made of legions and armies, which the Romanes ordinarily held in their prouinces, in time both of peace and warre, I hold it fit to declare what they were, for the better vnderſtanding of what is alreadie, and ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Which is a great argument, to conſider how great the wealth and power of the Romanes was: and although that ſome authors doe treate thereof, I will onely ſet downe what CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth in the fourth booke of his hiſtories, an hiſtoriographer of great authoritie. He firſt ſaith that in the two ſeas, of the one, and other ſide of *Italie*, to wit, in the Adriatick [illegible]a, now the gulfe of *Venice*; and

in

in the Sicilian ſea called Mediterranean, they maintained two great nauies of gallies and ſhippes for their guarde and ſecuritie, and for the ſafe paſſage of Merchants, and ſuch other neceſſarie occaſions as were offered. Another great nauie they maintained vpon the coaſt of *France*, betweene *Spaine* and *Italie*; beſides thoſe which they had in a readines and cauſed to be builded, when any occaſion of warre was offered. Their armies by land were diuided in manner following: vpon the *Rhines* ſide in the coaſt of *France*, they held eight legions, to keepe thoſe countries which they poſſeſſed in *Germanie*, and to reſiſt the Germanes and other northerly nations, and theſe ordinarily were the moſt experienced and beſt ſouldiers: And although that the number of a legion did chaunce to encreaſe and diminiſh vpon diuers occaſions, yet the ordinarie in the time of the Emperors was (after VEGETIVS and MODESTVS) that euery legion ſhould containe ſixe thouſand and one hundred footemen, and ſeuen hundred twentie and ſixe horſemen. Of theſe they held in *Spaine*, three ordinarie legions; and in *Africa*, in the prouince of *Carthage*, two; and in *Mauritania* one; and two for the guarde of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and in the prouinces of *Meſopotamia* and *Syria* (to wit) in the lands contained betweene the *Syrian* ſea, the furtheſt end of the *Leuant* ſea and the riuer *Euphrates*, which was (for a long time) the bound of the Romane Empire, they held foure legions. And heere in *Europe* (beſides thoſe which I haue alreadie named) they had other ſixe legions, in this manner: in *Auſtrich* and *Hungarie* they had two; and in *Seruia* and *Bulgaria*, as many; and other two in *Slauonia*; and neere vnto the citie of *Rome*, were alwayes lodged twelue Cohorts, nine of which were called Pretorian, and the other three Vrbane, which by turne did guarde the Emperors palace. Of all theſe Cohorts (according to the ſame authors) the firſt and moſt principall of them contained one thouſand, one hundred and fiue footemen, and one hundred and thirtie two horſemen; and the others equally each of them fiue hundred and fiftie footemen, and threeſcore and ſixe horſemen. Beſides all which, they alſo had in diuers cities and prouinces, companies of horſemen, which were friends and ſubiects to the Empire; and alſo other companies of footemen, which were called Auxiliaries, which were not trained after the Romane order and diſcipline: ſo as they continually held and paied fiue and twentie legions, beſides thoſe which were payed by their friends. And this was in time of peace, for the authoritie and guarde of the Empire; for when there were any warres (according as neede required) they reinforced their armies, and encreaſed the number of their legions.

Nauies and fleets maintained by the Romanes in ſundrie places and prouinces.

A legion of how many foote and horſe it conſiſted.

Pretorian and Vrban Cohorts.

Auxiliarie forces.

With the force of theſe great garriſons the Romane Empire maintained and defended it ſelfe, notwithſtanding the want of care and diligence in the Emperors, as in TIBERIVS, of whom we now diſcourſe, who (as is ſaid) ſpent the reſt of his life vntill his death in diuelliſh exerciſes, which being much wiſhed for by all the world, ouertooke him in a houſe of pleaſure neere to *Naples*, hauing raigned twentie and three yeeres Emperor, in the ſeuentie and eight yeere of his age, and thirtie and nine yeeres after the brith of Chriſt. In what manner he died, the authors agree not, for ſome ſay that hee was poyſoned, by his Nephew and ſucceſſor CAIVS CALIGVLA: others ſay that being ſicke as it was thought mortally, and ſeeing that hee made ſome ſhew of recouerie, for feare that hee would mend, the ſame CALIGVLA ſmothered him with a pillow, or with the couering of the bed, he hauing ordained him for his ſucceſſor. Notwithſtanding that by reaſon of a certaine prophecie which hee held, he had determined to haue ordained his Nephew TIBERIVS the ſonne of DRVSVS for his heire, whom

whom DION COCEIVS in his hiſtories ſaith, he would not name, becauſe he was not aſſured that he was his ſonnes ſonne, for the ſuſpition which he held of his mother; and alſo becauſe that the Mathematicians and Aſtrologians, to whom he was much affected, and gaue credit, had told him, that he ſhould liue but a little while, and that CALIGVLA ſhould kill him: and ſo vpon a time being very much offended, he ſaid to CALIGVLA, thou wilt kill me, and another ſhall kill thee. It is alſo imagined, that TIBERIVS choſe CALIGVLA for his ſucceſſor, for that he knew his euill and wicked inclination, hoping that with his vices, he would deface and blot his ſinne and wickednes out of remembrance; and alſo for that he beleeued, that he would extinguiſh the Romane nobilitie; and was ſo wicked and cruell that he deſired that all the world might end with his life, and ſo he was ſometime wont to ſay, that he wiſhed, that when he ſhould die, that then the heauens and earth might be diſſolued: but he deſerued not to ſee the heauens; and all the earth reioyced and was glad when he died, as all authors write, and this was the end of TIBERIVS.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS CALIGVLA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

CAligula before that he was made Emperour, was ſo acceptable and in ſo good grace with the people and Senate of Rome, that when he was made Lord, it is vnknowne whether was the greater, either the ſorrow which was in Rome for the death of Octauian, or the ioy which it conceiued for the ſucceſſion of Caligula. But after that he was made Emperour, in a manner, as though that with his dignitie he had chaunged his naturall inclination, he became ſo wicked and infamous, that I cannot ſet downe his diſhoneſties, without offending the honeſtie of him that ſhal reade the ſame, nor without a burthen to his modeſtie that ſhall write it. He made the bridge at Baias, a worke of no leſſe fooliſhnes, then great expence. He deflowred three of his owne

ſiſters,

ſiſters, and of his Palace (with reuerence be it ſpoken) he made a brothel of Romane Matrones. He was ſo couetous, that he raiſed a taxe vpon the whores, and a ſhare of their gettings. He vſed to walke vp and downe vpon Crownes, and was ſo prodigall, that ſometimes he cauſed moſt precious iewels to be diſſolued with vinegar and put into his meate; and was finally in all his actions ſo contrarie to himſelfe, that no man knew how to behaue himſelfe towards him. He would be called and reputed for a God, which name he ſtained with ſuch abominable crueltie, that he was worſe then the diuell, and ſhed ſo much bloud, and made the wilde beaſts which he kept, to the end to deuoure men, to drinke and ſucke ſo much, that thoſe which were condemned to be ſlaine by them, rather choſe to kill themſelues, then to endure the torments which he deuiſed in his moſt cruell minde for them. He died of thirtie wounds giuen him by certaine which conſpired againſt him, hauing raigned almoſt foure yeeres, whoſe death was ſo acceptable to the people, that it is hard to ſay whether was the greater ioy, that which was conceiued when he was made Emperour, or that when he left the Empire, together with his moſt vituperable life.

CALIGVLA the ſonne of GERMANICVS ſucceeded TIBERIVS in the Empire, who during the time of his raigne, was in the higheſt degree of all kinde of wickednes abominable: and his words and deedes were ſo pernicious and deteſtable, that in truth it is a ſhamefull and vnworthie matter, hauing written the liues of ſo worthie men, as were IVLIVS, and OCTAVIANVS CÆSARS, and their ſo heroicall acts: now to deſcend to the ſinke and bottome of the ſinnes, crueltie, and ribauldrie of CALIGVLA. For although there wanted not in TIBERIVS to be abhorred and to be ſorrie for, yet ſome part of his raigne was good, and before that he had been an excellent Captaine, and had enlarged the dominion of the Empire, for which cauſe his euill conditions might be ſomewhat the better tolerated: but this being wanting in CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was a man of no ſuch valour (although in the beginning he deceiued the world with an apparance of ſome good deedes) yet it maketh the remembrance of him the more deteſtable, and his hand that ſhall write the ſame, the more heauie. But becauſe I am not to make choiſe of Emperours, of whom I am to treate at my pleaſure, but to continue the proceſſe and courſe of my hiſtorie, wherein my principall foundation is, to obſerue the truth, and cleauing thereto, to continue my troubleſome iourney: Let him which ſhall reade it conſider how deteſtable and abominable his doings were, and how ſmall time his Empire indured, which attained not to foure yeers complete, and the end which he made, to the end that he may flie and abhorre them, and may do the like by ſome others which followed, like to him, or worſe.

Caligula in the higheſt degree abominable.

In Caligula vvas nothing that was good.

After the death of TIBERIVS CÆSAR (as I ſaid) the ioy which the Senate and people of *Rome* conceiued was incredible, and therewith they accepted and approoued the Empire of CAIVS CALIGVLA, whom before his death TIBERIVS had adopted and nominated for his ſucceſſour, for the loue and goodwill which they bare to his father GERMANICVS, and for the pitie and commiſeration which they conceiued for his death, affliction and wrong done to his houſe. For theſe cauſes was he accepted and ratified by all the Prouinces, and prouinciall armies: for his father being Captaine generall in *Germanie*, and in the Eaſt, he was bred vp among them, and this name of CALIGVLA was giuen him for a certaine kinde of hoſe, called Caliga, vſed among men of warre, which hee did vſe to weare. Comming from the place where TIBERIVS died, to *Rome*, a great number of the moſt principall people of all eſtates went foorth to entertaine him vpon the way, with exceeding ioy, notwithſtanding that hee came mourning with the dead bodie of TIBERIVS, which the ſouldiers brought to be burnt at

VVherefore he vvas called Caligula.

Rome, according to the custome in that time. And comming with great solemnity to *Rome*, hee was obeyed with vnspeakeable gladnes and goodwill, they giuing him new names and Epithetes, signifying great reuerence and loue.

Caligula his gesture and disposition of bodie.

CALIGVLA was a man tall of stature, great boned and corpulent; but his necke and his legges were very small and slender, deformed and vnsuteable to the rest of his bodie; his countenance was horrible and vgly; and after that he was Emperor, he took pleasure to feare and amaze people with his lookes: and to this effect it is written, that beholding himselfe in a glasse, he would studie what countenance to set, to seeme more fierce and terrible. His eyes and temples were very hollow, his forehead broad, his complexion yellow, his head very bald, and in those parts of his head where he had any haire, it was very thinne, all the rest of his bodie being marueilously hairie. He was a man very vnsound and vnhealthy, and in his youth was troubled with the foule euill, and other diseases, and afterwards (as we will presently shew you) he was so sick and euill of bodie and mind, chaunging his conditions with the Empire: for before that time, he was euer held for good. Wherefore it is said of him, that he had been the best seruant, and was the worst and most wicked Lord in the world. The first thing he did after he was Lord, was to disanull and make voide the testament of TIBERIVS, which he had made two yeeres before, wherein he made him & his nephew TIBERIVS his coheires: whereto the Senate did willingly agree, & euery man deuised & imagined how to gratifie him and doe him seruice, with such loue, that within few daies after he was confirmed in the Empire. Going foorth of *Rome* to recreate himselfe vpon the Sea at the Ile of *Capra*, and in other Ilands vpon that coast, they made vowes and sacrifices for his health and returne: and the writers affirme, that there were slaine 170000. beasts, according to the rites and ceremonies then vsed: And he then making shew of a man, and not of a beast (as his deedes did afterwards make manifest) presently commaunded the ashes of his mother and brethren to be brought to *Rome*, and there to be sumptuously buried. He then tooke for his companion in the Consulship, which hee then would execute, his vncle CLAVDIVS brother to GERMANICVS, who in the time of TIBERIVS liued priuate and in disgrace; and young TIBERIVS, which was nephew to TIBERIVS the Emperour, faining to loue him, and to beare him goodwill, and to doe him honour, he made captaine and prince of all the Romane youth. Seeking by counterfeit goodnes and bountie, to draw to himselfe the goodwill of the people; he did twice giue vnto euery bodie (excepting none) a certaine quantitie of money, which they called Congiarius; and to all the Senate, and to all those of the order of Knighthood (which were a degree betweene the communaltie and the Nobilitie) he made a most solemne banquet. And faining also that he meant to gouerne with iustice, he commaunded OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR his Institutions to be sought out, which TIBERIVS interrupted and brought out of vse. He commaunded also great playes and feasts to be made in *Rome* of Sword-plaiers, which were men which to shew pleasure to the beholders, fought and killed one another; and certaine men on horseback which they called Troians. He also appointed certaine huntings, wherein were slaine a great number of Lions, Panthers, Boares, Beares, and other wilde beasts: and besides this, Comedies and other shewes which were made in the Theater, and other kinds of sports and pleasures to delight the people, whose loue and grace he then procured. And besides that which is alreadie said (as SVETONIVS reciteth) principally in the beginning of his Empire, ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, who rebelled and was an enemie,

mie, came to ſome ſpeech with the Captaine of the Romanes, which commaunded the legions in *Syria*, and fearing the new Emperour whom he yet knew not, made peace with him; and paſſing the riuer *Euphrates*, which was the bound of the Romane Empire, came in perſon to adore and to doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, and to the Imperiall ſtandard and Eagle: ſo as the little, vntill this time, may be reported of CALIGVLA, as of a wiſe and diſcreete prince; and the remainder ſeemeth to be of a ſenſeleſſe man and a brute and ſauage beaſt. The beginning wherof was one of the greateſt fooleries or vanities that euer was ſeene in the world, which was to make ſuch a feaſt as was neuer heard of, and to ſhew greatnes and vanitie, and to be able to walke and tread on the Sea as well as vpon the land: Or (as others ſay) becauſe he would imitate King XERXES, who paſſed his armie out of *Aſia* into *Europe* ouer the ſtreight of *Helleſpont* vpon a wooden bridge: he commaunded to be brought together, and to be new built all the ſhips which he could get, which were infinite; and in a bay or a creeke which the Sea maketh neere to the hauen of *Baias* in *Campania*, from one point of the land to the other ſide of the Bay, which are about three miles diſtant, hee commaunded a bridge to be made vpon the ſaid ſhips, ſet in two rankes, faſtned and moared together with anchors, chaines and cables, which made them to ſtand fixe and firme: he commanded this bridge to be made of boords, ſo ſtrong and eeuen, and to lay ſo much earth vpon the ſame, that it ſeemed to be firme ground, and one of the ſtreetes of *Rome*. And bringing for this worke a great number of Artificers and labourers, with an vnmeaſurable charge; he alſo cauſed houſes and lodgings to be builded vpon the ſame bridge, as writeth DION, who declareth this matter more at large then all the reſt.

Peace with the King of the Parthians.

A wonderfull bridge made by Caligula.

This worke being finiſhed, and hee with all the Court of *Rome* going thither, with an infinite number of people which from all parts came to ſee this ſpectacle, hee moſt proudly attired in robes of gold and pearle, with a crowne of Oaken boughes vpon his head (which was called *Ciuica*) on horſebacke, accompanied with men of warre, and all the Noble and gentlemen of *Rome*, entred at one end of the bridge and road to the other; and lying one night vpon it, the next day hee returned, riding in a Chariot drawne by moſt excellent faire horſes, in manner of a triumph. DION writeth, that the night when he lay vpon the bridge, he cauſed ſuch an infinite number of Torches, Lant-hornes, and other lights to be lighted and ſet vp, that the cleerenes thereof did wholy ouercome the darknes of the night, in all that ſide of the mountaines neere adioyning; and that CALIGVLA vaunted and boaſted that he had made of the night, day; and of the Sea, land. And ſpending herein two whole daies, in all which time the Sea happened to be ſtill and calme, he ſaid; that *Neptune* (whom they held for the god of the Seas) did it for feare, and to doe him reuerence. The fruite which enſued of this ſtrange follie, was great famine and ſcarcitie of corne, and other neceſſaries, for that the ſhips were ſtaied about this bridge, to make the which there needed an incredible number of them. Such like benefits as this, did euer follow the actions of CALIGVLA. Wherefore before that I ſpeake of the reſt, to ſay the plaine truth, it is to be vnderſtood, that many were of opinion, that to this man was giuen a certaine drinke and medicine by his wife, whoſe name was CESONIA, wherewith ſhe made him mad and out of his naturall wits; ſhe giuing it him, to the end that he ſhould loue her: for he hauing been at other times maried, had put away his wiues; ſo as his crueltie and riots were by ſome attributed to his fooliſhnes and want of wit. Of this opinion is IOSEPHVS in the 18. booke of his Antiquities, and the Poet

IVVENAL meaneth ſo, and alſo SVETONIVS, and ſay that after he had taken this drinke, CALIGVLA ſlept not both by day and night not aboue three houres; and in them riſing amazed, it ſeemed to him that he ſaw Images and viſions: adding this to his peruerſe condition and nature, hee ſuffered himſelfe to be led by her, and committed outrages without number or meaſure, which I know not how to ſet downe in any order: among which hee ſhewed himſelfe ſo hautie and vainglorious, that he deſpiſed all the men in the world.

Diuelliſh pride.

In the end (beſides this that hee was the firſt of the Emperours which cauſed himſelfe to be called Lord) he purpoſed to be honoured as a God, or to ſay better, a Diuell; and made himſelfe to be adored, taking firſt vpon him names neuer thought nor heard of, calling himſelfe father of Armies, *Optimus & maximus*, with other epithetes, which they gaue to their god IVPITER only. And certaine Kings in his preſence which came to viſit him, and to doe him honour, being at contention among themſelues about the antiquitie and nobilitie of their houſes and linages, he interrupted, repeating a verſe out of HOMER in the perſon of VLYSSES, which ſaith, That there neither is, nor ought to be, but one King and Lord: and had then taken a Crowne and Diademe of a King, but that he was giuen to vnderſtand, that his owne was a more high eſtate and dignitie. Neuertheleſſe, he determined with his pride and elation to vſurpe the dignitie which he held for diuine, and cauſed to be caried before him the ſtatue of IVPITER, and ſome others, which (as PLINIE recounteth) the Romanes vſed to haue with heads to be taken off and on, to the end they might ſerue for diuers gods; and taking away thoſe heads which they had, he cauſed other heads to be ſet on, to his owne likenes; which in my opinion had been better if they had cut off his head and ſet it thereupon. Beſides this, he cauſed a Temple to be builded, and to be dedicated to his name and honour, and made his ſtatue and image made at *Life* to be ſet vp therein, which they called *Iconium*; and hee appointed and inſtituted prieſts to ſerue him: and this his image to be euery day clothed in ſuch attire, as himſelfe did weare. Alſo he cauſed Peacocks, Feaſants, and an infinite number of other princely birds to be ſacrificed in this Temple, as in other Temples of the gods of the Gentiles was done, with which hee ſought to make himſelfe equall: which truly was no great matter: for they all were diuels, Impoſtures and deceits.

The images of the Gods, with heads to be taken off and on.

But conſidering the opinion and conceit which they then held, it was a preſumption neuer heard nor thought of, which came to be held for a ridiculous fooliſhnes: for preſuming much vpon his deitie, he came foorth one night by Moone light (ſhe being then at the full) and wooed and made loue to her, as if ſhe had been a faire Ladie. Sometimes he would alſo goe to the temple of IVPITER, and ioyning himſelfe cloſe to the image, he fained and made ſhew as though he had ſpoken in his eare: and ſometimes he laid his eare to it, as though it ſhould ſpeake to him: and ſometimes he made as though he were very angrie, chiding, and threatening to ſend it into *Græcia:* and afterwards he would faine himſelfe to be pacified, and that he was contented that they two ſhould dwell together: and ſo in this manner he proceeded to a thouſand good pleaſant fooleries, although they were diuelliſh. And on the other ſide, this man which preſumed to diſplace the gods and to make himſelfe one of them, ended in enuie to men; grieuing to ſee their ſtatues and memorials honored, commaunding many of them to be ouerthrowne, and defaced. He practiſed and was deſirous to deſtroy and diſgrace the poeſie of HOMER and of VIRGILL alſo: and in like manner the hiſtories of the excellent hiſtoriographer TITVS LIVIVS, and commaunded his

A ridiculous follie ſuch as the like was neuer heard of.

his image to be taken out of the Libraries in *Rome*, where they vſed to keepe the images and pictures of great and excellent learned men. Of VIRGIL he ſaid, that he was a man without any witte, and leſſe learning; and TITVS LIVIVS he reproued for a man of many words, and negligent; of SENECA (who in that time was much eſteemed and with great reaſon) he ſaid that he was ſand without lime, and a worke made without mixture: and ſo did he murmur of the moſt high and excellent wittes. Beſides which, he tooke from many Patricij and noble men of *Rome*, the armes and orhaments which they bare of their linages and families: and his enuie yet deſcended to lighter and meaner matters then theſe; ſo as there was no man (were he neuer ſo baſe) whom he enuied not for any proſperitie or good ſucceſſe that might happen vnto him; as to make men to be ſhauen, if he ſaw they had yellow or faire coloured haires.

Now for points and matters of diſhoneſtie, truly there is ſomuch to be ſaid, that a man may not, neither ought to make the whole relation thereof, to the end that his filthines doe not ſoyle and corrupt our hiſtorie: for it is certaine that he was ſo filthie and abominable, as his predeceſſor TIBERIVS, and if not more, he was no leſſe.

The abominable vices of Caligula.

In other vices he was beyond all meaſure paſſionate, being extreme in extremities, the one againſt the other: for he was greedie and couetous in extreme manner; and of the other ſide, prodigall and a ſpender aboue all meaſure. To glut his greedy couetouſnes, he inuented meanes to gather wealth together, and to rob the land and the people: ſo as there was no kinde of tribute or impoſition to be deuiſed which he put not in effect, euen amongſt common and diſhoneſt women; and of all ſutes in law, hee had the fortith part of any ſum that was recouered; and if the parties agreed before ſentence giuen, he had another certaine portion: and ſo in all things wherein any thing was to be gotten, he required and tooke a ſhare, euen of thoſe which were porters and got money by carrying of burthens vpon their ſhoulders. And hauing amaſſed together an infinit ſum, by direct and indirect meanes, he would lie downe and tumble vpon it, recreating himſelfe in his couetouſnes: wherein he truely ſhewed great ſimplicitie, ſeeing how little he did otherwaies eſteeme it, and his lauiſh expences, as the moſt prodigall man that euer was ſeene in the world, which a man may eaſily iudge by theſe few examples following. In the bathes wherein they did vſe to bathe in the water, he made to be caſt moſt precious and ſweete ſmelling oyntments, which were of exceeding great price, that they might bathe in them, hot and cold, as in other water. In the feaſts and bankets which he made, he commaunded moſt pretious pearles, and iewels to be diſſolued in moſt ſtrong vinegar, and to be put into their meate, becauſe the coſt ſhould be ineſtimable: and he commaunded alſo ſeruices to be made, that in ſteede of meate, the bread, fleſh, fiſh, and fruites, ſhould be of fine golde for his gueſts. Beſides this, he ſometimes caſt among the people a great ſum of money: whereby it ſeemeth that they had reaſon, which attribute the doings of this man to fooliſhnes, aſwell as to his euill diſpoſition; there was ſo great varietie in his actions, affections and deſires, as may be gathered by that which is alreadie ſaid, and the reſt which we will declare: as on the one ſide he contemned the gods, and preſumed himſelfe to be one of them, and yet he was ſo afeard of a thunderclape, that he ranne and hid himſelfe vnder a bed. Sometimes he was very conuerſable, and ſought and called men to be with him, and ſhewed himſelfe to be much delighted with their companie and conuerſation: at other times he eſchued them, and retired himſelfe to his workes. He

His extreme auarice.

Caligula his prodigalities.

The inconſtancie and variety in his doings and behauiours.

ſomtimes diſpatched matters with ſuch expedition and diligence, that he ſeemed to be the moſt quicke and cholerike man in the world; and at other times, with ſuch ſlacknes and leaſure, that he ſeemed not to be the man which he was before. And many which committed hainous crimes, he puniſhed not: and many others he commaunded to be ſlaine, which had done no offence. He would this day praiſe one thing, and the next day, he would peraduenture cauſe him to be ſlaine which ſpake well thereof. Finally, he was ſo variable that (as DION reporteth) men knew not what to doe, nor ſay, his conditions were ſo doubtfull. The like he did in his apparell, in his exerciſes, and in all his other actions: for procuring one thing, he would doe cleane contrarie; as we ſaid in robbing and heaping treaſure together, he would ſpend ſo, that thoſe treaſures ſhould not ſuffice for his expences. Beſides what is alreadie ſaid, the authors affirme that he commaunded certaine ſhippes to be built, which were the greateſt and moſt coſtly that euer were ſeene, of which all the timber was of Cedar, and the poupes and ſternes of Iuorie ſet with gold and precious ſtones, and all the ſailes and tackling were of ſilke of diuers colours: they were ſo great, that they had in them halles and gardens, wherein were many trees and flowers: in one of theſe ſhippes, he ſailed along the coaſt of *Naples* all one whole day, to diſport himſelfe. He alſo began certaine buildings and workes againſt all reaſon and humane diſcretion, and ſuch as ſeemed impoſſible. For in the ſea he commaunded huge pillers and towers to be builded, and by land he raiſed certaine valleyes, and made them equall with the mountaines, heaping vp rockes and earth in them, vntill they were eeuen therewith. And in other places, he began to digge downe mountaines to make them leuell with the meadowes, preſuming to mend the workes of nature.

Ships of incredible coſt and greatnes.

Proud buildings.

As CAIVS CALIGVLA was ſo variable and inconſtant, as we haue ſaid; ſo in crueltie onely he was conſtant, vſing it indifferently to all without reſpect of parentage or friendſhip: in the like manner he vſed his grandmother ANTONIA daughter to GERMANICVS, ſo that ſhe being in deſpaire, tooke poiſon whereof ſhe died. And the yong TIBERIVS Nephew to the Emperor TIBERIVS, and ſonne to DRVSVS (as I haue ſaid) he making ſhew to loue him, liuing ſecure and without feare, he ſent to kill him by the hands of a Tribune, for no other cauſe, but for that he vſed a certaine kinde of confection of ſweete ſauors for his delight: CALIGVLA ſaying, that he did it, for feare to be poiſoned. And SILLANVS, which had been his father in law, he forced him to kill himſelfe, for no other cauſe, but for that he went not one day to the ſea, with him, when he went. Which SILLANVS did not, but becauſe that the ſea made him ſicke. And PTOLOMIE the ſonne of IVBA King of *Mauritania*, to whom he was neere of kinne, and MACRO which had holpen him to get the Empire, and others, with whom he was in great league and friendſhip, in requitall of their deſerts he cauſed them to be cruelly put to death. To all men in the world, both in word and deede he vſed ſuch crueltie, that it would ſeeme incredible, had not ſo many and ſuch authors written the ſame: for he commaunded wild beaſts which hee kept for feaſts and triumphes, to be fattened with the bodies of liue men, condemned to death. And ſometimes cauſing ſome to be executed, he commaunded their parents and kinred to be preſent at their execution, and then inuited them to eate with him, and compelled them to diſcourſe of pleaſant matters. He alſo qualified his cruelties, with the ſundrie manners and kindes of deaths which he inflicted, prolonging it to the end, that the torment ſhould be the greater: So as they ſtoode in ſo great feare of this man, that many (if they had oportunitie) ſlew themſelues

The crueltie of Caligula.

themſelues rather then they would ſtay for his ſentence: among which the accurſed PONTIVS PILATE, who condemned to death the giuer of life IESVS CHRIST our redeemer, was one; who being accuſed and baniſhed, ſlew himſelfe with his owne hands. This wretched CALIGVLA was ſo blinded and ſo nuſled in bloud, that he much deſired and wiſhed that all the Romane people had had but one head, to the end that he might be able to cut off that head at one blowe. He accounted alſo and held the time of his raigne for infortunate, and complained of the infelicitie thereof, becauſe that in his daies there was no peſtilence, famine, earthquakes, deluges, ſpoiles by fire or other misfortunes.

There came by chance one day into his preſence, a man who had been baniſhed by the Emperor TIBERIVS, of whom hee asked what life hee led in his exile: the other to flatter him, anſwered, that he ſpent his time in praying for the death of TIBERIVS, to the end that he ſhould be Emperor: which when CALIGVLA heard (as he had baniſhed a great number of men) he beleeued that they all made the like prayer for him, and therefore commaunded ſo many of them as could be found, to be ſought out and ſlaine. Vſing theſe cruelties and ſuch like, or greater, he made himſelfe within few dayes ſo hatefull, that his death was generally deſired by all men, and practiſed by ſome: but the conſpiracies againſt him being diſcouered, it deferred his death, although but for a little while, which was as he deſerued, as we will preſently declare. But firſt we will ſpeake of the wars and conqueſts which he made, wherein he ſhewed no leſſe vanitie then in all the reſt. For vpon a ſodaine at the end of the third yeere of his raigne, he cauſed a great number of men of warre to be leuied, wherewith he departed from *Rome*, giuing out in ſpeech that he went to make warre in *Germanie* whither he tooke his iourney: whereto he added the ordinarie legions, which were held in thoſe parts, and with a ſhew and apparance to doe ſome great matter with his armie, he paſſed the riuer of *Rhine*, and beginning to make warre at ſuch time as it ſeemed to all men (conſidering his great number of men, and the determination wherewith he came) that he would haue ouerrunne the world, and haue made ſome great conqueſt; but he contented himſelfe with this, that the Kings ſonne of *Batauia* (which is now called *Holland*) being in diſgrace with his father, came to his ſeruice, and herewith hauing done ſome ſmall harme in that countrie, he returned, and paſſed the riuer: And after that he had giuen ſome alarmes, he tooke his way with his armie towards the ſea, and in memorie of his victorie, he there commaunded a tower to be builded, and all his ſouldiers to gather an aboundance of fiſhſhelles, as the ſpoyle of his enemies: and then calling his armie together, in ſuch manner, as captaines vſe to doe after ſome notable victorie, he made a long oration vnto them, and commended them all; and afterwards he commaunded a great ſome of money to be diſtributed amongſt them, ouer and aboue their pay. And returning to *Rome*, he ſent before to commaund that there ſhould be in a readines a moſt ſolemne triumph; carrying with him to that effect, certaine Barbarians his enemies, ſuch as he could get, but after wards he altered his determination, deferring the triumph vntill another time, and entred into *Rome* in ouacian triumph, and therein began to execute ſome of his accuſtomed cruelties, purpoſing to haue done other greater. Which the world and men vnable to endure: many conſpired againſt him: he which did moſt therein, and the firſt that began to practiſe, was a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whoſe name was CHEREA, and he died of thirtie wounds which they gaue him, in a vault or ſecret gallerie, wherein he vſed to paſſe vnſeene, from his pallace to certaine bathes, hauing moſt vnworthily

The conqueſts and vaine war of Caligula.

Batauia, Holland.

vnworthily raigned three yeeres and tenne moneths, in the nine and twentith yeere of his age, which as it passed, the true historiographer SVETONIVS writeth more at large, then any other: to whom I referre the curious reader to make an end of so bad a matter, as was CAIVS CALIGVLA.

This happened in the three and fortith yeere of CHRIST our Lord, and after that he was dead, there died the same day CESONIA his wife and one only daughter which he had: and notwithstanding that the Almaines which were of his guarde, made a great stirre, and would haue slaine the conspirators, and did kill some of them, and that there was a great hurly burly; yet in the end all was pacified, and his death was generally approoued, as of a Tyrant and most cruell prince; in like manner, as the death of such Kings and princes is vsually approued and agreeable, whose liues haue been detestable and odious. It is certainly knowne, that when CALIGVLA was slaine, hee purposed to haue put many to death; for in his closet or secret chamber, were found two sheetes of paper: whereof the one was sealed with a poiniard, and the other with a sword, wherein were written the names of a great number of Senators and Knights of *Rome*, which he had condemned to death. There was also found a great chest full of diuers kindes of poysons, such were the relickes and iewels of this peruerse man. In this short time wherein CAIVS CALIGVLA raigned, the name and faith of CHRIST was published and preached in a great part of the world, the holy Apostles Saint PETER and Saint PAVL preaching the same, and particularly in *Iudea* Saint MATTHEVV, who first of all wrote the Gospell.

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THE LIFE OF CLAVDIVS THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FIFT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

CLaudius the sonne of Drusius, and Vncle to Caligula, obtained the Empire more through the temeritie of the souldiers, then for any worthie acts done for his countrie: for Caligula being dead the Senate resolued to extirpate the race of the Casars, and to restore Rome to her auncient libertie, and with many armed men had seised vpon the Capitoll. Whereupon he standing in great feare, seeing so great a tumult (as commonly it happeneth vpon innouation in estates) and being by nature fearefull, and a coward, he hid himselfe in a secret place of the pallace, where being found by a souldier which by chaunce came to seeke for pillage, was by him reuerenced, and hailed Emperor. This souldier being seconded by others which together with the people desired a prince, in the end mauger the Senat they made him Emperor; in which dignitie he carried himselfe in the beginning with such modestie and humanitie, that all men began to perswade themselues of an excellent gouernment: but he continued not long in that good disposition, for through his little care, the naturall vices of his minde encreasing, he defrauded the world of the hope conceiued of him, and in short space became both luxurious, cruell, a drunkard, and a glutton. He had many wiues, but aboue all the rest Messalina was so dishoneſt and so infamous, that her filthines cannot be written without vsing vndecent and shamefull speeches. This Emperor was so forgetfull, and of so little memorie, that he remembred not in the euening what he had done

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in the morning; by reaſon whereof, he did oftentimes cauſe thoſe to be called to eate, or play with him, which he had commaunded to be put to death; and amongſt other matters, he asked wherefore his wife Meſſalina came not alſo to dinner, hauing but a little before cauſed her to be ſlaine. He made with exceſſiue charge the lake Fucinus to be dried vp, wherein before that it was dreined, he made an infinit number of men condemned to die to fight a nauale battaile. He ſubdued Mauritania which rebelled againſt him: and in his old age tooke to wife Agrippina the mother of Nero, who perceiuing that he was not greatly affected to her ſonne, as a woman deſirous to make him to ſucceede in the Empire, poyſoned him in certaine Muſhrumps which he vſually loued to eate, alleaging that they were meate for the gods, for that they grew of their owne accord, whoſe death was concealed by Agrippina, vntill ſhe had confirmed her ſonne for his ſucceſſor in the Empire. He liued ſixtie and foure yeeres, and raigned fourteene; his death was not greatly lamented, for that his life was not much beloued.

BY the death of CAIVS CALIGVLA, his Vncle CLAVDIVS and brother to his father the good GERMANICVS ſonne of DRVSVS and ſonne in law to OCTAVIANVS, had the Empire. But the manner how hee attained thereto was very ſtrange, and therefore worthie to be declared. The ſodaine death of CALIGVLA cauſed great ſtirre and confuſion in the citie of *Rome*, ſo ſoone as it was publiſhed, and ſome would not beleeue it, ſeeing it was done in a ſecret place, imagining that it was a matter fained by him, thereby to vnderſtand euery mans affection towards him. The conſpirators, as they did not execute his death to the end that any of them ſhould aſpire to the Empire, neither for any other man, but onely to free the common-wealth from ſo cruell a Tyrant, had more care for their owne ſafetie then to make choice of a new Emperor. The Conſuls preſently ſo ſoone as they were certified of his death, called and aſſembled the Senate, and being skared with the euils paſt, practiſed and agreed to reduce the citie of *Rome* to her auncient libertie, and to deface the name of CÆSARS and their Monarchie; and perſeuering in this determination, they ſeiſed on the Capitoll, with ſome of the Cohorts of the citie, which had the guarde of the pallace, and were alſo of their opinion. But herein were diuers opinions in the citie: for the common people would haue a head and an Emperor, for the hatred which they euer bare to the Senate, and for that the leaſt part of the euilles and cruelties committed by the Emperors, alighted vpon them; and alſo for that they enioyed and taſted of the feaſts and alarges which the Emperors vſed to make. The men of war of the pretorian Cohorts which were lodged hard by *Rome*, would that there ſhould be an Emperor, becauſe they were in hope to make choyſe of him at their pleaſure; and in regarde of the rewards and priuileges which they inioyed from the Emperors. But the matter remaining in this confuſion, neither the one nor the other knew whom to nominate.

The Senate ſought to reduce the citie to her auncient libertie.

The common people and men of warre would haue an Emperor.

It happened that CALIGVLA being dead, CLAVDIVS was in ſo great feare of his life, that he dared not to goe foorth of the Imperiall palace, neither there openly to ſhew himſelfe. But being amazed and in this feare, he went to hide himſelfe in the moſt ſecret place that he could finde; and certaine ſouldiers running vp and downe to take what they could get, it chaunced that one of them found him, ſeeing his feete: who to the end hee might know who he was, vncouered him, and knew him. And CLAVDIVS imagining [illegible] to be ſought for to be ſlaine, caſt himſelfe at the ſouldiers feete, deſiring him to ſaue his life: whereof

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the ſouldier aſſured him, and preſently reſolued to name him Emperour: and he aſſembling together thoſe which came in with him, they all did the like; and taking him vpon their ſhoulders, in a litter they caried him to their lodging; where trembling in great feare, he knew not to what iſſue this would come. But he was well receiued in the Campe, and the ſouldiers agreed to make him Emperour. The Conſuls and Senate knowing that he was caried to the Camp, in ſuch manner as aforeſaid, ſent to him, requiring him by a tribune of the people, to come to the Senate, and there to treate of ſuch matters as ſhould bee for the common good. Whereto he anſwered, that hee was there detained by force and could not come. It chaunced that at this time, HERODE AGRIPPA King of *Iudea*, was in *Rome*: whom (as is aboue ſaid) CAIVS CALIGVLA had reſtored to the kingdome, which had belonged to his vncle ARCHELAVS, and to his grandfather HERODE, he which ſlew the Innocents. *Claudius aſſiſted by Herode Agrippa.*

This HERODE ſhewing himſelfe newter, began to practiſe meanes betweene CLAVDIVS and the Senate (although that ſecretly he fauoured CLAVDIVS) counſelling him to take hart, and not to ſubmit himſelfe to the Senate. And one whole day and a night paſſing without any reſolution, or determining of any thing, which time CLAVDIVS paſſed betweene hope and feare: the next day the people began openly to require an Emperour, and many abandoned the Senate and the Conſuls; ſo as there followed much trouble (which IOSEPHVS noteth.) But at length, ſeeing that the ſucceſſion in the Empire more fitly appertained to CLAVDIVS, then to any other, they all agreed to make him Emperour: and the Senate went vnto him, and the cohorts ſware and did their accuſtomed homage, hee making to them many large promiſes; and ſo the Senate accepted and approoued him. And by theſe meanes he obtained the Empire of the world, who within a day before knew not where therein to find a place to hide himſelfe, to ſaue his life. *Lib. 19. c. 3.*

At what time as CLAVDIVS attained to the Empire he was fiftie yeeres old, which hee had euer liued poorely and little eſteemed, notwithſtanding that hee was neere of kinne to the Emperours, and had paſſed great daungers and perils, without hauing any office or dignitie; ſauing ſome few moneths the Conſulſhip, wherein by CAIVS CALIGVLA he was admitted for his companion. He was a man of a tall ſtature, and neither fat nor leane, of a faire and pleaſing countenance; and whether he ſate or ſtood, he euer ſhewed a greatnes, repreſenting a maieſtie: whereto his faire gray haires were a great furtherance. He had ſo ſmall ſtrength in his knees that he went weakly, and as though he were careleſſe. And when he was angrie, he was ſo much altred therewith, that the teares would fall from his eyes, and hee ſtammered in his ſpeech; beſides all which, his head did euer ſhake. He was a ſickly man, but after that he was Emperour, he was cured of his infirmities, ſauing the paine of the ſtomacke, which ſometimes grieued him very much. He was very learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues, and wrote bookes and hiſtories. He alſo tooke vpon him to adde three letters to the Latin Alphabet: but as a matter ſuperfluous they continued not. *Claudius his geſture and bodily diſpoſition.* *Claudius was learned in the Greeke and Latin tongues.*

CLAVDIVS is numbred among the bad Emperours, for the great vices and cruelties which he committed, ſuffering himſelfe to be gouerned by certaine enfranchiſed men which were his fauourites: yet he did many things as a worthie Prince, which were profitable; and ſo PAVLVS OROSIVS in ſome ſort ſeemeth to defend his doings: legions

Beginning to take the gouernment vpon him, notwithſtanding that there were

diuers opinions,& many both did and ſaid much againſt him. The firſt thing that he did,was to giue a generall pardon,and to commaund all that was paſt to be buried in perpetuall ſilence and obliuion: yet for example,and to feare others to attempt ſo great matters,he commaunded iuſtice to be done on CHEREA the captaine of the conſpirators, and vpon ſome of the reſt alſo, which ſuffered death with great courage,making mention of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, which ſlew IVLIVS CÆSAR; CHEREA deſiring that he might be ſlaine with the ſame ſword wherewith he had ſlaine CALIGVLA. CLAVDIVS ſhewed himſelfe merciſull and gentle to all others which had offended him, and were againſt him in his election: and preſently diſanulled all the edicts and cruell commaundements made by CALIGVLA. He alſo commaunded to be deliuered out of priſon,and to be releaſed from baniſhment,all thoſe which vniuſtly, or for ſmall cauſes did endure the ſame: among which he releaſed from baniſhment CALIGVLA his ſiſters and neeces. And to HERODE AGRIPPA King of *Iudea* (in requitall of the meanes he vſed to aduance him to the Empire) he gaue the Tetrarchie of *Galile*, which CAIVS CALIGVLA had taken from his vncle HERODE ANTIPAS, he which put S.IOHN BAPTIST to death, and was an actor in the death of our Sauiour. And ſo this HERODE AGRIPPA was rich and much honoured in *Ieruſalem:* where putting S.IAMES to death, and perſecuting the Apoſtles and Primitiue Church,he was ſtriken by the Angell of God,and died,as S.LVKE reciteth in the Acts of the Apoſtles. And ſo theſe three HERODES died an euill death. Of this AGRIPPA, and his vncle HERODE Tetrarcha, called ANTIPAS (who put Saint IOHN to death,and in whoſe time our Sauiour died, and the other HERODE the great,who ſlew the Innocents,in whoſe time CHRIST was borne) I haue twice made mention,becauſe theſe HERODES commonly breede a confuſion in reading of the Scriptures,not diſtinguiſhing the one from the other.

Cherea died courageouſly.

Herode Antipas which put S.Iohn Baptiſt to death died miſerably in exile at Lions in France.

Herode Agrippa a great perſecutor of the Goſpell,was ſtriken by the Angell of God. Chap.12.

Three Herodes.

Herode Aſcalonita was he which murdered the Innocents,died of death naturall.

Returning to the Emperour CLAVDIVS (I ſay) that touching the honour,ceremonies,names and titles,which for honour the Romanes were wont to giue to their Emperours, he ſhewed himſelfe very diſcreete and temperate, and refuſed and would not accept of many of them: and forbad and commaunded vpon great penalties, that none ſhould do ſacrifice to him,as they had done to CAIVS CALIGVLA: and ſo in the beginning of his Empire, he did theſe and ſuch like things as a good Prince and gouernour. Among which,one was,that he had eſpeciall care that *Rome* ſhould be continually well prouided of wheate and graine, warranting the Merchants againſt all daungers and aduentures by Sea: and herein (although afterwards he committed many great errours) he was euer diligent and carefull ſo long as he liued. CLAVDIVS was alſo a great louer of great and ſumptuous buildings: among which there were three ſo proud and ſtately, that it ſeemeth they excelled the moſt part of all that euer were in the world; and for ſuch, PLINIE, SVETONIVS,and moſt authors doe account them. The one was a marueilous Conduit of water, which after his name was called Claudia,with which none of the Conduits in *Rome* could compare, either for abundance of water, or for coſt and excellencie of the workmanſhip: for it was brought fortie miles from *Rome*, by mines and paſſages thorough mountaines; and in low valleys by erecting moſt high Arches of a wonderfull labour; and ſo was it brought and mounted to the top of the higheſt hils in *Rome*. The other worke was a Hauen of the Sea made by hand, in the citie of *Oſtia*, which was capable of a great number of ſhips,made in the firme land; and afterwards letting the Sea into it(as DION reporteth) hauing firſt fortified and made plaine the bottome thereof: in truth

The wonderfull buildings of Claudius.

Plin.lib.36. cap.15.

truth a marueilous matter, and ſuch as his poſteritie and thoſe which ſucceeded him were not able to maintaine. His third worke was, although leaſt profitable, yet moſt coſtly of al the reſt; which was to dreine & draw drie a moſt huge great Lake called *Fucinus*, in the countrey of the *Marſi*, a people neere to *Rome*, which was the greateſt Lake in all *Italie*: which he did (as ſome ſay) to bring that water into the Riuer of *Tiber*, to make it greater with the currant thereof, and to drie vp and lay open the fields, which that water couered, to the end they might be tilled. Which to effect, among other difficulties and infinite labours, he mined thorough a very high mountaine of flint-ſtone, with a mine of three miles in length, a worke which ſeemed impoſſible, being (as I ſaid) a mine thorough a rocke. Finally, how great and admirable this worke was, may appeare by the time which it continued, and the Artificers and labourers which wrought therein, which (as the authors affirme) were 30000. men, which continually laboured eleuen yeeres without ceaſing, a matter which ſeemeth incredible: ſo as beſides the reſt, if EVSEBIVS (a moſt Chriſtian and true author) had not written it, I durſt not report nor beleeue it. What end this worke and labour had, ſhall be ſaid in his place: for (as I ſaid) although it began in the beginning of his raigne, it was ended eleuen yeeres after. I alſo forbeare to ſpeake of other his buildings, which although they were excellent, yet not comparable to the aforeſaid. *A wonderfull worke.*

Hauing begun and continued theſe workes, he was not careleſſe for the reformation and redreſſing of euill cuſtomes and abuſes in *Rome*, and out of it: and in ſome other matters, wherein if he had perſeuered, without queſtion he had been accounted and held for an excellent Prince. But afterwards, his great libertie, and the wickednes of his fauourites, and ſuch as were priuate with him, by whom he was ſo ouerruled, he became ſo diſſolute, that it defaced and ſtained all his former good deedes, as hereafter ſhall be declared. Beſides, what is already ſaid, this made the beginning of his raigne notable, that in the firſt, ſecond or third yeere thereof (as EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, BEDA, and S. ISIDORE report) S. PETER the Apoſtle came to *Rome*, and there ſeated himſelfe, after he had preached in diuers parts, but principally had remained in *Antioch* eleuen yeeres: and being come thither, remained there twentie fiue yeeres, vntill the end of the Emperour *Nero*, as then ſhall be ſpecified: they alſo affirme, that with S. PETER came the Euangeliſt S. MARKE, and being by him enformed, and inſpired with the holie Ghoſt, he wrote the holie Goſpell, by whoſe direction he returned to preach CHRIST in *Alexandria*; of whom, & of the other holie Apoſtles and Diſciples of CHRIST, of their miracles, martyrdomes, & what ſucceſſe they had, I make ſmall report; becauſe (as I haue ſaid) in a prophane hiſtorie, as is this, I hold it not fit to inſert diuine and holy matters, although that in briefe there ſhall be mention made of that which ſhall be moſt conuenient for the light of this hiſtorie and common profit.

To returne to our diſcourſe of CLAVDIVS, it paſſed in this manner, that in the fourth yeere of his raigne, notwithſtanding that the power of the Emperors was then ſo great and ſo much redoubted, that no Nation of the world durſt beare armes againſt them: yet the inhabitants of the Ile of *Britannie*, which IVLIVS CÆSAR had ſubdued, were ſo bold as to riſe in armes, and denie their obedience and vaſſalage: which the Emperour CLAVDIVS tooke ſo ill, that he reſolued in perſon to vndertake the enterpriſe to ſubdue and pacifie them. For which ſeruice, (beſides the ordinarie legions) he aſſembled a great Nauie by Sea, and a great armie by land; and purpoſing to goe by Sea, he embarked the ſame in the Port of *The Emperour Claudius his comming into England.*

Ostia, notwithstanding that it was a great way about: and beginning his voyage he was so ouertaken with a tempest, that he was in daunger to haue been cast away. Wherefore he disembarked his forces in the citie of *Marselles* in *France*, and altring his determination, crossed through *France*, and shipping himselfe againe right ouer against *England*, he passed into the Iland with so great power & force, that he easily pacified all: yet (as DION testifieth) he came to a battraile with the Britaines, wherein he ouercame them. But as I say, the common opinion is, and so doth GILDAS, an ancient true English Historiographer of 960. yeeres continuance, record. The iourney into *Britannie* being ended at his pleasure, he sent his Nauy into certaine Ilands called *Orcades*, which lie to the North of *Scotland*, & are now subiect to the King of great *Britanny*, which within few daies he subdued and made subiect to the Empire: which vntill that time were vnknowne to the Romanes, as EVSEBIVS and OROSIVS record. Hauing performed all these things in the space of sixe moneths, he returned towards *Rome*, whereinto he entred triumphing with the greatest solemnitie that could be, and to him was giuen the name of BRITANNICVS, for subduing the Ile of *Britannie*. To the feast of this triumph (SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS reporteth) that he not only suffered to come to *Rome* the Gouernours and Prefects of prouinces, but also he released many others which liued in exile from their banishment.

The Britaines rebelled against Claudius.

A Crowne nauall.

For this victorie, he caused a crowne nauall to be made, which was vsed to be giuen for victories by sea, which crowne was of gold wrought with the prowes of gallies and shippes, and placed ouer the gate of the imperiall pallace, hard by that which ordinarily did stand there of oken boughes, called *Ciuica*; and for the same reason he commaunded that a sonne of his, which hee had by his wife MESSALINA, whose name was GERMANICVS, should be called BRITANNICVS: And in this triumph he began to honor with armes and other fauours some of his libertines, which had been slaues and were enfranchised and set at libertie, and did them so great honor and such fauour, that men began to murmur against him for the same, and thereby he made himselfe ill beloued. For they committed many abuses and wrongs, by meanes of their great riches and authoritie: of which the most notable and most spoken of, were sixe or seuen, one named DIODONES, to whom he gaue for his armes, the triumph aforesaid: another whose name was FELIX, he made gouernor and prefect of *Iudea*, *Samaria*, and *Galile*, by meanes of the death of HERODE AGRIPPA, before which FELIX we reade in the acts of the Apostles that Saint PAVL was brought prisoner. Another called CALIXTVS, of whom PLINY, SENECA, and CORNELIVS TACITVS make mention. Another was POLYBIVS, who was a learned man, whom CLAVDIVS himselfe held for his companion, and as it were maister of his studies, to whom SENECA wrote a consolatorie epistle for the death of his brother. Another named NARCISSVS, whom hee made his secretarie, whom SVETONIVS setteth before all the rest. Another was PALANTE, a man also very famous: to all which he did such fauours and gaue so excessiue gifts, that they attained to such riches, that CLAVDIVS vpon a time complaining that his treasurie and exchequer was poore, he was answered, That it would be rich enough, if his freed men NARCISSVS and PALANTE would accompanie him, and share with him in their trade and stocke. He within short space made himselfe so subiect, and was so much ouerruled by these Libertines, and his adulterous and dishoneſt wife MESSALINA, with whom he was now maried (after other wiues which he had had) that by their directions and counsels he committed many disorders, follies and

wrongs,

wrongs, more like their ſlaue and ſubiect, then their Prince and Soueraigne, and ſuffered others to commit the like: pardoning ſuch moſt grieuous offences and cruelties, that it would be long and diſpleaſing to write them all. But by that which he committed againſt his owne kindred, which I will declare, that may be coniectured which I paſſe in ſilence. One of the firſt and moſt notable, was the death of APPIVS SILANVS an excellent noble Romane, who ſometimes had been gouernour of *Spaine*, and maried with his owne mother in law, whoſe death was plotted by his wife MESSALINA, and his enfranchiſed NARCISSVS. DION writeth, that hauing no cauſe whereof to accuſe him, it ſufficed to command him to be ſlaine, for that NARCISSVS in a morning came into CLAVDIVS his chamber before he was vp, faining great haſte and feare, perſwading him to ſtand vpon his guard, and to take heede of APPIVS SILANVS: for he dreamed all that night that he was ſlaine, and that SILANVS onely had killed him. The Emperour well pleaſed with the matter, went to the Senate, acquainting the Senators therewith; much commending and extolling the loyaltie of NARCISSVS, that he euen ſleeping had care of his life and health. After SILANVS, he alſo put to death his two ſonnes in law, LVCIVS SILANVS and POMPEY, and his two neeces called LIVIÆ, one of which was the daughter of DRVSVS, and the other of GERMANICVS: no man knowing any cauſe wherefore he did it. And ſo were a great number of others put to death, all by the counſell and practiſe of MESSALINA and his freed men, who bare ſuch ſway in the gouernment and counſel of eſtate, that they ſold offices, Captainſhips and dignities; and, that which was worſe, tooke money for offences, penalties, puniſhments and baniſhments: and finally, all was to be ſold for money. And the moſt part hereof (as ſome authors affirme) without that CLAVDIVS did know, or was acquainted therewith: ſo great was their power and authoritie. And in the like manner did hee put ſome to death, being deceiued, and to pleaſe and content theſe his fauourites; ſo ſubiect was he, and gouerned by them.

The ſtrange crueltie of Claudius.

By meanes of the great diſorders, murders and grieuances, which CLAVDIVS by the counſell and practiſe of his Libertines and his wife MESSALINA committed, he made himſelfe to be abhorred of many, and principally of the better ſort, ſo that ſome practiſed his death and conſpired againſt him: although that for his other good deeds, before repeated, he was beloued and much eſteemed of others. But as that part which hated him was greater, and of bolder and higher conceits and courage: ſo they feared not to practiſe that death which they wiſhed him, chiefly two Romane Knights concluded to kill him, and STACIVS CORVINVS and GALLVS ASINIVS two principall Romanes conſpired againſt him. But the one and the other being diſcouered, it was brought to light, and he redreſſed the matter by executing new cruelties vpon the ſaid parties, and vpon ſuch as had conſented and participated with them: and ſeeing himſelfe eſcaped out of this daunger, he went forwards in his euill purpoſes and worſe doings. In like manner the hatred encreaſing againſt him, it happened that FVRIVS CAMILLVS SCRIBONIANVS, who was Lieutenant and Gouernour of *Dalmatia* (incited by many principall men of *Rome*) openly roſe and rebelled againſt him, and the legions of that prouince conſenting with him, he called himſelfe Emperour. This put CLAVDIVS into ſuch a feare and amazement, as he was very fearefull and baſe minded; and as ſinne and an euill conſcience is one of the chiefeſt cauſes in the world that maketh men cowardly and fearefull, he was ſo much diſcouraged, that CAMILLVS (who rebelled) writing vnto him, and perſwading him to leaue the

Furius Camillus rebelled againſt Claudius.

the Empire and to liue priuate, he remained doubtfull what to do; and cauſed certaine principall men to conſult thereof: So as if the matter had gone forwards, it ſeemeth that he would haue had ſmall courage to haue defended the Empire. But as CAMILLVS had no more right nor reaſon thereto then he, and as his purpoſe were not to redreſſe the Empire and reforme the euils committed by CLAVDIVS, but to make himſelfe lord & a tyrant, and peraduenture do as ill or worſe, God would not ſuffer it to take effect according to his deſire: for it hapned that the ſame legiõs which had raiſed & choſen him, repẽting of what they had done, the fift day after ſlue him. Some Authors (among which are SVETONIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS) report, that herein hapned a ſtrange accident: for the Enſigne-bearers comming to giue their oath and obedience to the new Emperour by his commaundement, were not able to remoue the Enſignes with the Eagles from the place where they were ſet; ſo as moued by this prodigious ſpectacle, they all concluded to reduce themſelues to CLAVDIVS his deuotion, and to ſlay CAMILLVS. And ſo was CLAVDIVS deliuered from this danger, but not from the feare and ſuſpicion, but liued euer after in continuall paſſion and feare, inſomuch that being one day in the temple making his ſacrifices (as then was the cuſtome) and by chance finding there a ſword, which ſome man peraduenture without any ill intent or purpoſe had brought thither, and there forgotten it, he as a man which knew that he had deſerued death, fearing all men, thinking that it was brought thither to effect ſome treaſon againſt him, was in ſuch a perplexitie and feare, that preſently in great haſte he commaunded the Senate to be aſſembled, and with teares crying out, he complained therein, publiſhing himſelfe to be a man of moſt miſerable condition and vnhappie, and that he was in no time nor place aſſured, but in danger, and ſo held himſelfe many dayes retyred, and came not abroade. By meanes of theſe things which were attempted againſt CLAVDIVS, MESSALINA his wife and her fauourites and confederates, tooke occaſion to put many men to death, and to confiſcate their goodes, vſing other cruelties to all manner of people, alleaging that they were guiltie of the conſpiracies aforeſaid, or in ſome of them, and this in a miſchieuous and wicked maner: for many vpon ſuſpition without any tryall or proofe, were condemned and put to death: and to the contrary, others which were gũiltie, by bribes and gifts were deliuered; wherein although that for the moſt part CLAVDIVS was deceiued by thoſe which he moſt truſted, yet the blame was layd vpõ him, and the world hated him for it. For beſides the remiſſe forgetfulnes which he had of all things, and the truſt which he repoſed in ſuch wicked men, he ſhewed himſelfe cruell and bloudie: for oftentimes he would be preſent when torments were inflicted, and at the execution of theſe cruelties: a thing truely vnworthie of the ſtate and dignitie which he held. He would ſometimes alſo ſodainely be in ſuch a rage, that he ſeemed to be out of his wits, and ſo SVETONIVS accounteth his furie for follie and madnes, notwithſtanding that CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth of him, that he was naturallie inclined to pitie and clemencie, ſo as in truth it is a ſtrange matter to conſider of the contrarietie of this mans minde. After all this (as IOSEPHVS, EVSEBIVS, and SVETONIVS affirme) in the ninth yeare of his raigne, he commaunded all the Iewes to be caſt out of *Rome* which dwelt therein, whereof Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apoſtles: and PAVLVS OROSIVS writing the ſame, maketh a doubt whether they were caſt out for their diſcord with the Chriſtians, or whether the Chriſtians were expelled in the like manner: for SVE-

TONIVS

TONIVS sayth, that they were cast out for that there was some stirre about the Christian religion. The next yeare following there was a most grieuous famine in *Rome*, and almost generally in all the world; whereof besides other Authors, Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apostles. *An vniuersall famine.*

CLAVDIVS hauing now raigned some nine or tenne yeares, and matters passing therein in such manner, as I haue sayd; yet for all this the estate and greatnes of the Romane Empire was not empaired in his dayes (for hereof it seemeth that he and those which gouerned were carefull) but it defended, and in part enlarged it selfe: For besides the pacifying of the Ile of *Britanny*, *Mauritania* also in his time rebelling, which is a Prouince in *Africa*, wherein raigned Kings, friends and confederates with the people of *Rome*, wherein he made warres by his Captaines SVETONIVS PAVLINVS, & GNEVS SIDIVS GETA, as DION witnesseth. Those countries were subdued and deuided into two tributarie Prouinces, the one was called *Mauritania Cæsariẽsis*, which for the most part is this day the kingdome of *Fez*, but it extended it selfe so farre as *Argel*, *Tunes*, and *Oran*; and the other *Mauritania Tingitana*, which is much of that which we call *Marocco*, and *Barberia*, and the coast of *Zale* and *Azamor*, euen vnto *Arzil* and *Taniar*. At that time the Prouince of *Numidia* was infested by certaine barbarous Africans, which were ouercome by the ordinarie legions. In the like manner the Imperiall authoritie was conserued in the Prouinces of the East, CLAVDIVS placing therein Kings and Tetrarches at his pleasure, as the same DION recordeth. But besides all this, in all these parts (as well as in *Rome*) they indured great vexations and oppressions, and the disorders which his fauorites and libertines committed, and commanded to be committed, were very great, of the greatest part whereof his wife was the chiefe cause, who was so incontinent and dishonest, that she was not only a common adultresse, but she procured and brought many others to be so also: and she her selfe would pray, and euen enforce men, and was of such credit with her husband the Emperour, and had such power ouer him, that no man durst to make it knowne, or to giue him intelligence thereof. *The two Mauritanies made tributarie Prouinces.* *Mauritania Cæsariensis, the kingdome of Fez.* *Mauritania Tingitana, the kingdome of Marocco.*

The dishonestie of this woman mounted to so high a degree, that iudging (as it seemed) open adulterie to be but a light sinne and presumption, she deuised a wickednes neuer heard nor thought of before in such manner as she did it, which was to be married with another, as she was with the Emperor; and putting it in effect, CLAVDIVS being gone forth of *Rome* to *Ostia* to doe certaine sacrifices, she married in the forme and with the solemnitie accustomed, with a Romane, whose name was CAIVS SILIVS, whom they affirme to haue been the faireſt and propereſt man of his time.

The loue which CLAVDIVS bare to MESSALINA was so great and the power which she had ouer him was such, that she thought that this might also passe in silence, or that he should dissemble it as he had done many other great abuses. But it now pleased God that she should receiue punishment for al her misdeedes, as he oftentimes permitteth wicked men after some great sinnes, to commit other greater, to the end at once to be punished for all. And it was so, that his great friend and fauorite NARCISSVS, a libertine before named, discouered this deede to CLAVDIVS, with a multitude of other villanies committed by her: who awaking in some sort out of his heauie slumber and forgetfulnes, notwithstanding that this matter had put him in great feare; yet after that he was well enformed of the truth, he came to *Rome*, sending first before him LVCIVS GETA, who was captaine of the pretorian Cohorts to confirme them in his seruice; and when he

The death of Messalina.

was come, he caused his wife MESSALINA to be apprehended, and many others which were culpable in this matter: and by the diligent industrie of NARCISSVS iustice was done vpon both her and them. And so they were put to death by his direction before that CLAVDIVS commaunded the same, notwithstanding that he had so decreed; for it was feared that CLAVDIVS alreadie began to yeeld and to be pacified, and so he shewed himselfe, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth. It is a maruellous thing to consider of the carelesnes and forgetfulnes of this CLAVDIVS: for although they came and told him that MESSALINA was dead, he neuer spake word, neither asked by whom, nor how she died; neither then nor after that time seemed to reioyce or to be sorrowfull for it; neither spake word good nor bad. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS addeth another thing to this forgetfulnes, which seemeth incredible, but he and others of great authoritie affirme the same, which is this; that the next day after that MESSALINA was put to death, sitting downe at the table to eate, he asked how it chaunced that MESSALINA came not to dinner? The like happened at other times concerning those which he had condemned and commaunded to be slaine, that hauing put them to death one day, the next day he was so forgetfull and carried from it, that he hath chaunced to send for them and call them to his counsell, and others to come to play with him, as they had vsed to doe.

Claudius his monstrous forgetfulnes.

The Emperor CLAVDIVS remaining thus a widower, after the death of his wife MESSALINA, by whom he had one sonne called first GERMANICVS, and afterwards BRITANNICVS, and one daughter whose name was OCTAVIA, he determined and gaue it out in words that he would marrie no more: for he said that he had been very infortunate in his wiues, and therefore now in his old age he would not try any more hazards, wherein he said the very truth. For in his youth he had been twise married, first with EMILIA LEPIDA; which was great grandchild to the Emperor OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, and the second time, with LIVIA MEDVLLINA CAMILLA, of the auncient linage of the CAMILLI: the first wife before his marriage tooke effect, he put away; and the second died of an infirmitie the same day which was appointed for their wedding: and afterwards he married with PLAVTINA HERCVLANA, whom after that he had by her one sonne named DRVSVS (who died a child) he forsooke, for dishonest and an adultéresse: and married the fourth time with ELIA PETINA, of the linage of the TVBERONES, from whom for some causes and discontentments, he was also diuorced, notwithstanding that he had by her one daughter called ANTONIA. All these mariages he had before that he was Emperor, and when he tooke vpon him the Empire, he was married with MESSALINA, whose death we now made an end to declare: and although (as I said) that he remained a widower, he protested that he would marrie no more, adding thereto that if he did, he gaue them leaue to kill him: yet afterwards forgetting himselfe (as in former time, of other matters) by the counsell of his libertine and fauorite PALANTE, he lastly married with IVLIA AGRIPPINA, who was exceeding beautifull, being his neece and daughter to his brother GERMANICVS, which was the widow of DOMICIVS NERO ENOBARBVS, by whom she had a sonne named DOMICIVS NERO as his father. And because that the marriage with his neece within this degree of consanguinitie was prohibited and detestable among the Romanes, he procured that a law should be made whereby it should be lawfull, and his new wife tooke such order, with her old husband and Vncle, that within few daies after that she was married, she obtained of him that he should marrie his

daughter

daughter OCTAVIA, with her ſonne DOMICIVS NERO; and that he ſhould adopt him and make him his ſon, preferring him before his owne ſon BRITANNICVS; and that in ſteed of DOMICIVS NERO he ſhould be called CLAVDIVS NERO, which was performed accordingly. And not content herewith, that certaine principall Matrones which had been riuals with her, deſiring to marrie with CLAVDIVS, one being fauoured by NARCISSVS, and another by CALIXTVS, his libertines, the better to aſſure her ſelfe in her eſtate, ſhe procured their death; and ſo for ſome certaine daies ſhe liued in great power and fauour.

In this time the great work being ended, to wit, the vndermining of the mountaines, and making the great caues and mines to let the water to paſſe out of the lake *Fucinus*, wherein (as I ſaid) thirtie thouſand men had wrought eleuen yeeres, the Emperour CLAVDIVS ordained, that for ioy, and to make an end of this worke, there ſhould be in the ſame Lake a Nauall battaile, before that the water ſhould be let out, which did ſo much reſemble a battaile in earneſt, that therein were 24. Galleys, which were builded there hard by for that purpoſe. DION ſaith that there were fiftie, which is not very vnlikely, conſidering the number which were therein; which, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth, were 19000. men; many of which were ſlaues, or men condemned to death or baniſhment; the Emperour promiſing thoſe which ſhould preuaile and ouercome, life and libertie, and ſo they were commaunded to fight to the vttermoſt: and to that purpoſe the Galleys and men were diuided into two equall battailions, and their apparell, enſignes, banners, flagges and ſtreamers were of diuers colours: the one part of them were called Sicilians, and the other Rhodians; as though the warres had bin between *Sitilia* and *Rhodes*. To ſee this ſpectacle thither came an infinite number of people from all parts of *Italie*, and out of *Italie*, which couered all the hils and mountaines neere to the ſaid Lake, and the ſhore ſide thereof. And CLAVDIVS with his wife AGRIPPINA, & NERO CLAVDIVS his new adopted ſonne, were moſt wonderfully and moſt richly attired in gold, ſtone and pearle: and ſo the battaile began, and was maintained betweene them moſt cruell and bloudie, the poore men deſiring and endeuouring of either part to haue the victorie, thereby to winne life, libertie and honour: and ſo it was obſtinately fought and continued a great part of the day, the one killing and wounding the other moſt miſerably, vntill at laſt the one part ouercame the other; and ſo was ended that moſt cruell and horrible ſport. Which being ended, preſently the next day CLAVDIVS commaunded the paſſage of the Lake to be opened: and the water beginning to iſſue out, it brake foorth with ſo great force and vehemencie, that it ſeemed that the world would haue ſunk; and it was ſuch and in ſuch manner, that it did much harme in all the borders thereabout; and ſo likewiſe great was the feare and amazement which CLAVDIVS and his wife AGRIPPINA, which were there by, endured; notwithſtanding that they were vpon ſure ground and in ſafetie. This was the end of this coſtly vanitie.

A wonderfull paſtime, but cruell.

Theſe things being paſt in ſuch manner as we haue written, AGRIPPINA ſeeing her ſelfe much made of, and beloued by the Emperour CLAVDIVS, being growne proud of the power and fauour wherein ſhe ſaw her ſelfe (which are two things which few men can enioy and vſe moderatly) became ſo proud, hauty and ambitious (following the footſteps of MESSALINA) that ſhe would commaund and alone beare all the ſway in euery thing: whereupon ſhe preſently became to be hated and enuied by ſome of CLAVDIVS his fauourites, yea and by himſelfe alſo; ſo that he began to be ſorrie that euer he married her, and that euer he adopted

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ted his ſonne in law NERO for his ſonne. Which AGRIPPINA ſoone perceiued, as well in that he began anew to make much of his yong ſon BRITANNICVS, as for words which he ſpake which ſignified as much: for vpon a day he ſaid, That it was true that he had euer been infortunate in his wiues; but none of them had eſcaped vnpuniſhed: with other ſpeeches to the ſame effect. Whereat AGRIPPINA conceiued ſo great feare and ſuſpition, that to aſſure her owne life, and the ſucceſſion to her ſonne, ſhe determined to procure her husbands death by poyſon, and there wanted no miniſters nor meanes to accompliſh the ſame. For although that the Hiſtoriographers agree not herein, yet they all agree that poyſon was giuen him, ſuch as killed him: and the moſt part write, that it was a in Muſhrumpe, which was a meate which he vſed to eate with great appetite.

The Emperour Claudius poyſoned by his wife Agrippina.

It was the iuſt iudgement of God that CLAVDIVS ſhould die by eating: for he was ſo gluttinous and inſatiable in eating and drinking (amongſt his other vices) that hee thought no time nor place ſufficient thereto, and euer did eate ſo much, that moſt commonly ſurfetting, he vſed vomits to diſcharge his ſtomacke, putting a feather into his throte, a remedie which ſome gluttonous men doe vſe, eating vpon aſſurance thereof, and carrying themſelues more filthily, then they fell ſicke. In which feather ſome authors affirme that the poyſon was giuen him. And he died in the ſixt and fiftith yeer after the birth of CHRIST our Sauiour, in the 14. yeere of his raigne, and the 74. of his age, the 13. day of October about the breake of the ſame day, and his wife AGRIPPINA concealed his death the moſt part of that day: and faining that he mended, ſhe cauſed certaine vowes to be made for his health, vntill that ſhe had confirmed the Empire to her ſonne NERO, according to his adoption, which (ſeeing they then thought CLAVDIVS to be liuing) was no hard matter to be effected.

In the time of this Emperour CLAVDIVS the Chriſtian faith was preached, and did much preuaile ouer the world; the Apoſtle S. PETER then preaching in *Rome* from the beginning of his raigne, although with great contradiction and difficultie. There happened alſo in his time, which all authors affirme, and chiefly EVSEBIVS, to be very ſtraunge and marueilous, which was, that betweene the Ile *Thera* and *Theraſia* in the *Egean* Sea, there was diſcouered a new Iland of three hundred furlongs in length, where before wasnothing but water of an ordinarie depth, and no ſigne of any Iland.

A new Iland in the Sea.

THE

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF THE EMPEROVR NERO,

ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND SIXT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Claudius being dead and his death published, the Senate and people of Rome ſware fidelitie to Nero: who by the endeuour and cunning of his mother Agrippina, was made Emperour. This man for the firſt fiue yeeres gouerned ſo excellently well, that all men ſaid that a God was ſent from heauen to gouerne Rome, notwithſtanding that his mother vſed much crueltie, who ruled the Empire a long time. Nero afterwards growing in yeeres, and ſo beginning to be diſobedient to his mother, encreaſed alſo in vices, and began to walke abroad by night alone, and to hurt ſuch as he met, whereby he was in ſome danger, and eſcaped not vnwounded. In his youth he dearely loued an enfranchiſed woman called Aeta, and loued Poppea Sabina wife of his great friend Otho, whom in the end he obtained and enioyed. And for that his mother ſhewed her ſelfe very contrarie to his deſires, ſhe became odious to her ſonne, to the end to recouer his fauour againe ſhe made ſhew to be in loue with him, ſo that it was thought that he had the vſe of her bodie: but ſhe growing euery day more odious, in the end (fayning certaine apparant ſignes of treaſon) he made her to be ſlaine. After her death, he wholy gaue the reine to all ſhame and licentiouſnes, which was the occaſion that the people of Rome was alſo corrupted, and openly vſed the like diſhoneſtie. He ouercame the Parthians, and ſubdued the Britaines: after which victories, giuing his minde to crueltie, amongſt many others put his maſter Seneca to death, hauing

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with his wife Octauia, married Poppea Sabina also, which he before held for his wife: in the end he made the one to be slaine, and the other he killed himselfe. He made a young youth named Sporus to be gelded, and publikely married him: And amongst his other mischieuous practises, in the end he set Rome on fire, and stood with great pleasure to behold it burne. He built so great a Palace, that it contained a very great part of the citie of Rome, and took vpon him to alter the name of the citie, and called it Neroniana. He so cruelly persecuted the Christians, that besides S. Peter and S. Paul, he put an infinite number of others to death. Vnder this Emperour, began the warre against the Iewes. Finally, growing intolerable, and odious to God and man, first, he vnderstood of the rebellion of many nations, and perceiuing the enemie to draw neere, and the sentence of the Senate pronounced against him to be apprehended, he was in such feare, that flying secretly from Rome, he was constrained miserably to kill himselfe. He liued 32. yeeres, and was Emperour 14. whose death was so grateful to his countrey, to Rome, and to the whole world, that they clad themselues in ioyfull garments in steed of mourning: and in him ended the line of the Cæsars.

SVch a successor had the Emperour CLAVDIVS, as hee deserued and knew how to chuse, and this was NERO, the most famous man for crueltie that euer was in the world: for although that otherwise he was very wicked, yet in crueltie he so exceeded all measure, that you shall neuer heare any man say, NERO, but you shall also heare the addition thereto, Cruell; notwithstanding that he had the most wise and vertuous Schoolmaster of his time, which was SENECA, of whom in his youth he learned the liberall Sciences, wanting no capacitie thereto; whose counsell and precepts were of force, for a time, to suppresse his euill inclination, and were the occasion that in the beginning of his raigne, he perfourmed many parts of a good Prince, in such sort that TRAIANE (as many write of him) afterwards said, that for the first fiue yeeres, NERO was peereleſſe. But after that time, setting all shame aside, occasions with his power and libertie encreasing, he did things which did so much staine and deface his good deedes past, that there remained no signe or spark of any goodnes in him. Yet there wanted not some authors, which in part to excuse his doings affirme, that of enuie and malice writers made his vices and faults seeme so odious, among which was IOSEPHVS in his booke of Antiquities, after that he himselfe had laid open many of his cruelties and parricides. I will write what I shall finde written by most famous authors, as I vse to doe, and in order and processe of things and in time will follow CORNELIVS TACITVS, who in my opinion excelleth the rest. CLAVDIVS being dead, through the treason of his wife AGRIPPINA, as wee haue specified, after that she had by her authoritie and cunning gotten the peoples good will, and taken away all occasions that might hinder her sonne in attaining to the Empire, she published his death, which vntill then she had commaunded to be concealed. At which time NERO came foorth of the Imperiall Palace, accompanied with BVRRVS the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, who was a man very priuate with AGRIPPINA, and also had the commaund of that Cohort which had the ordinarie guard of the Palace, and proclaiming him Emperour, they carried him to the Campe, where by all the Cohorts he was well receiued: and he hauing made a speech, and promising great paies and gifts to the souldiers, was by them presently carried backe againe to the Senate, wherein all the Senators, conforming themselues to the will of the men of warre, obeied and receiued him for Emperour, with the ordinarie and accustomed solemnities, giuing him names and titles of great maiestie: among which, he refused the name of *Pater patriæ*, for that he was of opinion that that title agreed not with his fewe yeeres, being then but seuenteene yeeres old. And so NERO obtained the Empire,

Nero in his first fiue yeeres was a good Emperour.

Lib. 20.

Burrus the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts.

Nero was Emperour at seuenteene yeeres of age.

pire, which he ought not to haue had, and there wanted not ſome which murmured, that an adopted ſon ſhould be preferred before a legitimate and naturall ſon, and would haue had GERMANICVS and not him: But theſe men were not of power to withſtand him, for as he was obeied in *Rome*; ſo was he in like manner in all the prouinces of the Empire. He then preſently commanded the obſequies of CLAVDIVS to be ſolemnized, as the cuſtome then was, moſt ſolemnly; and according to the ſuperſtitions of that time, they canonized him among the gods.

Great was the ioy wherewith NERO his raigne began, aſwell for the diſcontentment at the gouernment paſt, as for that change and innouations are euer pleaſing, and the deſire commonly bringeth good hopes, which were confirmed by his good outward ſhew and apparances in the beginning. Firſt he promiſed to gouerne according to the rules and inſtitutions of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, and began both in word and deede to ſhew himſelfe, or (to ſay better) to faine himſelfe, to be liberall, pitifull, iuſt, gentle, and tractable; doing fauours and moderating the impoſitions and tributes of the prouinces, diuiding amongſt the people of *Rome*, and the pretorian ſouldiers, a huge ſum of money and corne, beſtowing other gifts vpon them: and to the Senators which were poore, he aſſigned penſions out of his eſchequer; vſing all men with ſuch humanitie and courteſie, that it ſeemed there was no reaſon to feare any part of that which afterwards enſued. He likewiſe ſhewed great clemencie & pitie, in the execution of iuſtice and puniſhments; ſo as one day, a warrant being brought to him to ſigne, for the putting of one to death, he making ſhew to be very ſorrie for it, ſaid, I would to God that I could not write: which words as though they had proceeded from a pitifull heart, his maiſter SENECA doth highly praiſe and extol. He entertained in like manner all men louingly and friendly, and in his diſports and exerciſes, he permitted any to be preſent, ſo as it ſeemed that God had ſent them ſuch a prince as they deſired. And aboue all in the beginning of his raigne, he honored & bare great reuerence to his mother, & gaue her greater power and command in the gouernment, then in deede he ought or was fit: for the truth is, ſhe was a cruell woman, proude and hautie: and as ſuch, through the counſell of PALANTE one of CLAVDIVS his mightie enfranchiſed men before named, without the conſent of NERO, ſhe cauſed IVNIVS SILANVS Proconſul in *Aſia*, to be ſlaine, for the hatred which ſhe bare againſt him; the like ſhe did by NARCISSVS another famous Libertine, whom ſhe alſo greatly hated. And her crueltie had extended further, but that SENECA and the Prefect BVRRVS, and another principall man whoſe name was AFRANIVS (by whom NERO in the beginning of his raigne was much ruled) did let & croſſe AGRIPPINA in her wicked practiſes, ſo farre forth as in them lay: but ſhe had ſuch authoritie in all matters, and ouer them which had the managing thereof, as it could hardly be done: ſo long as ſhe was in good grace with her ſonne.

The counterfeit vertues of Nero.

In his ſecond booke of clemencie.

Agrippina cauſed Silanus and Narciſſus to be ſlaine through the counſell of Palante a Libertine.

The matter ſtanding in theſe termes, newes came to *Rome*, that VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians leuied forces to make war againſt the Empire, practiſing to make his brother King of *Armenia*, in which prouince from the time of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, the Romanes had authoritie to place Kings at their pleaſure: ſo as vpon this occaſion the warres began in the ſecond yeere of the raigne of the Emperor NERO; who ſent thither VINIDIVS with new legions, beſides thoſe ordinarie legions which were in *Aſia*, vnder the commaund of DOMICIVS CORBVLVS. But the war as then laſted but a while; for peace was concluded, VOLOGESVS deſiſting from his attempts, and giuing certaine principall men in pawne for the keeping thereof, ſuch as we commonly cal hoſtages. About this time began NERO to ſhew

VVarres with the King of the Parthians.

Peace with the Parthians.

himselfe somwhat alienated from his mother,& to abate her great power and authoritie, beginning to shew her lesse obedience then theretofore: for he then fell in loue with a base enfranchised woman (but she was very faire) whose name was ACTA; notwithstanding that his wife AVGVSTA was very faire & a vertuous womā. And herein to haue his will, against the will & liking of his mother (which sought to hinder him in this his loue, to the end that he should not be free frō her power) he began to take into his fauour OTHO a noble man, of whose family there had bin Consuls, and CLAVDIVS PHENICIVS, the sonne of one of the most mightie enfranchised men in *Rome*; & these wrought meanes for him to obtaine his beloued ACTA, which opened a passage to many other things which followed, whereby he began to be disobedient to his mother, who had had so great power ouer him and all others. And he commaunded the enfranchised PALANTE, who was a great fauorite of hers, to be deposed from all gouernment in the Emperiall estate.

Otho and Claudius Phenicius Nero his fauourites.

AGRIPPINA seeing this, procured and attempted by al waies and meanes possible, to recouer the grace and the degree which she had lost with her son: sometimes by giuing him counsell; at other times by entreaties and flatteries, accompanied with threatnings and feares: among which one was to do great honor, and to bestow many fauours vpon BRITANNICVS, who was the Emperor CLAVDIVS his son, and then was about 14. yeeres old: imagining that through feare and suspition of this man, NERO would returne to her obedience, but his wicked minde freed him not from that danger, by those meanes which she imagined, for he deliuered himselfe thereof, by giuing him poison; wherof the poore BRITANNICVS died. Whereat AGRIPPINA was much amazed: but being either vnable or vnwilling to moderate her pride, she perseuered in the controuersie with her son, & presumed to contend with him (although vpon vnequall termes.) Whereupon NERO setting all shame and respect apart, commanded her guard of high Almaines to be taken from her, and her to be lodged out of the pallace, and did her other open disgraces, forbidding certaine persons to haue recourse vnto her, or to visit her: and he himselfe went very seldome to see her, and that very coldly, and with little loue. And being thus out of fauour (as few keepe true friendship with such, as are decaied and abased) the most of her friends forsooke her, and one, a very mightie Matrone whose name was IVLIA SILLANA, vpon a priuate grudge (producing false witnes) wrongfully accused her to haue conspired against her son the Emperor, & that she practised to haue made RVBELIVS PLAVTVS Emperor; who by his mother descended from the Emperor AVGVSTVS CÆSAR. And the matter was so handled, that AGRIPPINA was in some danger, vntill that the accusation was found to be forged & the witnesses suborned, and this IVLIA the twister of this web, escaped with light punishment, which was but banishment. This gaue encouragement to a wicked fellow named PETVS, falsely to accuse PALANTE also (a libertine many times before named) and BVRRVS the prefect, which were seruants and fauorites to AGRIPPINA, alleadging that they practized to depose NERO, and to make CORNELIVS SILLA Emperor: but this also was discouered to be forged and false, and for this offence PETVS & his false witnesses were but only banished. All which passed in the third yeere of NERO his raigne, Saint PAVL the Apostle being then prisoner in *Rome*, who a little before was sent thither by the commaundement of FESTVS, gouernor of *Iudea*, which succeeded FELIX aforenamed: In which imprisonment (although he went abroade at libertie) he was detained two yeeres.

The death of Britannicus.

Open contention betweene Nero and his mother Agrippina.

In those daies as the Emperor NERO grew in yeeres, so began he to waxe more light and vicious, and to discouer his euill inclination: for he would by night

night goe disguised vp and downe the streetes in *Rome*, and would hurt and abuse such as he met, comming out of their houses; wherein he committed many notable insolencies, and offended many: and he himselfe being vpon a time vnknowne, was in danger to haue been slaine, and was sore wounded. And as the vices and defects of princes, although that in their absence they be condemned and men murmur at them; yet in their presence they are most commonly excused, and sometimes commended. So NERO his fauourites did not seeke to withdraw him from this daungerous vice and ill behauiour: but they counselled him to goe no more abroade without a guarde, and companie; and doing so, they were the occasion of farre greater riots and disorders, then before: And some dissolute yong men (faining themselues to be the Emperor) tooke occasion to doe the like, so as there were infinite violences committed by him and them, by meanes whereof there was no small scandall and disquietnes in the citie, although that in the rest, vntill then, there was indifferent good order in all things, and iustice was administred ordinarily in *Rome* and in the prouinces; and the people did dissemble or had patience with the lightnes and insolencies of NERO, by reason of the distribution of money and other things, which he made generally to all, and for certaine rights and impositions which he commaunded to be abolished.

The fift yeere of his raigne being come, which as it seemed would haue prooued prosperous and peaceable both in particular and generall; VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians began anew to stirre against the Empire, for the same reason and cause concerning the kingdome of *Armenia* before spoken of. And CORBVLVS, who was Proconsul in *Asia*, sent to entreate the Emperor that the ordinarie armie which he had, might be reinforced and encreased, for that by reason of the long peace, his legions were growne more slothfull and lesse profitable then was needfull for so dangerous a warre; and were also diminished, some by death, and many souldiers were waxen old: for which NERO tooke order, that new companies should be leuied, and sent vnto him, and with them one of the legions of *Germanie*, which were euer held for the best and most experienced, as those which lay in the frontiers against the most fierce and valiant enemies. And so began the warres with the Parthians, wherein after some great encounters, and skirmishes which passed, fortune and victorie being variable, and winter being come, CORBVLVS sent a captaine whose name was PACTIVS ORPHITVS, who with a good part of the armie, had the guarde of certaine countries and passages, whereby the enemie might enter the countrie, whom he commaunded that in any case he should not giue them battaile: and he lodged himselfe in the plaines with the rest of the armie. But ORPHITVS quite contrarie to that which was commaunded him, by the enemies prouocation, ioyned battaile with them, & was therein ouercome with great losse to the Romanes: for which CORBVLVS was exceedingly sorrowfull, and it was no lesse grieued at in *Rome*. Whereupon CORBVLVS reinforcing his legions, tooke the field before the ordinarie time, and very fiercely followed that warre, wherein passed many things which CORNELIVS TACITVS reciteth, and I for breuitie omit, to returne to NERO, of whom from henceforth there is no good thing to be spoken. I say then that while as his captaines made warre against the Parthians, and he gaue himselfe ouer to sensualitie without contradiction in *Rome*, he fell in loue with the wife of his great fauorite OTHO, who in time came to be Emperor, called POPPEA SABINA, and by some POPPEIA, a most faire woman and of high linage, and endued with many graces and good qualities, but dishonest and incontinent;

Warres with the Parthians.

incontinent; and to the end that NERO without any let might haue her wholy to himselfe, giuing to her husband OTHO this, in requitall of all his good seruices, he sent him into *Spaine* to be gouernor of *Lusitania* now called *Portugall*, and he freely loued and gaue himselfe ouer vnto this POPPEA, forgetting and abhorring his owne wife OCTAVIA, and his other aboue named friend, called ABETA a Libertine whom hee had much loued. Wherewith this POPPEA became so proude, that she taking scorne to be his friend, very instantly entreated and desired the Emperor, that diuorcing himselfe from OCTAVIA, he should marrie her: and seeing that AGRIPPINA NEROS mother, who supported and defended OCTAVIA, was a great let hereto, she endeuoured all that she might, to kindle and encrease the discord begun betweene the mother and the sonne. Against which AGRIPPINA vsed all the meanes that she possibly could deuise to recouer the good will of her sonne, as to procure him to commit most detestable copulation with her owne selfe, from which he was deliuered and withdrawne by meanes of SENECA, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth: yet SVETONIVS saith, that the onely feare of his mothers power and presumptious boldnes withheld him from it, although other authors doe not wholy cleere him from this sinne. Howsoeuer it was, by POPPEIAS great diligence and his owne wickednes, he so much abhorred his mother, that he determined to kill her: but as it was a matter so horrible, he would haue it done couertly: and so he first proued and practised it with poison, which taking no effect, by direction and counsell of one of his sea captaines whose name was NICETVS, the plot was laide that shee should bee drowned in the sea in the coast of *Calabria*: whither NERO (faining a reconciliation with her) caused her to goe, and vnder color to doe certaine sacrifices, he himselfe went thither also. But this plot taking no effect, wherein certaine of her companie were drowned, & she with great daunger escaping, he seeing that secret practises auailed not, resolued to put her to death openly: and to that effect (through the counsell of the said NICETVS) he caused it to be bruted abroade that one by whom she had sent him word of the shipwracke and daunger wherein she had been at sea, would haue killed him; and for this purpose there was a poiniard let fall at his feete, he which brought it faining, that by his mothers commaundement he came to haue slaine him. Vnder this false pretext onely, he commaunded certaine Tribunes, of which this NICETVS was chiefe, to kill her: who being come where AGRIPPINA was, she presently vnderstoode the cause of their comming, and seeing them vnsheath their swords, authors write, that shewing them her belly, she said, strike me here first; for this part hath deserued it, seeing it conceiued and brought forth such a monster as NERO: and so she soone died of the many wounds which were giuen her. And NERO who was there by, came to see his dead mother, and stoode beholding her body as if it had been the body of a beast; praising and dispraising her parts and members. And thus did the wicked sonne murther his wicked mother, who cannot be excused, but that she for her wickednes deserued the death which she died: And it cannot bee denied, but that herein NERO shewed most abominable crueltie; for nature doth abhor that a sonne should punish and be executioner to his owne mother, moued thereto by his owne wicked and euill disposition.

Poppea Labina Nero his friend.

Nicetus tooke vpon him the charge to kill Agrippina.

Nero put his mother to death by the hand of Nicetus.

The horrible crueltie of the sonne, and diuelliſh ambitiō of the mother.

Truely it is a maruellous thing to consider of the loue which this woman bare to her sonne: for it is written of her, that before that he was Emperor, it was told her by an Astrologer, that he should be Emperor, and that he should kill his owne

mother;

mother: whereto ſhe anſwered; Let him haue the Empire, and then kill her and ſpare not. So great was her pride and ambition, that to the end that ſhe might bee mother to the Emperour, ſhe would put it in hazard to bee ſlaine by her owne ſonne: and ſo both the one and the other were accompliſhed.

The Emperour NERO hauing performed ſo good an exploit, as the murdering of his mother (ſo much are Princes deceiued and blinded with flatterie and adulation, that notwithſtanding that all the world did ſee and vnderſtand the matter, and how all had paſſed; yet moſt men in his preſence approoued and applauded the ſame: and there were many vowes and ſacrifices made to their gods for that he had eſcaped ſuch a treaſon, and for the diſcouerie thereof; making him beleeue that they held it for truth) cloaking his wickednes vnder this colour, hee came to *Rome*, where ſeeing himſelfe at libertie, and free from the controulement of his mother (whoſe authoritie was euer great about him) he began to loſe all ſhame of the world, giuing the reine to his beaſtly appetites, and to all kind of filthines and moſt abominable luxurie, which was ſuch and ſo horrible, that to keep ſuch honeſt decorum in our hiſtorie as is requiſite, and not to offend the eares of the honeſt readers, I purpoſe to paſſe it ouer in ſilence. Wherin he ſpending great part of the time, all the reſt he emploied in laſciuious Comedies and other libidinous exerciſes, and oftentimes in bankets and feaſting which laſted all the whole day, and the night alſo, and was prodigall in all, and in attiring and apparelling himſelfe in moſt incredible rich and ſumptuous attire. The ornaments of his Palace, and his expences and prodigalities were ſuch, as the like thereof had neuer been ſeene. In Comedies and publike ſhewes, moſt of which were moſt vile and diſhoneſt; he acted a part in perſon, and would that the noble yong men of *Rome*, and ſome of the moſt principall young Ladies ſhould be preſent to heare and ſee the ſame. And aboue all he was ſo inclined to Muſicke, and ſo much affected it, that beſides that he was very skilfull in that arte, he gloried ſo much in ſinging, that many times hee refuſed to eate for hurting his voice; and to cleere it and make it better, he purged himſelfe and vſed other remedies and medicines. Some write of him, that to that effect he wore a plaiſter or ſheete of lead vpon his breaſt. Finally, NERO forgetting the dignitie and maieſtie of his eſtate, gaue himſelfe ouer to baſe and vile exerciſes and vices, which for that they were ſuch, are not all deſcribed, and which afterwards brought him to the bottome and ſinke of all ſinne and crueltie, as we will declare. And as the ſubiects for the moſt part doe imitate the faſhions and behauiour of their Princes and Lords; ſo preſently in *Rome* and out of it, they began to practiſe and follow thoſe vices and exerciſes wherein the Emperour ſpent his time: and the lawes, good cuſtomes, Artes and Sciences began to be corrupted and forgotten. Wherefore he accompliſhed the making of himſelfe an enemie, and odious to all good men, although then there were but few, as it often happeneth.

Princes are euer abuſed by flatterers.

While as he buſied himſelfe about theſe matters, the warres which his Captaine CORBVLVS began with the Parthians, about the title of the kingdome of *Armenia*, neuer ceaſed, as is aforeſaid. In which after there had paſſed many feates of armes, the Romanes preuailing, the Parthians were wholy caſt out of the prouince of *Armenia*: and NERO nominated and ſent thither for King thereof (as a ſubiect to the Empire) TIGRANES, who was nephew to ARCHELAVS ſometime King of *Cappadocia*, hauing of a long time remained in *Rome* in baſe and poore eſtate. This man was by ſome of the countrey receiued and entertained with goodwil, and others which held with the king of the Parthians murmured there-

Warres with the Parthians.

at, as commonly it vseth to happen: Wherefore there was giuen vnto him an ordinarie guard of foote and horsemen, and some of the Romane Cohorts to aide and assist him to defend that kingdome: and CORBVLVS being victorious came with his legions into *Syria*, which happened in the 7. yeere of the raigne of NERO. About this time there was so great an Earthquake in many parts of the world, that many great buildings fell downe; and therewith was the citie of *Laodicea* wholy destroyed and laid waste. Within few daies after this, the Ile of *England* and *Scotland*, then called *Britannie*, rebelled against the Romane Empire, being vnable to endure the insolencies and oppressions which therein by the men of warre of the Romane legions, lying there in garrison, were committed, PAVLINVS SVETONIVS being their Captaine: for from the diseases and vices of the head, *Rome*, did flow disorder and corruption through all the prouinces which were members thereof. The cause of the insurrection in this Iland proceeded from hence; PAVLINVS being desirous to winne honor, and enuying the fame which CORBVLVS had gotten in the East, who was daily victorious in the warre against the Parthians, and he wanting neither courage nor discretion to doe the like, but matter and occasion; and seeing that in the Ile of *Britannie* there was neither time nor hope for his purpose, leauing such troupes and garrison therein, as hee thought sufficient, he went from thence with a great fleete to make warre in an Iland neere to *England*, then called *Mona*, and now *Man*, which was inhabited by a fierce nation. And notwithstanding that all succeeded well vnto him in that iourney, yet while he was busied thereabouts, the Britaines chusing among themselues a captaine, which was a man of great account and reputation, called PHRASVRATVS or PRASVTAGVS, with the title of a King, as they ordinarily had in that Iland, although it were subiect; they rose and rebelled for their libertie, killing so many Romane souldiers as they could find, which had shut themselues vp in a temple; and afterwards ouerthrowing a legion which came to their aide, they slew the greatest part thereof, and compelled PETVS, who had the commaund in the absence of PAVLINVS SVETONIVS, to flie to their Campe, where they presently besieged him, and so were masters of the field: CALPVS, who for the Emperour was gouernour of the Iland, seeing himselfe vnable to defend the same, with the greatest speede that possibly he could fled into *France*, and abandoned the Iland. And the Britaines took such order, and vsed such expedition in this warre against the Romanes and their adherents, that within few daies in sundrie places were slaine 70000. men. PAVLINVS being aduertised of this so great calamitie, hauing effected the determination which he attempted of his owne authoritie, with the greatest speede possible returned into the Iland with his troupes, where he assembled together those which had remained constant in the Emperours seruice, and the remainder of the Romane souldiers which were left; and reprehending some, and encouraging others, without any longer delay, hee went to seeke his enemies and their captain PRASVTAGVS: who were now growne so hardie that they came to seeke him, and did so assure themselues of the victorie, that they brought their wiues in wagons and carres to see the battaile which they meant to fight. Which PAVLINVS SVETONIVS refused not; but like an expert captaine tooke such aduantage of the ground, and marshalled his men in such sort, and in the battaile fought so valiantly, that he obtained the victorie: yet was it one of the most fierce battailes, and fought with the greatest obstinacie that euer was seene: for of the conquerors there died a great number, but of the conquered (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) there were slaine few lesse then fourescore thou-

The Ile of Man.

The Romanes cut in pieces by the Britaines.

A great battaile.

sand

ſand men. But GILDAS an auncient Hiſtorian borne in the ſame Iland, ſetteth downe a much leſſe number, who ſaith, that there were ſlaine thirtie thouſand. With this great victorie, and with the new ſupplie which NERO ſent, the Romanes preuailed in that Ile, ſo that from thencefoorth it remained in peace.

While theſe things were a doing, NERO daily encreaſed in his vice and wickednes, and principally beſides (what is aforeſaid) began to execute many new cruelties, commaunding many men to be ſlaine vpon light occaſions, and ſome without any; notwithſtanding that his Schoole-maſter SENECA, and BVRRVS the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, did ſtay and mitigate the ſame all that they might. But in the ninth yeere of his raigne BVRRVS died, and SENECA being by ſome brought into ſuſpition with NERO (beſides that vertue is euer hatefull to the wicked) began to withdraw himſelfe from entermedling with the affaires of the gouernment: and as a Phiſition leaueth to applie medicines to the patient, of whoſe recouerie there is no hope; ſo did he forbeare to conuerſe with NERO, or giue him any counſell, faining his old age and want of health to be the cauſe therof. And in like manner (as ſaith CORNELIVS TACITVS) others which had any ſparke of ancient Romanes in them, withdrew themſelues; being vnable to endure the ſight of what paſſed and NERO committed. At this time NERO commaunded PVBLIVS SYLLA to be ſlaine in *France*, who was one of the moſt famous men of his time; and another whoſe name was RABELLIVS PLAVTVS, a worthie and principall man, in whom was found no other fault, or cauſe wherefore he ſhould be ſlaine, but that he was vertuous, and therefore beloued of all men: and being ſuch, vpon a time when NERO was ſo ſicke that it was thought he would haue died, the people of *Rome* fixed their eies vpon this man, naming and chuſing him for NEROES ſucceſſor: vpon which occaſion NERO baniſhed him from *Rome*, and now determined to releaſe him from baniſhment by cauſing him to be ſlaine. And after this manner he ſlew in thoſe daies a great number of other Romanes, which theſe authors doe name, and I leaue out, as a matter abominable; which hee put to death of crueltie and enuie, without any other cauſe.

A little after this, growing impudent through his cuſtomarie ſinning, hee diuorced himſelfe from his wife OCTAVIA; and not contented to put her away, he tooke another mans wife, and preſently married POPPEA, whom (as we ſaid) he held for his friend, hauing firſt taken her from OTHO which was her huſband: and not contented to put away his good and vertuous wife, he cauſed her to be falſely accuſed of adulterie, hauing compounded with NICETVS his Sea-captaine (who murdered his mother AGRIPPINA, who as it ſhould ſeeme a man fit for ſuch ſeruices) that hee ſhould confeſſe himſelfe to be the man which had committed adulterie with her. And notwithſtanding that this was plainly perceiued to be a fiction, he diſſemblingly baniſhed NICETVS, and OCTAVIA was alſo baniſhed, and afterwards ſlaine by his commaundement: ſo as to the innocent was giuen a true puniſhment, and to the traitor a fained correction. At that time he alſo commaunded the famous Libertine PALANTE to be ſlaine, for the deſire which he had to his riches: for in the time of NERO it was more daungerous to be rich, then to commit offences; and many were ſlaine becauſe they were rich, and few were puniſhed for their euill deedes.

Nero put away his wife, and married another mans.

NERO committing theſe and many other ſuch like enormities, VOLOGESVS king of the Parthians, taking it in ſcorne that his brother TYRIDATES ſhould be diſpoſſeſt of the kingdome of *Armenia*, and that it ſhould by the Romanes,

be giuen to TIGRANES; began to leuie his forces, and determining to renew the warre, ſent his ſaid brother to recouer that kingdome, as he ſoone did; and ſeaſed vpon many countries and parts thereof. Againſt whom CORBVLVS, who was captaine in the Eaſt, and had made the laſt warre, with all expedition ſent two legions for a ſupply to King TIGRANES: and the warre beginning very hotly of either ſide, the Emperor at the earneſt ſute of CORBVLVS, ſent new troupes to reinforce the armie againſt the Parthians, and CESONIVS PETVS for their captaine. Who, with the greateſt ſpeede that he could, with many companies and great preparation for the warres, departed *Italie*, and following his iourney came where CORBVLVS attended his comming; and diuiding his troupes with CORBVLVS, each of them by himſelfe followed the warre apart; in proceſſe whereof CORBVLVS gouerned ſo valiantly and with ſuch diſcretion, that he not onely defended the limits of the Empire in that part which fell to his lot, but paſſed the Riuer *Euphrates*, and gat and ſurpriſed ſome holds in his enemies countrie. And CESONIVS PETVS with leſſe wit or experience, but more vaine glorie promiſing great matters of himſelfe, bagan the warre: In the beginning whereof with apparance of good ſucceſſe, hee entred *Armenia*, and extending his power farther then he ought to haue done, paſſed the Mountaine *Taurus*, taking ſome townes without conſidering whether he were able to hold the ſame or no, and ſent of his troupes into diuers places with a deſire to get and to do more then he was able to accompliſh, or was fit to be done: So that (as CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth) he gouerned himſelfe ſo ill, that when as VOLOGESVS came againſt him, there happened ſo many diſgraces vnto him, and he vnaduiſedly encamped himſelfe in ſuch a place, that he was beſieged by VOLOGESVS in his camp; in ſuch ſort that being vnable to ſtay for the ſuccour which was to come from CORBVLVS vnto him, wanting both courage and diſcretion to defend himſelfe, hee came to a ſhamefull and diſhonorable compoſition for the Romane reputation, with the King of the Parthians: which was, That the King giuing him leaue freely to depart out of the countrie with his armie, he ſhould abandon the prouince of *Armenia*, and deliuer vp all ſuch holds as he had taken: all which was performed accordingly, and he very ſhamefully went out of *Armenia*, in great diſgrace, and with no ſmall loſſe of his armie. The Emperor being aduertiſed thereof, ſent for him to come to *Rome*, and to leaue his legions with CORBVLVS; and when hee was come, he gaue him no other puniſhment, but in a word or two calling him daſtard and coward; for comming to his preſence, he ſaid, that hee would ſpeedily pardon him, to the end that the feare of puniſhment ſhould not kill him.

New war with the Parthians.

CORBVLVS remaining captaine alone (notwithſtanding that the Parthians were growne proud by reaſon of their late victorie) proſecuted the warre in ſuch manner, that they motioned treaties of peace, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, which after ſundrie Ambaſſades & ſome truce taken, in the end a peace was concluded, profitable to the Parthians, although in ſhew and ceremonies honorable to the Romanes: which was, That TYRIDATES ſhould remaine in poſſeſſion of *Armenia*, but ſhould giue ouer the title and royall enſignes, vntill he had been at *Rome*, there perſonally to receiue the ſame at the hands of the Emperor NERO. To confirme this agreement, he came into the Romanes campe, and in preſence of all the armie, humbled, and proſtrated himſelfe vpon the earth before NERO his image, and taking the crowne from his head, he ſet it at NEROES feete: and afterwards being ſolemnly entertained and feaſted, appointing a time for his comming

Peace with the Parthians.

comming to *Rome*, he left a daughter which he had, for assurance thereof; and so departed to visit his brothers, VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians, and PACORVS King of the *Medes*, and to prepare all things necessarie for his iourney. Which although it were not so soone as it was appointed, and that there passed some things in the meane season, as we will presently specifie, yet to the end that we leaue not this matter vnperfect, it shall be fit (although somewhat afore the time) to speake of TIRIDATES his comming to *Rome*, for it was a solemne matter and worthie to be remembred, which was thus.

As NERO was a man desirous of fame and vaine glorie, so by letters and great promises, he inuited and procured TIRIDATES to come to *Rome*, which he performed, greatly accompanied, and was most solemnly receiued: and NERO attended his comming with sumptuous prouision made by the Senate and people, set vpon a high throne, with all the shew of maiestie and greatnes that could be deuised: at one end whereof, were all the pretorian cohortes and men of warre, armed with most faire and bright armor. TIRIDATES comming to the place where the Emperour NERO was, being alighted from his horse, mounted vp the staires to the scaffold where he sate, and comming neere him, fell at his feete; and NERO taking him by the right hand, raised him, and tooke from his head an ornament which he ware, and did put thereon a diadem and crowne of a King, vsing herein other pompous ceremonies. TIRIDATES being crowned with this solemnitie, after certaine feastings which were made him in *Rome*, hauing remained there certaine daies, departed towards his countrie, carrying with him an incredible masse of money, which the Emperour gaue him for his comming. The peace with the Parthians being confirmed in this manner, NERO gaue himselfe more to his old vices then hee did before; and to doe the same more freely; and to be at more libertie and farther off from the authoritie of the Senate, he departed from *Rome*, with the most solemne and magnificent court and companie that euer was seene; although the greatest part thereof were conformable to his conditions. The report of this iourney was, that he went into *Græcia*, to cut the necke of a land in *Achaia*, which is a narrow land betweene the *Egean* and *Ionian* seas, which make *Peloponesus* now called *Morea*, to be as it were an Iland. And in his iourney, in *Naples* and in other parts, he shamelesly came vpon the theaters and stages of the cities, and acted part of the Comedies, as one of the actors or plaiers, and sung tragedies and fables, and wanne many prises and crownes, which were rewards giuen in those controuersies. And being come into *Græcia*, in the greatest busines for which he came, he did no more but appoint a day to begin his worke, and hauing made a speech to his people, he tooke a toole in his hand wherewith he began to digge the earth, and making this beginning, he sodainly (no man knowing any cause wherefore) left of what he had begun, without order for doing any more, and presently returned to *Rome*. Wherein he entred in triumph, as if he had wonne a great battaile, demaunding it for the victorie aboue written; wherein he came mounted vpon the same chariot, wherein OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS had triumphed, enclosed and compassed about with musitions and plaiers, such as represented fables and tragedies vpon stages, being brought from all parts of the world for that purpose. And within few daies after that this was past, he pretended another iourney into the kingdome of *Egypt*, and all things being in a readines for that purpose, through a certaine diuination he gaue ouer his iourney. NERO being come to the beginning of the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, became so impudent, giuing himselfe wholy ouer

Tiridates crowned in Rome by the Emperor Nero with great solemnitie.

Nero his iourney into Græcia.

ouer to ſenſualitie, that he did any thing without bluſhing or changing colour, and licenced an infinit number of others to do the like: and his wickednes mounted to ſo high a degree, that SVETONIVS teſtifieth of him thus.

Super ingeniorum proagogia & nuptarum concubinatus, veſtali virgini Rubriæ vim intulit. Acten libertam paulum abfuit, quin iuſto matrimonio ſibi coniungeret, ſummiſſis conſularibus viris, qui regio genere ortam peierarent. Puerum Sporum exectis teſtibus, etiam in muliebrem naturam tranſfigurare conatus eſt, cum dote & flammeo perſolenni nuptiarum celebernimo officio deductum ad ſe, pro vxore habuit. Extatque cuiuſdam non inſcitus iocus, bene agi potuiſſe cum rebus humanis, ſi Domitius Neronis pater talem habuiſſet vxorem. Hunc Sporum Auguſtarum ornamentis excultum, lecticaque vectum, & circa conuentus mercatuſque Græciæ, ac mox Romæ circa Sigillaria comitatus eſt, identidem exoſculans. Nam matris concubitum appetiſſe, & ab obtrectatoribus eius, ne ferox atque impotens mulier, & hoc gratiæ genere prævaleret, deterritum nemo dubitauit, vtique poſtquam meretricem, quam fama erat Agrippinæ ſimillimam inter concubinas recepit. Olim etiam quoties lectica cum matre veheretur, libidinatum inceſtè ac maculis veſtis proditum affirmant.

Amongſt all his diſhoneſt and filthie prankes, he neuer forgat the fiercenes and crueltie of his heart, ſhedding bloud, and killing an infinit number of men, and made boaſt and vaunted thereof; ſaying, that none of his predeceſſors in the Empire, did euer know their owne power but he. And one in his preſence vſing this ſaying, vſed for a by-word, when I am dead let the world bee burned, quoth he, let it be before that I die, I pray God. Of ſo euil an inclination and enuious was this man to all mankinde, which did fully appeare by that which he did within a little while after this, which was, to ſet the citie of *Rome* on fire, as SVETONIVS, EVSEBIVS, EVTROPIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and ISIDORE affirme: yet CORNELIVS TACITVS maketh ſome doubt thereof, whether that it were done by chaunce, or by his commaundement, and yet he himſelfe affirmeth that no man durſt to quench the fire for feare of him: and all affirme, that it laſted ſixe daies and ſeauen nights, and that NERO went vp to the top of a high tower, to behold this ſpectacle, which was very pleaſing to his ſight, where he ſtoode ſinging certaine verſes of HOMER, which contained the burning of the citie of *Troy*. And the fire did conſume ſomuch in the citie of *Rome*, that TACITVS writeth, that of fourteene great quarters which were in the citie, onely fower eſcaped free from it; and of the tenne, three were wholy conſumed and burnt to the ground; and in the ſeuen there was neuer a houſe, whereof the greateſt part was not burned, and many wholy. Finally, it was innumerable, and not to be imagined the houſes, temples, riches, the ſpoiles of victories, the clothes and merchandiſes, and other things which this fire conſumed: which to the end that the reader may the better vnderſtand, he ought to conſider, that *Rome* was then the greateſt and moſt populous citie in the world, full of, and moſt frequented by ſtrange Nations, and the moſt rich and beautifull that euer was, as that which in that time did draw to it and ſwallow vp all the money and riches of all the prouinces ſubiect vnto it, by taxings, tributes, impoſitions, briberie, and tyrannies. This lamentable deſolation being ended, there remained in him no pittie at all, but all men held him to be the author thereof; although they durſt not ſay ſo, and that he deſired to haue of the ruines; for the ſtones, pillars, and other things which eſcaped the fire, he would not ſuffer to be carried a way by the owners, but tooke them for the building of his owne pallace and houſes, which ſome daies before he had builded, and part thereof being burned with this fire, he afterwards reedified and made

Rome ſet on fier by Nero.

made without compariſon fairer and greater then before; ſo as it ſeemeth an incredible matter, what PLINY, SVETONIVS, and CORNELIVS TACITVS write of the greatnes thereof, to whom I referre the reader for the particular deſcription of that Palace, because it is a matter wonderfull, and which onely was ſufficient to ſhew the riches of *Rome*. For it ſtretched from the Mount *Palatine* to the Mount *Eſquiline*, which, as it ſeemeth, were diſtãt a good deale more thẽ a mile in bredth; it contained in it ponds of water ſo great, that they ſeemed to bee gulfes of the Sea, cõpaſſed round about with buildings and lodgings. It had in it alſo, beſides gardens and orchards, excellent hils and woods, wherein were all manner of wild beaſts. Moreouer the halles and dining chambers, beſides that they were built of Marble, Alablaſter, Iaſpars, Topaces, and other excellent ſtones; the timberworkes thereof and the ſeelings were inlaid with gold and Iuorie, and mother of Pearle, and ſome ſtones of price. And ſome of theſe high places and chambers were round, and made with ſuch art and skill, that, the floore remaining firme and fixt, the roofe and vaults thereof went continually round like the skie, in ſuch manner as ſometime bird-cages are made; and ſome of theſe roomes were wrought with ſuch art, that there were in them certaine ventals and alimbiques of gold and Iuorie, which at certaine times did caſt out ſweete flowers, waters, and precious [illegible]. This houſe likewiſe had bathes of ſundrie waters hot and cold, and other ornaments and excellencies, ſuch and ſo many as would be tedious to recite; wherein and in other buildings which he made, he ſpent an ineſtimable quantitie of treaſure, and in other which he began, which were ſtrange and marueilous, which for breuitie I omit. And although (as is ſaid) he had commaunded the citie of *Rome* to be ſet on fire, yet after that it was burnt, he vſed all diligence to reedifie it againe, in better forme then it was before, and had determined to alter the name thereof, and to call it *Neroniana*, after his owne name. But this his care ſufficed not to cleere him of the infamie, which he had purchaſed among the people, for commaunding it to be ſet on fire.

A deſcription of Nero his Palace.

After all this, the Emperour NERO by the inſtigation of the diuell, in whoſe power remained his ſinnes (the number of Chriſtians in *Rome* then encreaſing, through the preaching of the Apoſtles S. PETER and S. PAVL, which then were therein) he and ſuch like being grieued with the holines and vertues of the Primitiue Church, determined to perſecute the ſame: and putting it in execution, a great number of Chriſtians, both within and without it, were put to death by his commaundement. And this was the firſt generall perſecution which the Church ſuffered. And although that after the death of CHRIST there wanted no perſecutors; yet was it neuer perſecuted by the Emperours publike edict vntill this time. Wherein, how great the conſtancie of the Martyrs was, and what ſundrie kinds of martyrdome they endured, CORNELIVS TACITVS an infidell Hiſtoriographer, and an enemie to Chriſtians, yet true in his hiſtorie, beſides other Chriſtian authors, ſhall beare witnes: who (like a Gentile murmuring at them) reciteth the perſecution which the Emperour NERO made: whereof SVETONIVS alſo making mention, ſaith, that a moſt great number of Chriſtian men and women were put to death: And among other cruelties, burnings, croſſes, and other kinds of death, he reporteth that they were throwne to the dogges, by them to be torne in pieces: and to the end that the dogges ſhould be the more eager againſt them, they clad and couered them with the skinnes of Beares and other wild beaſts. This perſecution of the church SVETONIVS and CORNELIVS TACITVS ſet downe in this place after the burning of *Rome*, in the eleuenth yeere of the

The firſt perſecution of the Primitiue Church.

the Emperour NERO's raigne; yet EVSEBIVS and other authors note it to bee in the laſt yeere of his Empire, wherein died the bleſſed Apoſtles S. PETER and S. PAVL by his commaundement. But it may be, and ſo I beleeue, that this perſecution laſted till then, which was little more then three yeers; or whether it were onely in this time, it pleaſed God to preſerue his holie Apoſtles vntill the time aboue ſaid.

After that the Emperour NERO had executed the ſaid crueltie againſt the Chriſtians, which was the greateſt that he euer vſed, there followed in *Rome* and the marches thereof, one of the greateſt plagues of peſtilence that euer was in the world; by the permiſſion of God, as it is to be beleeued, for the crueltie vſed againſt the Chriſtians. But there was no amendment in him, neither any repentance, in that, nor in his other miſchiefes: but rather waxing worſe, he againe began his robberies and intolerable extortions in all his prouinces, which were ſuch and ſo many, that they became vnpeopled, and many places were wholy ruinated and deſolate: for the ordinarie rents (although the ſumme thereof were incredible) being inſufficient to maintaine the prodigalities and vnmeaſurable expences; which becauſe they cannot be expreſſed at large, it ſhall ſuffice to make ſome briefe mention thereof, the better to coniecture of the reſt. Beſides, what he without meaſure conſumed in his building and vaine workes, and in the curious workmanſhip of that his famous houſe, which was a matter ineſtimable: in al the reſt his diſorder and exceſſe was incredible. Firſt he apparelled himſelfe with moſt precious and rich attire, and ordinarily plaid at dice and at other games great ſummes of money. When he went a fiſhing (whereunto he was extremely affected) and for his pleaſure went to the ſea and riuers, he commaunded the nets to be made of gold threed, and the ropes of moſt excellent fine ſilke. In his progreſſes which he made out of *Rome*, which were many, beſides the other infinit numbers of people of his Court and baggage which he carried, and which followed him; he neuer had leſſe then a thouſand waggons drawne with Mules for his wardrope, excellently wrought and garniſhed; and thoſe which led and ruled them, were apparelled in moſt rich attire, of gold, ſiluer, cloath of gold and ſilke, euen vnto the very Mules ſhooes, which were of pure ſiluer. Then the games and plaies which he made, were ſuch & ſo many, that it cannot be counted what they might coſt: for beſides thoſe which in *Rome* were ordinarie, as the Sword-players, combats, huntings of wild beaſts, Lions, Elephants, Beares, Panthers, Tigers, and other beaſts; the Comedies and Tragedies which in the Theaters and Amphitheaters were made and repreſented, and the ſports on horſeback, & with chariots of diuers formes, in the circuits and places of *Rome*, which were many, which hee made more often and with greater magnificence then euer theretofore; he inuented new ſports with chariots drawne with Camels, and Elephants with Caſtles vpon their backes, with other nouelties and ſtrange things, which to bring to paſſe it behooued a man to compaſſe the world. As were his Naumachie, a fight with galleys vpon the water, making a Lake for that purpoſe by hand, which they alſo called Naumachia, making water to be brought from the Sea to fill the ſame, and therewith fiſhes to ſwimme therein, becauſe it ſhould be more naturall and at life. Then in the gifts which hee threw to the people, for him which could firſt take them, which they called *Miſſilia*, he would not giue ſuch as were ordinarie, as other Emperours did, of money, birds, and other things of ſmall value, but ioyntly therewith he commaunded precious apparell, gold, ſiluer, rich ſtones and pearles to be giuen; and to encreaſe this in all extremitie, of

The exceſſiue prodigalitie of Nero.

Naumachia.

Gifts giuen by Nero.

things

things which could not bee caſt in their kinde, hee cauſed certaine tables to bee throwne, wherein was ſet downe what he ſhould haue into whoſe hands they came, in wheate, heards, or ſlaues; which extended ſo farre as to giue heritages, fields, houſes, Ilands, and other matters of great price. In all which that hath been ſaid, he that will ſhall ſee what he might ſpend, and may imagine what his expences might amount vnto in other matters. So as this accurſed man had no vice wherein he would not be extreame, and ſo would be in ſpending and diſperſing, as he was in robbing and deſpiting the people: which his prodigalitie (as it was gratefull and pleaſing to the vulgar ſort) ſo I preſume it was the cauſe why they ſo long time endured his tyrannic and wicked conditions.

But as theſe things were intolerable, after the 11. yeer of his raigne, many principall noble men of *Rome* conſpired againſt him, the head and chiefe whereof was CAIVS PISO, the moſt noble man by birth, parentage and vertue, that at that time was in *Rome*, and according to his name, this conſpiracie was called Piſoniana. But it was diſcouered before it tooke effect, and in ſteede of the remedie which was hoped for, it opened the way to the Emperours crueltie: for vpon this occaſion he put to death ſo many principall men and of all ſorts, as well thoſe which were guiltie, as of thoſe which hee would hold for ſuſpected, that they were without number; among which died the wittie and excellent Poet LVCAN, and his maſter SENECA. And feare and flatterie were of ſuch power (which are things which commonly concurre) that the Senate determined to doe ſacrifices, and to giue ſolemne thankes vnto the gods for the health and ſafetie of NERO, and his deliuerie from this conſpiracie; and they ordained feaſts to be made therefore, and that the moneth of Aprill ſhould loſe his name and be called NERO; and that there ſhould be a new temple erected to the god of health, and other ſuch like things. After this there was another conſpiracie, the captain whereof was a Romane Knight, whoſe name was VINDEX: but as the diuell would helpe and ſupport his ſeruant NERO; ſo it was alſo diſcouered, and the confederates therein were by him brought to their death; and many others vpon that occaſion. After which hee grew ſo fearefull, and therewith ſo cruell, that from thencefoorth his greateſt ſtudie and exerciſe was to put men to death, vpon any occaſion whether forged or true, according to his fantaſie. And ſo he ſlew a great number of principall men (as SVETONIVS and more at large CORNELIVS TACITVS doe deſcribe.) Being nuſled in theſe cruelties, he forgat not his other vices and exerciſes; among which one was to come perſonally into the Theater, and there to contend & ſtriue for the prizes which were giuen to him that beſt could recite or ſing verſes and tragedies, and for other rewards of Muſicke which were giuen in that time, as if he had been the pooreſt Muſition or ſinging man in *Rome*. And comming one day very merrie for a victorie which he had obtained in theſe Theatrall Iuſts and contentions, he tooke ſome diſpleaſure againſt his beloued wife POPPEA; and as hee was very proude and ill conditioned, he gaue her a ſpurne in the bellie, whereof being with child ſhe fell ſo ſicke that ſhe died; and he, who was the cauſe of her death, was exceeding ſorrie for it. After all this, in the 13. yeere of his raigne, the prouinces being no longer able to endure his tyrannie, and much leſſe the armies which were in them, began to murmure and to thinke vpon meanes how they might riſe and rebell againſt him, as within ſhort ſpace ſome of them did, which was in the 13. yeere of his raigne. Moued vpon the like occaſion, the Iewes roſe againſt the Empire, God permitting that they ſhould be the firſt, and ſhould perſeuere in their rebellion, for a publike and euident

Piſo conſpired againſt Nero.

The Senate did ſacrifice for the health of Nero.

Nero killed his wife Poppea.

The Iewes rebelled againſt Nero.

dent punishment which should be inflicted vpon them, for the putting of our Sauiour CHRIST to death. For this warre which was begun against the Iewes, VESPASIAN was appointed captaine generall, a man very famous both in peace and warre, and who afterwards was Emperour, who had for his lieutenant (which is the second place after the generall) his sonne TITVS, who in processe of time was also Emperour. VESPASIAN began this warre very valorously, and it was afterwards one of the most famous warres that euer was in the world; wherein as shall be declared, the citie of *Ierusalem* was wholy destroyed. This historie is excellently well written by IOSEPHVS a Iewish historiographer, who serued in that warre, and was taken prisoner by VESPASIAN: and by EGESIPPVS a Iew by birth, but a christian by profession; besides many other authors which treate and write thereof.

VESPASIAN hauing by force of armes taken some cities in *Iudea*; the enuie and hatred daily encreasing against NERO, with the causes which he gaue of the same, all Nations conspiring to rebell and rise against him; the prouinces of *France*, and the legions which were therein, first began, chusing IVLIVS VINDEX for their captaine who then was there. The newes hereof came to NERO being then in the citie of *Naples*, whither he went for his vertuous recreations, such as he was accustomed to vse: whereat he seemed not to be much moued, and (as it was surmised) it offended him not, because that thereby he might haue occasion to robbe and sacke all the prouinces of *France*. But the newes still encreasing, he began to stand in some doubt, and came to *Rome*, where he was certified that a part of *Spaine* called *Tarragona*, was also risen against him, with SERGIVS GALBA proclaming himselfe Emperor; who was a man very famous for his noble linage, charges and dignities which he had valorously executed. Which he did, as some write, being perswaded thereto by letters from IVLIVS VINDEX, who (as I now said) was risen in armes in *France*.

Insurrection against Nero.

With this newes of *Spaine*, the Emperour NERO was somuch troubled, that after that he had lien a good while (as though he had been dead) vpon his bed without speaking any one word; he rose vp as a man desperate, and tearing his clothes knocked his head against the walles; without hearing or receiuing counsell or comfort from those which would haue giuen it him. And this fury being past, he began to take order for the leuying of forces, and to require imprests and aides thereto: but he was so much hated of all the world, that no man came very willingly to his seruice; rather perswading one another to the contrarie, and not to come. And things standing in this state, as NERO busied himselfe about leuying an armie, and thought in himselfe what cruelties and punishments he might inflict, there came certaine newes vnto him, that the legions which lay vpon the frontiers of high *Dutchland*, whose captaine was RVFVS VIRGINIVS, were also risen against him, aswell as those of *France* and *Spaine*. With this newes NERO lost all courage and hope to defend himselfe; and the Senate and people of *Rome* were therewith so much troubled, that without any soliciting, but onely of their owne meere motion by common consent, they determined to abandon NERO, and refuse to yeeld him any obedience, whereof ensued his death so shamefull and vile, as he deserued; which was in this manner.

SVETONIVS writeth, that when the newes came of the insurrection of the legions, NERO was at dinner; and that presently so soone as hee heard it, hee threw the table to the ground, and in despaire to bee able to defend himselfe, taking certaine poison in a boxe of gold, he withdrew himselfe to certaine gardens

which

which he had, where he deuiſed ſundrie waies and meanes to eſcape this preſent calamitie; ſomtime thinking to flie out of *Italie* to the King of the Parthians, with whom he was in great league of friendſhip euer ſince the coronation of his brother TIRIDATES King of *Armenia*; other whiles he thought to yeeld himſelfe to SERGIVS GALBA, and to craue mercie at his hands: but finding no meanes nor remedie for the one nor other (for few were they which repaired vnto him, or came at his calling) he was of opinion to goe forth into the publike places of aſſembly in *Rome*, clad in mourning attire, & there to craue pardon for his ill forepaſſed life; and if they ſhould not graunt him to continue in the Empire, yet at the leaſt that they would beſtow vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and to this effect, were found certaine orations alreadie drawne in his cloſet; but he durſt not put this deuiſe in execution, fearing to be ſlaine by the people; ſo great alreadie was the tumult in the citie. Paſſing that day and part of the night in theſe doubts and feares, he laid himſelfe vpon his bed, although he tooke little reſt, determining with himſelfe the next day to put in execution that counſell which ſhould ſeeme moſt profitable. And hauing ſlept alittle, he awoke about midnight, and was giuen to vnderſtand that the Cohorts which had the guarde of the pallace were gone, and had forſaken him. He amazed at ſo great a noueltie, ſent for certaine his greateſt and moſt priuate friends to their houſes: but as betweene wicked men there is no certaine true friendſhip, neither was there any due to him, neither had he deſerued any; ſo from none of them he receiued any good anſwere: wherefore with ſome of his ſeruants and thoſe very few (protected by the darknes of the night) he went forth of his pallace, and in perſon went to many of their houſes, at none of which they would open the doores, neither giue him any anſwere: ſo as he who within few daies before was feared and adored of all the world; returned ſorrowfull, deſpiſed, and in feare of all men. And returning to the lodging from whence he came, he found it ranſackt and robbed, euen to the very boxe of poiſon which he had reſerued for his laſt refuge. Which when he ſaw, in deſpaire of his life and deſiring to die, he began in great haſt to call for a certaine ſworde player which ſerued him, whoſe name was SPICILLVS MIRMILON, and commaunded him to kill him. And as neither this man, neither any other would doe it, he cried out with a loud voice, ſaying, Now I perceiue that I haue neither friend nor enemie. And in this furie he went with a determination to drowne himſelfe in the Riuer *Tiber*, and making a ſtand, he asked of thoſe which were with him, where he might hide himſelfe, vntill that he had bethought him what to doe: preſently an enfranchiſed man of his, offred to keepe him ſecretly hidden in a farme which he had foure miles from *Rome*. And ſo NERO taking this for his laſt refuge, mounting to horſebacke, in the darke of the night went out of *Rome* with foure men onely, which accompained him, in the moſt couert and diſguiſed manner that he could: and with great feare and trouble came to the village whither they carried him; and leauing his horſe hidden among certaine trees, he went couertly through certaine Canes and Reedes; and before that he came to the houſe whither he was to goe, the ſame FAONTES which brought him, counſelled him to goe into a caue which was there, where they vſed to digge ſand: whereto he anſwered, that he would not bury himſelfe aliue. And in the end he went into the houſe, creeping on all fower at a hole which they made through the wall; and comming into a chamber, he caſt himſelfe vpon a poore bed which was there, and being both hungrie and thirſtie, he deſired to haue ſome thing to eate: but there was nothing

Nero brought into extreame miſerie.

to be had but a piece of browne breade and a little water; the bread he would not eate, but dranke of the water with incomparable feare and ſorrow to ſee himſelfe there.

As theſe things paſſed with NERO (as I haue ſaid) ſo ſoone as it was day, his flight was preſently diſcouered, and the Senate aſſembled, and by their common conſent he was adiudged an enemie to his countrie, and being condemned to die, was commaunded to be ſought for euery where: for the execution thereof, the men of warre of the Pretorian and Vrban Cohorts, conſented thereunto, by perſwaſions and promiſes which were made vnto them. With which newes, ſo ſoone as the determination of the Senate was publiſhed, a ſeruant to the ſaid FAONTES which brought NERO to his farme, went out of *Rome*, to giue him to vnderſtand thereof: for hee knew the ſecret way. And being come where the Emperour was, he found him making preparation to kill himſelfe, through the perſwaſion of thoſe which came with him, ſeeing that there was no other meanes for him to eſcape. He hearing the ſorrowfull newes which was brought him, amazed and euen out of his wittes, tooke the poiniards which he had brought thither, and feeling their points and edges, with ſhew to doe that which they had counſelled him, growing fearefull and a coward, againe put them into their ſheathes, faining that yet his fatall hower was not come. And ſomtimes he prayed and entreated, that ſome one of thoſe which were with him, would kill himſelfe, to the end that he might follow his example: at other times he would reproue himſelfe for his baſe minde and want of courage, vntill at laſt hearing the noiſe of certaine horſemen, which by the commaundement of the Senate came to ſeeke him, he ſet a poiniard to his throate, wherewith, with the helpe of one of his ſeruants, he wounded himſelfe, of which wound within a little while after, he died; making ſuch geſtures and countenances, as made all thoſe which were preſent amazed thereat. And ſo ended the enemie of mankind, the venom and poiſon of the earth (for ſo PLINY calleth him) after that he had raigned fourteene yeeres, being two and thirtie yeeres old, in the ſeuentith yeere after the birth of CHRIST. This NERO was a man of a goodly conſtitution, neither high nor low, of a faire countenance though ſomewhat wanton; his eies greeniſh, a round viſage, reddiſh haire, with a thicke and full necke, and had a great belly and little legges, and was a man of a ſound complexion: for notwithſtanding that he was giuen to all vice and exceſſe, yet in fourteene yeeres that he raigned, he was neuer but thriſe ſicke.

Nero ſlew himſelfe.

His death being knowne in *Rome*, the ioy which the Senate and people conceiued thereof, was incomparable; and all came foorth into the ſtreetes to congratulate one with another, with bonnets vpon their heads, which was a ſigne of libertie; for ſo did the ſlaues vſe to weare when their maiſters made them free. But with all this (as NERO had been a great feaſter, a ſpender, a giuer, and was ſubiect to other vices, which many men loued more then many other mens vertues) yet there were ſome which for a long time honored his ſepulcher and did ordinarily ſet flowers vpon it. And the King of the Parthians ſent his Ambaſſadors afterwards to *Rome* to confirme the peace and amitie: who with great inſtance, earneſtly deſired that the remembrance of NERO might be held in honor and reuerence. And as the vaine and idle people vſe to ſowe falſe reports; ſo many beleeued that NERO was not dead, but that he lay hidden and ſhould returne againe to the Empire, as though that he had been enchaunted. Saint AVGVSTINE alſo in his booke *de ciuitate Dei* ſaith, that ſome were of opinion

that

that NERO was antichriſt, which vanitie gaue occaſion that twentie yeeres after that, there roſe a man in *Aſia*, naming himſelfe NERO, which cauſed great trouble and alteration, being aſſiſted by the Parthians: although that in truth there remained no houſe of NERO, neither ſonne nor daughter, adopted or naturall, and he was the laſt Emperor of the houſe and familie of the CÆSARS, founders of the Empire; ſo in him ended his linage, notwithſtanding that the name continueth vntill this day.

In Nero was ended and extinguiſhed the linage of the Cæſars.

THE LIFE OF SERGIVS GALBA ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND SEVENTH EMPEROR OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

SErgius Galba ſucceeded Nero, and in his old age was aduanced to the Empire. This man was of the noble family of the Sulpitij, and was very intemperate in his diet, and of no great good fame, concerning Sodomie, and gouerned the Empire by the counſell of three of his familiars. This man before his comming to the Empire ſubdued many prouinces, and was very ſeuere in the execution of the martiall diſcipline. He was learned in the liberall ſciences, but chiefly very expert in the lawes. He was infortunate in his children, for thoſe which he had died before him; and he whom he adopted whoſe name was Piſo Licinianus was ſlaine a little after him. This old man died through the ſedition of Otho, who ſent certaine ſouldiers to cut off his head in the publike market place: whither he came armed to repreſſe the tumults. His body

body was left at the mercie of the people; yet in the end it was buried by one of his bondmen. He lined seuentie and three yeeres, and ruled the Empire seauen moneths and seauen daies. His death seemed to be very acceptable to the people, as to those which are euer desirous to see nouelties.

NERO being dead in such manner as we haue declared, with great gladnes and generall consent of all men, SERGIVS GALBA was created Emperour; who in the time of NERO was nominated and proclaimed by the Armie which was in *Spaine*; and he was the first that receiued the Empire from the hand of the Armie, the Senate consenting thereto and approouing the same; hauing no affinitie or alliance with the house and linage of the CÆSARS, neither by nature nor adoption: For vntill this time the Empire succeeded by inheritance and succession from one to another, being kinsmen by nature or adoption. To declare the life and fortune of SERGIVS GALBA before that he was Emperour, would require a large discourse; for he came to it at the age of 72. yeers, and enioyed it not one whole yeere: so as seeing that I write an Imperiall historie, I will not for so short a discourse (as was his raigne) make so long a preamble. Let it suffice for him, and so much as shall appertaine to our historie, to know, that SERGIVS GALBA was of a most noble linage in *Rome*, descended from the familie of the SVLPITII, by surname GALBÆ, and from other noble and ancient families (as these blazoners recount them euery one according to his will and fashion) whereof he was wont much to boast, that by his father he was descended from IVPITER, and by his mother from PASIPHAE, wife to MINOS king of *Creta*; of whom is reported that notable fable of a Bull. And you shall also know that in his life time hee had administred and obtained many Magistracies and dignities in *Rome* and abroad, whereby he wonne great estimation to his person both in peace and warre: for being borne about the 40. yeere of the raigne of OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, or within little more or lesse, he liued after in the times of TIBERIVS, CALIGVLA, CLAVDIVS, and NERO, and was well knowne and honoured by them all; which could not be, without great wisedome and valour, to be able to support and encrease his honour in times of such confusion, and vnder so tyrannous Princes; although imitating them, hee eschued not some of their vices, for which he was noted and defamed. So as speaking indifferently of this Emperour, we may say, that he was betweene good and bad, and so it seemeth that CORNELIVS TACITVS noteth him: yet PLVTARCH, who writeth his life grauely and at large, amongst other defects in his raigne, laieth the fault vpon the time, and the euill conditions of men in that age, and of GALBA hee treateth as of a good Emperour. And he and others write, that he was learned in the liberall Sciences, and much inclined and giuen to learning and knowledge, particularly in the lawes and customes. He was but once married, and then with a principall woman, whose name was LEPIDA, and she being dead, and two sons which he had by her, he would neuer marrie any more. And this shall suffice for the notice of the person and qualities of GALBA. Now let vs speake of his raigne, which although that it was briefe and short in time, yet it was not so in aduentures.

The linage of Sergius Galba.

After that GALBA had rebelled in *Spaine*, in such manner as is said, and that the name of Emperour was giuen him, and by him accepted; in the meane space vntill NERO died, and afterwards in the short time before he knew of his death, he

he was in great trouble and extremitie: for although that presently in the beginning all went well with him, and he tooke a house and held the state of an Emperour, taking a guard, and chusing for his counsell, with whom he might conferre and consult of matters of importance, certaine of the most principall and wise men of the legion whereof hee had the charge, and had made and giuen offices and dignities; and the inhabitants of the prouince made their repaire to him to do him seruice: yet vpon a sudden al was in a hurly burly; for part of the Cohorts began to repent them of what they had done, and were at the point to haue abandoned him. And it also happened that a certaine seruant to one of NERO his enfranchised men hauing been procured thereto, resolued, and mist but a little to haue killed him, in a passage as he was going to certaine bathes. And aboue all, the death of IVLIVS VINDEX, which then ensued, troubled him most; who, as wee said, rebelled in *France*, and had induced him to make himselfe Emperour, which VINDEX slew himselfe, for that his troupes had fought with RVFVS VIRGINIVS his forces, who was captaine of the legions in *Germanie*, which also rebelled; which battaile was against the will of both the captaines; and IVLIVS VINDEX his forces being ouercome, and of them 22000. slaine, he therefore killed himself. These newes being added to that which is alreadie said, did trouble GALBA so much, that he was in despaire of the Empire, and of his life also. But in this time (for it was in a manner all at one instant) newes came from *Rome* of the death of NERO, with certaine notice, that the Senate and Pretorian Cohorts had chosen and accepted of GALBA for Emperour. Which newes one ICELVS a Libertine brought him, for which hee afterwards did him many fauours: and messengers encreasing, much people with these tidings repairing to his seruice, hee tooke his way towards *Rome*, accompanied with men of warre. And vpon the way VIRGINIVS RVFVS captaine of the legions in *Germanie*, sent to yeeld him his obedience; who vntill then had shewed himselfe newtrall, attending to know the will of the Senate, notwithstanding that he had declared himselfe against NERO. This old (although new) Emperour trauailing towards *Rome* (as it commonly happeneth in such things as are done with little consideration) his comming to *Rome* was nothing like so agreeable and pleasing, as was his election: for before him there came certaine newes, which gaue occasion of discontentment, which were that he was not onely cruell, but also couetous; as Princes are much noted both in their doings and sayings. And it was also reported, that such cities of *Spaine* and *France*, as had not in time repaired vnto him to offer their seruice and obedience, hee had condemned in great summes of money, and had charged them with great tributes, and that of some of them he had commaunded the wals to be throwne down, and the gouernours to be put to death. Being in *Rome*, with this secret discontentment receiued, although with publike ioy and solemnitie, he began to take vpon him the administration and gouernment of the Empire, and ordained and did some things as a wise and valorous Prince, and tooke good order to assure himselfe against those which had rebelled: for in *Africa* he caused CLODIVS MACER to be slaine, because hee practised to make a tumult in that countrie, by the meanes of TREBONIVS GRATIANVS; and for the same cause he made to be slaine in the frontiers of *Germanie* FONTEIVS a captaine, whom VALENS FABIVS and CORNELIVS AQVINVS, Lieutenants to the legions in *Germanie*, slew. And in *Rome* was also put to death NEVFIDVS SABINVS, who was a Prefect, because that after NERO was dead, hee practised to make himselfe Emperour. Which executions although they were not to be reprooued, yet they did

did discontent and grieue many. Also the common people being affected to the feasts and dissolute sports of NERO, and being accustomed thereto, loued better those his vices then the ancient vertues of GALBA. The Pretorian and Vrbane Cohorts, seeing that the Emperor GALBA did not performe the promises which were made vnto them, began likewise to murmure; yea and also to repent them to haue giuen him their obedience. They were also much discontented, for that he had brought with him a legion of Spaniards, and lodged them certaine daies in the citie, wherewith they held themselues wronged and grieued. But that which made him hated and abhorred of all men, were his fauourits, which principally were three; vnequall in conditions and behauiour, but equall in power and fauour with him: the one of them was called TITVS IVNIVS, and had bin his Lieutenant in *Spaine*, and then was Consul; the other was CORNELIVS LACVS, an infamous man and ill beloued, whom he made Pretorian Prefect, which was the greatest dignitie and authoritie next to the Emperours; the third was ICELLVS MARCIANVS, which was he which brought the newes into *Spaine* of the death of NERO. By the counsell of these men he was gouerned, all the short space that his raigne endured. And this was such, that without any constancie or resolute stedfastnes (as became a Prince) he did things many times one contrarie to the other, according to the will of some of them: so as sometimes he shewed himselfe sharpe and rigorous; and at other times slow, remisse and negligent, condemning some vnheard, and pardoning others without any reason, at the instance of those men. And as they for their deserts were ill beloued; so commonly with the Prince which is gouerned, all those which haue not the like authoritie with him, are discontented; by this reason he made himselfe ill beloued. Whereto this was a helpe, that hee sought to moderate and diminish the excessiue gifts and rewards which NERO was wont to giue without measure or reason. And besides what is alreadie said, his vnweildie old age began to be had in contempt, so as euery man durst presume to murmure at him, and to doe any thing against his authoritie. And matters standing in this state in *Rome*, those abroad were in as little quietnes: for seeing that the Armie and prouince of *Spaine* had made an Insurrection and chosen an Emperour, either of enuie or discontentment, there were in most parts Commotions, partialities and desire of alteration, and principally in the Romane armie which was in high Dutchland, the captaine whereof was RVFVS VIRGINIVS before named: for these legions waxing proud, by reason of the victorie which they had obtained against the armie of IVLIVS VINDEX, and making no account of ORDEONIVS FLACCVS, who was their Commaunder and Lieutenant to VIRGINIVS; and holding themselues for suspected, and in disgrace with the Emperour GALBA, because they were the last that came to his seruice, they determined to bee the first that should refuse the same. And the first day of Ianuarie being come, wherein they did vse to sweare, and to doe homage of fidelitie to the Emperour, they refused to doe it to him, but to the Senate; and sent to the Pretorian Cohorts at *Rome*, to giue them to vnderstand, that they would not obey that Emperour which was created in *Spaine*; and that the Senate should chuse such a one as to them should seeme fit; whereto they remitted themselues: Yet SVETONIVS saith, that they referred this choise to the same Cohorts. The legions in high Dutchland standing vpon these points, those in the low Dutchland were as little obedient, whose captaine was VITELLIVS, who hauing sounded the goodwill of the souldiers (notwithstanding that hee was sent thither by GALBA, and had receiued that charge from him) through the

The legions in Germany refused to doe homage to Galba.

desire

deſire to raigne, violating his faith, as IVLIVS CÆSAR was wont to ſay, that vpon that occaſion it was lawfull to breake any contract, hee practiſed to get the Empire to himſelfe. And for as much that he afterwards came to be Emperour, it ſhall not be amiſſe to giue the reader to vnderſtand what hee was, which is thus. This VITELLIVS was a man of great reputation and authoritie; which hee had gotten in the offices and Magiſtracies which he had held in *Rome*, and out of it, in the time of the Emperours CAIVS CALIGVLA, CLAVDIVS and NERO, with all which he had been very priuate, more for his vices, and ſome abilities of his perſon, then for any vertues. With CALIGVLA he was in grace, for that he was a great Auriga; for ſo were they called which had the charge and rule of chariots and waggons: with CLAVDIVS, for that he was a great gameſter: with NERO, for the ſame, and ſuch like qualities. And beſides this, as hee was very ſubtill and cunning, hee obtained in thoſe times great dignities and offices, of Prefect, a Prieſthood, and alſo to be Viceconſul in *Africa*, which hee wiſely executed: and in the end GALBA gaue him this Captainſhip in Duchland; where ſucceeded that which we will declare. His principall linage and deſcent was of the familie of the VITELLII, whereof becauſe there are ſundrie opinions, ſome making it very ancient, and others to be of later time, I will make no queſtion thereof: the ſame happened to his fathers and anceſtors; for ſome ſaid that he was of meane degree. SVETONIVS in his life treateth thereof more at large, to whom I referre the curious reader: for what is ſaid, ſufficeth for my purpoſe, thereby to vnderſtand what ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

The Emperour GALBA being giuen to vnderſtand what paſſed in the armies of *Germanie*, and knowing that beſides that he was old, he was not regarded becauſe he had neuer a ſonne that might ſucceed him, he reſolued to put in execution what he ſometime before had proiected, which was to adopt and chuſe for his ſonne, ſome perſonage of ſuch age and authoritie, as might be ſufficient and capable of the Empire, and who in his life time might protect him, and after his deceaſe ſucceede him. His fauourits, and ſuch as were priuate with him, vnderſtanding this his determination, each of them apart pretended to giue him a ſonne of his chuſing, ſo as there aroſe contention among them vpon this occaſion. Principally OTHO gaped thereafter, and thought to haue obtained this adoption (he, from whom we ſaid, that NERO tooke his wife POPPEA and ſent him into *Spaine*) alleaging for his deſert, that preſently after GALBAS rebellion againſt NERO, he was the firſt that came to his ſeruice. Great part alſo of the Pretorian and Vrban Cohorts fauoured him (which the Hiſtoriographers indifferently call the Armie which lay neere to *Rome*) and moſt of all TITVS IVNIVS aſſiſted him, who was one of GALBA his fauourits, and was Conſul with him that yeere: ſo as OTHO did aſſure himſelfe that no other ſhould be adopted but hee. But GALBA hauing ſetled his minde, as was moſt expedient for the good of the common-wealth, without any other reſpect; and likewiſe diſliking the diſpoſition of OTHO (which ſented of NEROES conditions) tooke no regard of what was ſaid vnto him; but vpon a day when no man thought of any ſuch matter, being in the Senate, hee tooke PISO LVCINIANVS by the hand, who was a man both very wiſe and vertuous, and in whom did concurre all the qualities and good conditions that might ſeeme fit and requiſite for an Emperour: and calling him ſonne he adopted him, after the manner then accuſtomed; and with a great traine, in great pompe, he went with him to the Campe, and made the Armie to ſweare obedience vnto him, and to receiue him for ſuch: which hee did without giuing

Piſo adopted by Galba for his ſonne and ſucceſſor.

giuing any rewards to the ſouldiers, or promiſing them ought, whereto they were accuſtomed; but onely made a graue oration with great maieſtie after the ancient manner; and ſo he was coldly accepted and receiued among them, they perfourming more with ſilence, then with any ſigne of gladnes either in countenance or in ſpeeches: and with the like coldnes hee was accepted by the Senate, for now *Rome* was not capable of equitie or ancient ſeueritie. GALBA hauing made this adoption, conceiued that it would haue been the meane to haue preſerued and protected his life: but it prooued in effect to bee the occaſion and remainder of his confuſion and vtter perdition. For OTHO ſeeing himſelfe deceiued in his hope of adoption, and finding the people well affected towards him, for the hatred they had conceiued againſt GALBA, reſolued to effect his purpoſes by force and treaſon: which hee preſently practiſed by all the meanes poſſible with the Pretorian ſouldiers, by great gifts, and greater promiſes which hee made vnto them. And he ſo cunningly handled the matter (for ſo little faith and loialtie was vſed in thoſe daies) that in leſſe then eight daies he had plotted his treaſon; and it was concluded that they ſhould rebell and create him Emperour, as they did, with the death of the poore old GALBA.

It was ſo, that GALBA being with certaine his priuate friends in his palace doing ſacrifice; this OTHO being there with him, ſtole ſecretly away from him to a place appointed, where a number of ſouldiers of the Pretorian Cohorts attended his comming, which tooke him vpon their ſhoulders, calling him Emperour, and drawing their ſwords (to giue the greater terror to the people) went with him towards their campe. This being related vnto GALBA, who doubted not any ſuch matter, extremely perplexed him; and as his counſels were ſudden, ſo were they inconſtant and variable. For ſome were of opinion that his beſt courſe was to put himſelfe in armes, and to goe publikely abroad; for with his preſence hee might haue ſtaied the matter from proceeding any further: others, that it were beſt for him to fortifie himſelfe in the Capitoll, and there to ſtay vntill he ſhould ſee to what iſſue the matter would grow. The poore old man wauered and was doubtfull what reſolution to take, the meſſages which were brought him were ſo diuers: for ſome made the matter nothing, and others very daungerous. In the end deceiued by a falſe report which they brought him (alleaging that the Armie had not onely refuſed to receiue OTHO for Emperour, but had ſlaine him) hee road armed with his guard, and ſome others which repaired vnto him, euen vnto the principall place in *Rome*; where all the people were aſſembled to ſee what would be the end of ſo great an accident. At that inſtant there entred at the other ſide a great troupe of horſemen, which OTHO had ſent from the Campe, where he was choſen Emperour, againſt GALBA, and to kill him: which although they came with a reſolution and a commaundement to kill him; yet comming within his ſight and knowing him, they ſtood amazed a pretie while, doubting what they ſhould doe. At this time was GALBA moſt perplexed, not knowing whereon to reſolue, and the multitude and preaſe of people was ſo great about him, that they ſwaied him ſometime to one ſide, and ſometime to the other: and as it commonly happeneth in ſuch miſaduentures and tumults, that then the counſell is praiſed and approoued, when the time is paſt wherein it might haue been put in execution; and ſtanding in doubt whether hee ſhould returne to the palace, or encloſe himſelfe in the Capitoll, hauing had ſufficient time for either, when he would haue done the one or the other, he could not: For being abandoned by the greateſt part of thoſe which did accompanie him, thoſe which were ſent by

OTHO, set vpon him, after they had stood a good space doubtfull, as I said, and there was he by them slaine. PLVTARCH saith (although some others report it after another manner) that when those which came to kill him drew neere vnto him, he thrust out his necke, to the end that they should cut it off, willing them to doe it, if so it were expedient for the good of the Common-wealth, and of the Romane people. And so indeed it was striken off, and his head was set vpon the point of a Launce and presented to OTHO, and from him was carried vp and downe the Campe; and his bodie remained in the place without a head, for any man to tread vpon, vntill at last it was buried by a bondman of his. And the same day by OTHO his commaundement, was PISO LVCINIANVS put to death, whom GALBA (as I said) had adopted for his sonne and successor: and so was TITVS IVNIVS also, who was Consul, and others of his fauourits, whose heads were all caried to the Campe to OTHO, whom all men now obeied for Emperor; and being laid together with GALBA his head, euery one gloried to haue embrued his hands in their bloud. And so ended the life of the Emperour GALBA, hauing held the Empire but onely seuen moneths. His death was in the yeere of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST 71, and 73. of his age. He was a man of a good constitution of bodie, greenish eied, hauke nosed, very balde by reason of the great paine of the gowt wherewith hee was afflicted; his fingers and toes were weake and crooked; he was a great feeder, very incontinent, and much giuen to women.

Galba was slaine by the direction of Otho, and his head was presented vnto him vpon the point of a Launce.

THE LIFE OF MARCVS SILVIVS OTHO, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

THo borne of a most noble familie, tooke the Empire after Galba, although his euill fortune would not suffer him to enioy the same any long time: for at the same time that Otho was made Emperour in Rome, Vitellius was proclaimed Emperour in Germanie. And for as much

much as the one would not giue place to the other, in the end they came to blowes, and after ſundrie battailes, Otho being the loſer, not knowing what other courſe to take in his aduerſitie, ſlue himſelfe; which act ſeemed not anſwereable to the life which he had led, which was more like to the effœminacie of a woman, then the courage of a man. This man ruled the Empire foure moneths, and died in the xxx. yeare of his age. He was ſo deere to his owne ſouldiers, that whilſt his bodie was burning after the maner then of the Romanes, many of them ſlue themſelues with their owne hands.

THE Raignes of GALBA of whom we haue now ended our diſcourſe, and of OTHO, and VITELLIVS his ſucceſſors, of which we are to treate, were ſo ſhort, ſo vnquiet, ſo confuſed, and gotten by ſuch wicked and vnlawfull meanes, that more properly they might be called Tyrants, then Emperours, and ſo ſome writers do tearme them: neither do they put them in the roll and catalogue of the Emperours, of which are Saint ISIDORE and BEDA. And the great Magicien APOLLONIVS THIANEVS, who liued in that time vſed to ſay, that GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIVS were *Thebane* Emperours: and this he ſaid, for that the *Thebanes* held the Empire a verie ſmall time, and ſo did theſe as little the Empire of *Rome*. PLVTARCH in the life of GALBA, compareth them to the Kings in a Tragedie, which laſt no longer then the time that they are repreſented vpon the Stage. But howſoeuer it was, they obteined the names of Emperours, whether the Senate gaue it them for feare or flatterie, I wil not decide: but paſſing on with PLVTARCH, CORNELIVS TACITVS, and the reſt which write of them, I ſay that the ſame day wherein GALBA was ſlaine, there was no man of any account which went not to the Camp where OTHO was, to yeeld him obedience and to flatter him, as their ſoueraigne Lord and Emperour, commending the Cohorts and Armie for that which they had done, in putting GALBA to death, and for the election of OTHO.

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, called Thebane Emperours, and compared to Kings vpon a Stage in a Tragedie.

Otho his deſcent.

OTHO was a man very valiant and wittie, and was the ſonne of LVCIVS OTHO who had bin Conſul, of an auncient and honorable linage, and was ſo like vnto TIBERIVS in his geſture and countenance, that ſome held him for his ſonne. His mother alſo was of a noble family, and ſo were her progenitors and auncеſtors. Hereof writeth SVETONIVS, and PLVTARCH in the life of him, by which and by CORNELIVS TACITVS may be vnderſtood what was the courſe of his life before that he came to the Empire, or had the name of Emperour, which in briefe I haue before declared, and therefore hold it needleſſe to make repetition thereof. OTHO beſides the occaſions which (we ſaid) he had to riſe againſt GALBA, they write that he had this for one, which was, that an Aſtrologer which he caried with him when he was ſent by NERO into *Spaine*, did foretell him and aſſure him that he ſhould be Emperour of *Rome*. Being in the Camp in ſuch maner as before is recited, compaſſed about with Senators and the principall men of *Rome*, he came to the Senat: hauing firſt commaunded the Pretorian Prefect of the citie to aſſemble the ſame, where beſides the ordinarie bleſſings and applauſings, they gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, and all the other names and preheminences which the other Emperours deſired to haue. And hauing therein made a briefe Oration, wherein he ſignified that he was compelled and forced to take vpon him the charge of the Empire, promiſing to gouerne the ſame by the counſell and aduiſe of the Senate, he went from thence through the middeſt of the place (which was all bloudie and full of dead bodies) to IVPITERS Capitoll, and thence to the Imperiall Palaces; and ſo was OTHO aduanced to the Empire, who

was

was the first that by the cohorts (which were the Army lodged too neere the citie of *Rome*) was chosen and made Emperour, and from whom came the custome to create Emperours, after that they had forsaken GALBA, before which time they were euer the Emperours ordinarie guard. This was an accursed and most pernicious introduction for the Romane Empire, and for the Emperours themselues also, as experience did afterwards make manifest.

Otho was the first that was made Emperour by the Pretorian Cohorts.

In performance of OTHO his promises, and to make a good beginning and shew of a good Prince, he commanded much confiscated goods to be restored to their owners, and to such men as NERO had banished; and did other things in the like maner, which were exceeding pleasing to all the people, in such sort that they tooke such loue and liking vnto him, that they continued euermore faithfull vnto him vntill his dying day, although in truth his life lasted but a little while after. While as these matters passed in *Rome*, the legions and army which in both high and low *Dutchland* (as I haue said) were disobedient to GALBA, their Captaine VITELLIVS hauing by gifts & promises purchased their fauour and good will, after some treaties, which TACITVS and PLVTARCH describe at large, concluded to create him Emperour, and without attending the will and pleasure of the Senate, they made him so: so as in a maner, at one instant OTHO was aduertised thereof, and VITELLIVS knew what passed in *Rome*.

Vitellius made Emperour by the Legions in Germany.

The Germane legions presuming that VITELLIVS whom they had chosen should continue Emperour, for their reason alleaged that they had as great authoritie to create an Emperour, as the legions in *Spaine*; and the Senat, the cohorts, and army at *Rome* pretended to haue the supreme power, and that in them rested the absolute authoritie to choose and create the Emperour, which was OTHO only. And although that OTHO by this meanes seemed to haue the greatest interest and best title, yet whether his guiltie conscience did put him in feare, or that it grieued him to thinke of the euils which were likely to ensue (as he afterwards shewed) he sought meanes by letters and messengers to come to a composition and agreement with VITELLIVS: but nothing was concluded, and the dissension daily increasing betweene them, either partie made preparation for the warres. And certaine tidings being brought that VITELLIVS his forces came marching towards *Italy*, vnder the conduct of two Captaines, whose names were VALENS and CECINNA (VITELLIVS remaining somewhat behind them attending more aid) OTHO departed frō *Rome* with a faire & well ordered army, of all the Romane Nobilitie, the Pretorian cohorts, & the legions which were in the Nauies by sea vpō the coast of *Italy*, which he sent for to that effect, & such others as he then could leuie: and in this maner he marched from *Rome* verie mightie in number of men, though not much accustomed to the warres, leauing FLAVIVS SABINVS brother to VESPASIAN for gouernor thereof, who (as is said) followed the warres against the Iewes, and so he continued his iourney against VITELLIVS, whose forces were alreadie come to the Alpes, to the number of 70000 men, whereof fortie thousand were commaunded by VALENS, and the rest by CECINNA, VITELLIVS remaining in *France* expecting the remainder of those in *Germany*, and the legions of *Britanny* which also came to do him seruice. These two Armies drawing neere the one to the other, the ciuill warre began betweene them, and was very cruell in many parts, or to say better, that warre was prosecuted which was begun betweene GALBA and NERO. *Rome* in a good space had not bin infested with any ciuill dissensions, although it escaped not free from sundrie misfortunes, by reason of the euill Princes which raigned therein; by which

Warre betweene Otho and Vitellius.

meanes the preſent euils which were very great, brought the battailes fought betweene MARIVS and SILLA, IVLIVS CÆSAR and POMPEY, AVGVSTVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, and others which depended thereof, into remembrance; with which theſe whereof we now treate may well make compariſon, both for alteration in eſtates, for number of men, and effuſion of bloud; I cannot ſay whether, for continuance of time, in countries and prouinces or no: for after theſe warres began, there died by the ſword foure Emperours (as it hath bin, and ſhall be declared) which were NERO, GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIVS, beſides VINDEX and other Noble men which were ſlaine: and beſides VINDEX his legions, which (as we ſaid) were ouerthrowne in *France*, there were great encounters and battailes fought, and extreame cruelties committed: and theſe wars laſted vntill that VESPASIAN came to be Emperour, no part of the Empire remaining free from this furie, whereof I can ſet downe but the ſumme and moſt notable accidents which hapned therein.

Four Emperors ſlaine in the ciuill warres.

OTHO comming to the citie vpon the ſide of the riuer *Po*, remained there, ſending his forces before him vnder the conduct of good Captaines, which were ill obeyed by their ſouldiers, being growne prowd for that they had made an Emperour, imagining that no man ought to haue the commaund of them: the like want of obedience was in VITELLIVS his army, and for the ſame reaſon, and the warres waxing cruell betweene theſe two Captaines and their armies, they made ſuch haſte, that leauing apart the great skirmiſhes & other encounters, there were within few daies ſpace two or three notable battailes fought betweene them, one of which was neere to the citie of *Placentia*, the other neere to *Cremona*, and the third neere to a place called *Caſtor*, in which were ſlaine a very great number of men, and in all theſe three battailes OTHO his Captaines and the Romanes had the better, although that of either ſide the word was, *Rome*, and the Empire.

Battailes betweene Otho and Vitellius.

After which VALENS and CECINNA which were VITELLIVS his Captaines, and which vntill then had made warres apart, ioined their forces together, reinforcing their armies with new ſouldiers and ſupplies, determining to ſet vp their whole reſt in one battaile, if the enemie would giue it them. At that time (as PLVTARCH reporteth) OTHO very ioyfull for the victories obtained by his Captaines, came to his army in *Bebriacum*, where it then lay, neere vnto *Cremona*; and ſeeing that his enemies (notwithſtanding that they had bin put to the worſe and were broken) made ſhew to deſire to fight againe, tooke counſell whether that of his part he ſhould do the like or no: the greateſt part and wiſeſt men were of opinion that he ſhould proſecute the warres, without hazarding any battaile; for that his enemie endured want of many things, and with their loſſes paſt, had likewiſe loſt much reputation; and many countries were reuolted from VITELLIVS and held for OTHO: beſides that, VITELLIVS could ſend them little reliefe; and to the contrary his armie was well prouided of all things neceſſarie, and *Rome* and all *Italy* were wholie at his deuotion. And beſides all this, the prouinces of the Eaſt ſtood firme for him, and the legions in *Seruia*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungary*, and *Auſtrich* were vpon the way comming to his aid; ſo as he had no reaſon ſo often to tempt his fortune, & therefore he ought to defeat his enemie by delaies, or elſe to ſtay for greater power, wherein there was no doubt of victorie. But thoſe which were hautie and deſirous to fight, alleadged many reaſons contrarie hereto, that he ought not to loſe the occaſion, and the good ſucceſſe of fortune, neither to ſuffer VITELLIVS to come to his armie, and to put it out of the feare wherein

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it was; with many other reaſons, to the end that the battaile might be giuen, and OTHO being inclined thereto, approued and commaunded the ſame to be put in execution: for in truth he did ſo much abhor the warre, that he held it for a leſſe euill to loſe the victorie, then long to continue therein; and being reſolued vpon this counſell, he returned to *Brixelle*; for it was agreed that he ſhould not perſonallie be in the battaile, and his armie went to ſeeke VITELLIVS his forces, which were not farre off. And as of either partie they were deſirous to fight, ſo they came to a battaile, wherein in the beginning, OTHO his armie was deceiued by meanes of a ſhew of peace which his enemies made: whereupon they gaue the charge very ſlowlie, and authors report the maner thereof very diuerſlie, as it vſeth to happen in the like chances; but all affirme that both the one and the other fought valiantly, ſauing the pretorian cohorts, which were thoſe in whom OTHO repoſed his chiefeſt truſt, through whoſe default and cowardiſe, OTHO loſt the battaile, and VITELLIVS was victor, and with great ſlaughter of his aduerſaries became maiſter of the field.

OTHO his Captaines with ſuch others as by flight eſcaped from the battaile, retired themſelues to their camp, and fortified the ſame, in hope to haue been relieued by their Emperour; notwithſtanding that many fled to ſundrie parts: but he hearing the newes of the ouerthrow of his people, brought by thoſe which fled vnto him, notwithſtanding that he knew that in the camp there were reaſonable good forces, and that he had oportunitie to temporize, and to ſtay for the legions which out of *Miſia*, *Hungary*, *Auſtrich*, and *Dalmatia*, came to his aid, and were neere at hand, yet he regarded not any of thoſe remedies, but with his owne hand reſolued to end the ciuill warres, which as it paſſed (for that it is a notable matter, although I ſhall be ſomewhat tedious) I will declare, as PLVTARCH and TACITVS do report it, and SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS alſo after the report of his owne father who was then there preſent, which was thus. The heauie tidings of this ouerthrow being publiſhed, all thoſe which were in the citie (which were many and they very good men, and the greateſt part of the Senate of *Rome*) came to OTHO his lodging, fearing and ſuſpecting that which afterwards enſued, by reaſon of that which they had heard and vnderſtood by him before: all which with ſhew of great courage offred to dye for his ſeruice, and endeuoured to animate and recomfort him, but all this (notwithſtanding that he knew that great part of his armie remained, and that more forces were comming vnto him, and that there wanted neither courage in his people, nor meanes to continue the warres) ſufficed not to alter his determination; ſo much did he abhorre ciuill diſcord and contention. And giuing anſwere to all the reaſons & perſwaſions which they vſed vnto him, he made vnto them a verie notable Oration, ſignifying, that he would neuer haue begun the warres againſt VITELLIVS, but in hope of peace, which he had practiſed and procured before he tooke armes; and that he had no vſe for thoſe legions and forces which they ſaid came to his aid, ſeeing that his enemie was neither HANNIBALL nor PYRRHVS, or any other common enemie to the people of *Rome*, but the Romanes themſelues, and the Lords thereof; ſo as the conquerours and conquered did wrong their countrey if they contended any longer, ſeeing that the ioy and gladnes of the victorious was to the ſorrow and detriment thereof: And that he no way could bring ſuch profit to the Romane Empire, by winning battailes in warre and controuerſie, as by making a ſacrifice of himſelfe for the peace, ſeeing that by his death only concord would enſue and be eſtabliſhed, therefore he was content that VITELLIVS ſhould be Emperour,

Otho his Oration.

perour, without doing any further harme, and that he desired no reuenge nor rule to the cost of his citizens, neither to diminish his Common-wealth by the losse of such armies: and that as others had purchased honor & fame by well gouerning & supporting the Empire; so he would likewise procure himselfe a good name by leauing it valorously, to the end that he would not damnifie it. And finally speaking these words, & giuing other very good reasons, permitting & perswading all those which were with him to go and serue VITELLIVS: and night being come, hee retired himselfe to his chamber, where hee commaunded all his money and Iewels to be taken out, which he diuided among his seruants and friends. Which although that they would not, yet he commaunded them to goe to their rest: and he did the like, laying first the sharpest of two poiniards which he had vnder his beds head; and being laid in his bed he slept part of the night, in presence of those which were in his chamber, the doore standing open: and awaking about the breake of the day, and seeing one of his seruants remaining, he commaunded him to goe forth, and then presently taking the poiniard in his hand, as I said, he smote himselfe therewith vnder the left side, with such force that the wound was mortall, and giuing one onely groane, was heard by his seruants, which hastily ranne vnto him, and found him striuing with death, and died presently vnder their hands. By those which were present, and those which presently repaired thither from all parts of that citie to him, there was so great lamentation made for him, that it seemed that the heauens had rent asunder: so much was this man beloued in so few daies. And his bodie being presently burned, according as the custome then was, hard by the fires side, some of his people slew themselues. And so ended the Emperour OTHO manfully and valorously, according to the opinion and law of the Romanes: scarcely foure moneths after that he had vsurped the Empire, in the 38. yeere of his age, and the 71. after the birth of Christ, without leauing after him any sonne or daughter. He was a man but of a small stature, and had crooked feete; but he was so neate and so curious in attiring himselfe, that the care which he tooke therein, was more beseeming a woman then a man. He euer ware a periwig, and suffered no iot of his beard to grow, shauing it euery day with a rasour, and so vsed such other effœminate toyes, much dissonant from the manly minde which he shewed at his death.

Otho diuided his money and Iewels amongst his seruants and friends.

Otho slew himselfe.

The newes of his death and of the victorie forepassed was brought to his enemie VITELLIVS in *France*, who hauing intelligence of the losses which his captaines had receiued, was comming with all the forces that he was able to make to ioyne with them, and to reinforce the armie. In those daies S. LINVS who was S. PETERS successor held the chiefe seate in the Church of *Rome*, wherein was a Church and congregation of Christians, which made their prayers to God for those which persecuted them.

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THE LIFE OF AVLVS VITELLIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND NINTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Otho, Aulus Vitellius borne of a most noble familie succeeded in the Empire, wherein he was infortunate: for he ruled the same but eight moneths. This man was of a cruell heart, and of a bountifull minde. In his time Vespasian being in the East, was made Emperor by his souldiers; who comming to a battaile in Italy against Vitellius, tooke him prisoner, and binding his hands behind him, leading him publikely abroad halfe naked, and his face all durty, they slew him with many wounds, in the same place where he had put Sabinus Vespasians brother to death. He liued 57. yeeres, and raigned (as is aboue said) little more then halfe a yeere: By whose miserie it plainly appeareth how variable the motions of fortune are, and that oftentimes a kingdome is lost through the same meanes whereby it was vniustly gotten, as appeareth in this Emperour: for Vespasian did by him as he had done by his predecessor Otho.

AS the contention for the name of Emperour continued betweene OTHO and VITELLIVS, as by that which is alreadie said may be vnderstood; OTHO being dead all turned ouer to VITELLIVS, which happened in this manner. The furious lamentation made for the death of OTHO being ended, all the men of warre both Legionarie and Pretorian with all the rest made repaire to the lodging of VIRGINIVS, who had been

Captaine of the Germane Legions, which fought againſt VINDEX his armie, when they both made Inſurrection againſt NERO. And being all aſſembled together, they entreated and deſired him to take vpon him the name of Emperour, offering him their ſeruice, and to die in the action: and if that hee pleaſed not to accept thereof; yet at the leaſt that hee would be their Ambaſſadour to VALENS and CECINNA, and obtaine their pardon of them. VIRGINIVS RVFVS, who was a wiſe and valorous man, anſwered hereto with the beſt words that he could deuiſe, alleaging that to him it ſeemed follie to accept of the Empire from the hands of thoſe which were ouercome, hauing refuſed the ſame of the Germane Legions, which now were victors, when in the life of NERO they had offered it him. And as concerning the ambaſſade which they requeſted him to perfourme for them, he gaue them a doubtfull and vncertaine anſwere, ſtill putting them in hope thereof, vntill that he was gotten into his lodging, and out againe at a backe doore, and gat him to a ſecret place where hee hid himſelfe vntill that furie was paſt. But a certaine principall man whoſe name was RVBRIVS GALLVS, afterwards accepting of that iourney, went to VITELLIVS his Captaines to treate thereof; and peace and pardon was grauhted and concluded, as well with theſe men as with the armie ouercome neere *Bebriaco*, and all came to the obedience of VITELLIVS in his abſence. The like was done by part of the Senate which came with OTHO, and was then in *Modena*. And in *Rome* ſo ſoone as the death of OTHO was knowne, FLAVIVS SABINVS being Prefect of the citie, aſſembled the Senate, who conforming themſelues to the time (which was now to profer ſeruice and to flatter) with the accuſtomed ſolemnitie proclaimed and accepted of VITELLIVS for Emperour, giuing him the name of AVGVSTVS, and *Pater patriæ*, with other honourable titles and Epithetes, and determined to giue great thankes and praiſes to the armie for that which was done. The newes of all this came to the new Emperour VITELLIVS in *France* vpon the coaſt of *Italy*, which how pleaſing it was vnto him, may be imagined; wherewith he haſtened his way with admirable pompe and pride; his people through all the cities as they paſſed, committing many diſorders and inſolencies.

Vitellius confirmed Emperour by the Senate.

The Germane Legions which were in *Italy*, growne proud through the victorie which they had obtained, and for that they were the authors of VITELLIVS his Empire, committed outrages neuer ſeene nor heard of in that countrie before, whereof the harme and loſſe which the people ſuſtained was vnmeaſurable, as TACITVS and SVETONIVS report: And VITELLIVS comming proud and victorious into *Italy*, either could not, or would not remedie theſe diſorders. And to the end that in ſome ſort he would ſeeme to doe iuſtice and ſhew himſelfe a Iuſticer, he cauſed all the Pretorian Cohorts, which had had any thing to doe about the death of GALBA, and making of OTHO Emperour, to be diſarmed, and depriued of the name and honor of Souldiers, and commaunded their armes to bee taken from them, and one hundred and twentie of the moſt guiltie he condemned to death; and being ſought and found, a iuſt ſentence and example was executed vpon them, if it had proceeded from a iuſt Iudge. VITELLIVS thus trauailing towards *Rome*, deſired to ſee the place where his Captaines obtained the victorie againſt OTHO his armie, and being but fortie daies after the ſame, the fields lay full of dead bodies which yet were vnburied; and as many of thoſe which were with him could not endure the euill ſmell thereof, the cruell tyrant reprooued them ſaying, That there was no ſweeter ſmell in the world, then the ſmell of an enemie when he is dead, and moſt of all of a citizen: A ſpeech for certaine

The cruell ſpeech of Vitellius.

taine very inhumane and cruell, which is written to the end to be abhorred, and ought to be read with the like affection.

VITELLIVS being come to *Rome*, as vpon the way many ſcandales and outrages were committed by the ſundrie nations which came with him, with infinite robberies and harmes done in the countrey; ſo was his entry into the citie fearefull and horrible: for he entred into it as into an enemies countrey that was conquered, mounted vpon a faire great horſe, clad in militarie and warlike roabes and attire, the Senate and people of *Rome* going before him as though that he had triumphed ouer them; he riding compaſſed about with ſtandards, with the Eagles, and ſundrie other enſignes, and his whole army both of foote and horſe, armed in the beſt armour and furniture that could be gotten. In this manner he went to the Capitoll to make his prayers to IVPITER, and afterwards he went in the ſame manner to his Palaces: and the next day commaunding the Senate to be aſſembled, he came thither, where he made vnto them a moſt fit ſpeech, magnifying with little wit or diſcretion his acts and aduentures, and promiſing great goodnes of himſelfe; and by them was humblie anſwered, obeyed and honoured as Emperour, and their ſoueraigne Lord. *Vitellius his entrie into Rome.*

Departing from the Senate and taking his way towards his palace, all the people of *Rome* (being accuſtomed to flatter and to make offers of their ſeruice) met him, making ſhew of great ioy, applauding and bleſſing him: and as new accidents euer bring good hopes, ſo all were of opinion that VITELLIVS would proue a good Emperour. Theſe firſt ſolemnities being ended, he made himſelfe preſentlie to be choſen high Prieſt, and perpetuall Conſul; and tooke vnto himſelfe certain dignities ſuch as he thought good, and commanded that Magiſtrates ſhould be choſen for ten yeares before hand: ſo abſolutely and tyrannouſlie purpoſed he to haue vſurped in all things if he had had time thereto. And thinking by his induſtrie to haue prolonged his life, he baniſhed from *Rome* and all *Italy* all the Iudiciall Aſtrologers called Mathematicians, becauſe they had ſaid that his raigne ſhould not endure one yeare to an end. After this falling to his old humors and licentious inclination, he began to giue himſelfe to the exerciſes and vices of NERO, and ſuch like, which were playes, and diſhoneſt ſports vpon the Theaters, with publike feaſts, wherein he conſumed an infinite deale of treaſure, deſiring to make the beginning of his Empire acceptable and pleaſing. In which time he made ſo great bankets, as neuer any Emperour had made the like before him, wherein was giuen to his gueſts (which were a great number of people) ſuch things as neuer were thought or heard of, wherein he ſpent ineſtimable ſummes. During theſe pleaſures and afterwards, he executed great cruelties, in ſuch ſort, as if his raigne had laſted long, he would haue made himſelfe equall with NERO, whom he did imitate: for he did put many to death contrarie to all law and equitie, ſeeking forgeries, and falſe accuſations againſt them; with ſome of which he had held ſtreight friendſhip and familiaritie, one of which came to viſit him being ſicke, who calling for a little water to drinke, he with his owne hand caſt poiſon into the cold water and poiſoned him. At another time he commaunded two yong men being brothers to be ſlaine, for no other cauſe, but for that they came to intreate him to pardon their father, whom he had condemned to dye. And vpon a time a Romane Knight being caried by his commaundement towards the place of execution, he commaunded him to be ſtaid, becauſe he ſaid that he had nominated him for his heire by his will and teſtament; and ſeeing his will, and finding that iointly with him he had made a bondman of his, whom he had *Vitellius baniſhed the Mathematicians from Rome.* *Cruelties committed by Vitellius.*

had enfranchiſed, his heire with him, he commaunded him to be ſlaine, and the poore libertine alſo, without any other occaſion. He alſo vſed the like crueltics with ſome poore and meane people, of which vpon a time he commaunded a great number to be ſlaine, for no other occaſion, but for that in certaine ſports which were vſed on horſebacke, and in chariots, wherein were ſundrie men apparelled in ſundrie colours, they tooke part with thoſe which were clad in greene, which was called the Praſian faction, he being affected to the contrarie colour which they called Venetian, which was grey: which two colours and factions (although there were white and red alſo) yet theſe were the chiefe among all the reſt. And among theſe colours the good will and fauour of the Romane people was ſo diuided, that this affection extended it ſelfe euen to the Emperours themſelues, as now to VITELLIVS who fauoured the grey colour, as NERO and CALIGVLA before him had affected the greene: and ſometime (as it ſhall be hereafter declared) about theſe vanities there followed great riots, and murthers. Theſe and other ſuch like iniuries and tyrannies committed VITELLIVS in *Rome*, and ſome of his Captaines and fauourites did no leſſe: for hauing obteined the victorie, euery one reuenged himſelfe on him whom he hated; and ſometime they fained diſpleaſures, thereby to haue a colour and cloake vnder which they might robbe and oppreſſe the innocent: ſuch are the fruites of ciuill warre and victorie. Beſides this, the violences and oppreſſions which were committed in *Rome* were very great, and in the marches thereof, perpetrated by the men of war which he brought with him, and were lodged in the countrie ſtaying to ſee him ſetled in the Empire.

While as VITELLIVS made ſo ill a beginning in the citie of *Rome*, ſuffering himſelfe to be led and ruled by Libertines, and them which were odious to all men; after that *Italie*, *Spaine*, *France*, and *Africa* were come to his obedience, in the Eaſt the legions which were there for the defence thereof, although that in the beginning they refuſed not his commaund and raigne ouer them; yet they preſently began to mutine, and ſhortly after reſolued to make VESPASIAN their Emperour, who in this time (as is aforeſaid) made warre againſt the Iewes, which began about the end of the raigne of NERO; the iſſue thereof paſſed in ſuch manner as followeth. VESPASIAN, who for his worthie acts in his life paſt, was much eſteemed in this warre, gained greater eſtimation: for he obtained many victories, and beſieged and tooke many cities in *Iudea*, and PALESTINA; vntill that at laſt being readie to beſiege the citie of *Ieruſalem*, the Emperour NERO died: and vnderſtanding of his death, and being doubtfull of what would enſue, he continued the warre for a ſpace, vntill he might ſee, who ſhould ſucceede in the Empire, and knowing that GALBA preuailed, he tooke no care to proceede any further or to oppreſſe the citie, but preſerued what he had gotten, and kept the enemie in awe, awaiting what courſe the new Emperour would hold, and ſo he ſent his ſonne TITVS to *Rome*, to treate of this matter, and to offer him his obedience. Who being hindred by contrarie weather, when he came to the coaſt of *Achaia* in *Græcia*, was aduertiſed that GALBA was ſlaine by the direction of OTHO; wherefore he held it for the beſt courſe to returne to his father, and ſo he did: and as OTHO his raigne continued but foure monethes as is aboue ſaid; and in the ſame followed the ciuill warres betweene him and VITELLIVS, VESPASIAN continued as newtrall, although that he acknowledged OTHO for Emperour, yntill that VITELLIVS obtained the victorie, and OTHO was ſlaine, which was nothing pleaſing to him, neither to the captaines in the Eaſt,

neither

neither to their armies, for the diſliking they had that ſo diſhoneſt a man as VITELLIVS ſhould be Emperour: and ſo that day wherein they ſware fealtie to their new Emperor, with the accuſtomed ſolemnitie, in preſence of the ſame VESPASIAN (CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth) that the legions performed it with great ſilence and heauines. And VESPASIAN profecuting the warre with great honor and fame, and hauing now reſolued to beſiege the citie of *Ieruſalem*; the murmuring and diſcontentment ſomuch increaſed againſt the new Emperour VITELLIVS, aſwell in the armie which VESPASIAN commaunded, as in thoſe in *Syria*, in *Egypt*, and other ordinarie legions in the Eaſt; that they all fixed their eies vpon VESPASIAN, reſoluing to create him Emperour againſt VITELLIVS: whereto was a great helpe, the certaine newes which came that the legions in *Myſia* and *Pannonia*, had the ſame determination: for (as is before reported) they came to the aide of OTHO when his armie was defeated, and he ſlew himſelfe; and continuing in the ſame reſolution, they diſobeied VITELLIVS, deſiring and nominating VESPASIAN for Emperour. In ſuch ſort that vpon theſe motions, there paſſed ſome meſſages and letters betweene TIBERIVS ALEXANDER, which was gouernour of *Egypt*, and LICINIVS MVCIANVS gouernour of *Syria*; which concluded that VESPASIAN ſhould be Emperour, although that he refuſed it. And this matter being begun by TIBERIVS ALEXANDER gouernour of *Egypt*, in the citie of *Alexandria*; VESPASIAN was in his abſence proclaimed Emperour, and all the armie confirmed the ſame with great applauſe, doing their accuſtomed homage: which hapned the firſt day of Iuly in the ſeauentie and two yeere after the birth of CHRIST. And this was accounted for the beginning of the raigne of VESPASIAN, and within eight daies or little more or leſſe his armie did the like, entreating him firſt to accept thereof in good part, and he refuſing and gainſaying it (as EGESIPPVS and IOSEPHVS doe teſtifie) they forced and compelled him with their drawne ſwords in their hands threatning to kill him if he refuſed the ſame. And hauing accepted thereof and performed all the ſolemnities requiſit in ſo great an accident, VESPASIAN as a valorous and excellent prince, with the like wiſedome and valour as he had liued being a ſubiect, began to ſhew himſelfe a Lord; and to prouide for all things with great authoritie and diſcretion, ſending Ambaſſadours and writing letters to al parts of the world. And within few daies after this, all the armies and prouinces of the Eaſt came to his obedience & ſeruice; and the like in *Europe* did thoſe of *Myſia*, *Bulgaria*, *Seruia* and thoſe of *Hungarie* and *Auſtriche* then called *Pannonia*; and alſo thoſe in *Slauonia*, then called *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, whoſe auncient names I will ſometime vſe vntill ſuch time and place as they ſhall loſe the ſame. The like I haue done and will doe in the moſt of the prouinces of the Empire. All things happening ſo proſperous and luckily to VESPASIANVS, hauing determined with MVCIANVS gouernour of *Syria*, TIBERIVS ALEXANDER gouernour of *Egypt*, and with his owne ſonne TITVS what was beſt to bee done, it was decreed that TITVS ſhould remaine and continue the warres againſt the Iewes; that MVCIANVS with the greateſt part of the legions, ſhould with all ſpeede take his iourney for *Italie*; and that VESPASIAN ſhould goe to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to make prouiſion from all parts, and with greater power paſſe ouer into *Italie*, there to make an end of the warre, if it were not before hand done by MVCIANVS. This being concluded, it was commaunded to bee preſently put in execution. But while as LICINIVS MVCIANVS was trauelling towards *Italie*, ANTONIE, who was captaine of the legions in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, hauing intelligence of what was

Veſpaſian made Emperor, which he refuſed, compelled to accept thereof by whom and in what manner.

Antonie captaine of the legions in Slauonia came into Italie againſt Vitellius.

was passed, desiring to doe VESPASIAN some notable seruice, and to execute the hatred which he bare against VITELLIVS, and in great haste marched with his legions, and such as he could get from *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, and came to make warre in *Italy* against the Emperour VITELLIVS, who alreadie was in armes.

Of the election of VESPASIAN and of other things (as we haue said) and of euery particular which passed thereof, within few daies VITELLIVS had aduertisement, who in *Rome* exercised himselfe in banketting and vices, although that many daies he could not enioy the same. And desirous to make resistance against so great force and danger, he began to leuie the greatest power that he was able, besides those which he had alreadie, which he yet had not discharged: and knowing with what haste and determination ANTONY Captaine of *Illyricum* came forwards, without staying for LICINIVS MVCIANVS, who came with as great haste, he sent VALENS and CECINNA his Captaines before named, which had serued him in the warre against OTHO with so great an armie and power, as seemed sufficient to make head against him & LICINIVS MVCIANVS also. He also prouided fleets and Captaines for the Seas extraordinarie. And on euery side the warre began, so as it would be too long to repeate al the particular accidents that happened therein: the sum and effect therof was, that the two armies approching the one neere to the other, there grew a iealousie that CECINNA one of VITELLIVS his Captaines, practised some agreement with VESPASIAN his Commaunders, and this being knowne in the armie he was slaine by the old souldiers. And ANTONY knowing this, as hee had a great desire to fight before that MVCIANVS should come (after sundrie great encounters and skirmishes, which happened betweene them) came to a maine battaile with the Vitellians, neere to the citie of *Cremona*, which was fought in such manner and was so bloudie and cruel, that of ANTONY his side who was conquerour, there were slaine 4500. men, and of the Vitellians which were ouercome aboue 30000. So notable a victorie being obtained in the behalfe of VESPASIAN, *Italy* which vntill then had remained wholy for VITELLIVS and tooke his part, was suddenly diuided, and many cities took part with VESPASIAN. It is a marueilous matter & worthie of an excellent historie to recite the accidents which happened within few daies therein, and the cruell war which they waged; which CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth more at large then any other writer, which I cannot expresse for the breuities sake which I follow. But the issue therof was, that the Emperor VITELLIVS his Captaines, which were ouercome & escaped from the battaile, reinforcing their armie and gathering together their people, made such resistance against VESPASIAN his Captaines as they were able, although they were not of force to stop their passage to *Rome*, as hereafter shall be declared. For ANTONY being victor, with the same greatnes of minde and expedition wherewith he began the warre, endeuoured to obtaine the victorie, seeking meanes to put it in execution. So soone as VITELLIVS in *Rome* was giuen to vnderstand of the ouerthrow of his armie, affrighted with such newes (although that for all that, hee neuer gaue ouer his vices and beastly exercises) made election of new Captaines, which were IVLIVS PRISCVS and ALPHENVS VARRO, and that they with thirteene Cohorts should guard the passage in the *Apennine* mountaines; and should also seeke to stop ANTONY his passage for *Rome*, and MVCIANVS also, who as it was said, was alreadie arriued in *Italy*. And of the rest of his forces which he held for the guard of the citie, he made his brother LVCIVS VITELLIVS Captaine thereof, and vsed all possible meanes to leuie men of all sorts. But the matter went so

A cruell battaile.

that

that feare made VITELLIVS to deſire to come to ſome compoſition and agreement howſoeuer it were: And being offered by letters from the Captaine ANTHONY, who was victorious, and alſo from MVCIANVS, that if peaceably hee would reſigne the Empire, his life ſhould be graunted him, and place and meanes ſufficient allowed him for his maintenance. Whereto hee gaue eare and tooke counſell thereupon, with FLAVIVS SABINVS VESPASIAN his brother, who in all theſe troubles remained in *Rome*, and neuer withdrew himſelfe from VITELLIVS, and he had alſo with him DOMITIANVS VESPASIANS youngeſt ſonne, who afterwards was Emperour: and it was decreed and concluded in the temple of IVNO, where hee ſware and promiſed to renounce the Empire, and would preſently haue put it in effect, which he twice ſpake openly: ſo great was the feare wherein he was. But thoſe which were of greater authoritie about him did ſo much gainſay it, and chiefly the Pretorian Cohorts, that he again took hart and altred his determination. Which when FLAVIVS SABINVS knew (to whoſe houſe were drawne together a great number of the moſt principall and noble men of *Rome*, as to his brother, whom they made account ſhould be Emperour) he was much moued therewith. And knowing that in the behalfe of VITELLIVS there came ſome to apprehend or kill him in his houſe, being induced thereto by thoſe which were with him, went foorth of his houſe with ſtrong hand, although with leſſe power then was requiſite for ſo great an action, and went to the Capitoll (which was the chiefeſt ſtrength of *Rome*) and ſeiſed on the ſame, where he was preſently beſieged by VITELLIVS his friends. And as it commonly happeneth, you ſhall finde many which will giue honourable and magnificent counſell, but few are thoſe which will put themſelues in the daunger, neither will lend their hand to put it in execution: ſo, few of thoſe which had perſwaded him to enter into this action, did come to his aide, or made any repaire vnto him. And the next morning he was aſſaulted with great furie, in the defence whereof was no good order, but rather with little agreement: and as in ſuch misfortunes and diſaſters it happeneth, all will direct and commaund, but few will execute; ſo as by meanes of ill fighting and worſe direction, the Capitoll was by force entred and burned, and al thoſe which were therein ſlaine, and FLAVIVS SABINVS taken priſoner, who within a little while after was put to death by the commaundement of VITELLIVS; and young DOMITIANVS his nephew and ſonne to VESPASIAN, eſcaped by flight, and ſo might SABINVS haue done that night (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) if hee would haue come foorth of the Capitoll: for there was no ſufficient guard to haue letted him: but he with too little wit and too much preſumption was loſt, as is ſaid.

A compoſition offered to Vitellius, conditionally that he ſhould reſigne the Empire.

After that SABINVS was dead, as VITELLIVS knew that ANTONY drew neere to *Rome* with his forces, he againe began to procure ſome agreement, and to that end ſent letters and meſſengers vnto him, & his feare and baſenes came to ſo low degree, as that he ſent the veſtall virgins, which were virgins encloſed like Nunnes in a Cloiſter, which was a thing the moſt religious and moſt ceremonious lie garded of any thing in *Rome*: But ANTONY being wroth for the death of SABINVS, would giue no eare to their words, neither come to any compoſition, but kept on his way vntill he came neere *Rome*, where VITELLIVS his forces attended his comming, reſolutely determining to defend themſelues, and there being both without and within a moſt huge number of the beſt men in the world, ANTONY aſſailed it in three parts, and VITELLIVS his people ſallied out againſt him in as many, and there began at each of them one of the moſt

cruell

cruell battailes in the world, which CORNELIVS TACITVS excellently well recounteth, affirming, that it lasted the greatest part of the day: and in the end that citie (which was head and ladie of the world) was woon and taken by those which were her owne naturall people; and those which were subdued endured that which in like cases happeneth, and much more, as slaughters, robbings, violences, and extreame disgraces, as against enemies which they deadlie hated for the death of SABINVS, for that he was their Lords brother, and for the obstinacie and furie wherewith they had fought.

Rome entred, taken, and sacked, and by whome.

When VITELLIVS saw that the citie was entred, thinking to escape by flight, he went forth of his palace, and finding no safe way, I know not with what hope, he returned thither againe, and finding it abandoned without guard or defence, in the best manner that he could he hid himselfe in a secret place, where he stayed not long before he was found by a Tribune, and being taken by him, without attending any further determination or counsell, they bound his hands behind him, and cast a roape about his neck, and cutting and tearing his cloathes from his back, halfe naked they led him through the streetes of *Rome*, vntill they brought him to the principall place therein, and by the way they did him an infinite number of iniuries and disgraces, and there he was slaine by the multitude of souldiers, no man being able to auerre for certaine who either began or ended. And this was the end of this tyrannous Emperour, and with him died his brother LVCIVS VITELLIVS, and one onely sonne which he had at his death. He had not bin Emperour much aboue eight moneths, as most authors affirme, although that SVETONIVS setteth downe a longer time, for he maketh his account that VESPASIAN was chosen Emperour in the East in the eight moneth of VITELLIVS his raigne, which was some moneths before his death, which was in the 57. yeare of his age, and the 72. yeare after the birth of our SAVIOVR. What hapned after his death shall be referred to the historie of VESPASIAN, seeing that it was in his time. VITELLIVS was so tall, and of so corpulent a bodie, that he was therewith deformed. His face was verie red, by reason of the much wine which he dranke, and was very gorebellied, and went a little lame of one leg, through a bruse which he had receiued by a Cart.

The death of Vitellius.

Anno Domini 72.

THE

THE LIFE OF FLAVIVS VESPASIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

VItellius being ignominiouſlie ſlaine, the good Veſpaſian attained to the Imperiall dignitie, who reſtored tyred Rome to ſuch reſt, that it ſeemed to be returned to the auncient dignitie and greatnes, from whence the vices and wickednes of many former Emperours had made it to fall. This man before that he tooke the Empire, was no leſſe wiſe then valorous in the Art Militarie: ſo as he grew to be ſo excellent, that notwithſtanding that he was not borne of any very noble houſe, yet for his vertues he deſerued to be made Emperour. In his time were ended the warres of Ieruſalem, vnder the gouernment of his ſonne Titus. He made many Prouinces tributarie to the Romane Empire, which vntill then neuer paid tribute. He beautified Rome, not onely by repairing the ruines through the fire made by Nero, but he alſo builded a new Amphitheater and Temples, which he adorned with moſt faire marble, and moſt beautifull Statues: for in his time painting and carning flouriſhed. He was very courteous & gentle, and amongſt his other good qualities, this was one: to forget iniuries, and not to regard what malicious toongs ſaid of him. He was very cleanely, and neat of his bodie. In his diet he was very temperate, and faſted one whole day in euery moneth. He was noted for no other vice but anarice, whereof he excuſed himſelfe, alleaging, that he found the Imperiall Treaſurie emptie, through the pilling of the former tyrants. He lined 69. yeares, and raigned 10. and dyed of the flux. Truly it ſeemeth that this Emperour was borne

for the good of the Romane common-wealth, to the end that after the crueltie of ſo many Tyrants it ſhould not be wholie ruinated.

AS faire weather commeth after tempeſts and ſtormes; ſo was the raigne of VESPASIAN after the troubleſome and ſtormie times of the deteſtable Emperours TIBERIVS, CALIGVLA, NERO, and the tyrannies and ciuill warres of GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIVS, wherewith the Romane Empire was ſo diuided and ſhaken, that it was readie to come to ruine, if VESPASIAN had not remedied and ſupported the ſame by his great goodnes, valour and wiſedome. VESPASIAN was of the linage and familie of the FLAVII, meane and lowe, and not inobled with any titles and dignities. He was 59. yeares old when he was choſen Emperour, and came to be knowne and wan reputation and credit in the times of CLAVDIVS, CALIGVLA and NERO, and obteined offices and dignities in the warres, and in the gouernment of cities. In *Thracia* he was Tribune of the ſouldiers; and being Queſtor or Treaſurer, the Ile of *Creta* now called *Candia*, fell to his lot. He was Edil and Pretor in *Rome*, and afterwards was Lieutenant to the legions in *Germany*, and from thence he was ſent to be Gouernour and Captaine of *Britanny* when it rebelled, where, as EVTROPIVS and SVETONIVS report, he fought aboue 30. times in battailes and skirmiſhes in his owne perſon: ſo as for his deſert there were armes and triumphant ornaments giuen him, ſuch as they did vſe to giue to ſuch as did triumph. After all which he was Conſul in *Rome* two moneths in the end of a yeare, and was afterward Proconſul in *Africa* in the time of NERO, and in the end was ſent thither by him to that warre againſt them, which he followed when he was choſen Emperour againſt VITELLIVS, his armie compelling him thereto, as it is alreadie ſaid. He had at that time two ſonnes, the one called TITVS which was with him, the other DOMITIANVS which was in *Rome*, both which he had by FLAVIA DOMICILLA his lawfull wife, daughter to FLAVIVS LIBERAL, by whom he had had a daughter which was dead, whoſe name was DOMICILLA alſo. And this is the ſumme of his life, before he came to the Empire: but returning to our hiſtorie, it paſſed in this manner. VITELLIVS being ſo reprochfull and ignominiouſlie dead in *Rome* (as is aforeſaid) although that with his death the warre ceaſed, yet the fruites and effects thereof were not ended: for the conquerours committed ſo many ſlaughters and robberies vpon thoſe which had taken VITELLIVS his part, that there was no part of *Rome* wherein was not effuſion of bloud, ſo as that citie endured (by meanes of this battaile) the like or greater miſerie, then in the warres and proſcriptions of MARIVS and SILLA, or any other whatſoeuer in time paſt. But ſo ſoone as MVCIANVS came to *Rome*, who was principall Captaine, ſent by VESPASIAN, and that DOMITIANVS was returned, who euer ſince the death of his vncle SABINVS, and the burning of the Capitoll lay hidde, theſe murthers and reuenges ceaſed, and there began ſome order to be taken in the Common-wealth. The Senate was aſſembled, and the gouernment of VESPASIAN was accepted and approued, and there were granted and giuen vnto him the names and titles which were vſuallie giuen to other Emperours; and meſſengers with all diligence were ſent vnto him, to aduertiſe him of the victorie, and to yeeld obedience in the behalfe of the Senate. And for that that he being abſent could not take order and prouide for the eſtate of *Rome*, his ſonne DOMITIANVS,

Veſpaſians linage.

Veſpaſians offices and dignities.

MITIANVS, MVCIANVS and ANTONIE, which then were of greateſt power, began to take order for the gouernment, not without confuſion and emulation betweene them, vntill the comming of VESPASIANVS, which by reaſon of the daungerous ſailing in the winter time was deferred. DOMITIANVS was called CÆSAR, and made Pretor of *Rome* with Conſularie authoritie, and becauſe he was the Emperours ſonne had the preheminence and chiefe place in all matters, although he proued not afterwards to be ſuch as he ought to haue been: for beſides that hee was vicious, hee was diſloyall and diſobedient to his father. The Senates Ambaſſadours and others which were ſent from *Rome*, found VESPASIAN in the citie of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, with his legions and men of warre readie to paſſe into *Italy* againſt VITELLIVS, knowing nothing that he was dead, and ſtaied there with the King of Parthians Ambaſſadors, which offered him 40000. horſemen. In the like manner there were Ambaſſadours from other Kings and Tetrarches of the Eaſt, ſome ſubiect to the Empire, and ſome free, which came to the like intent: but knowing that there was no ſuch neede in *Rome* to cauſe him to carrie thither ſo great forces, he gaue thankes to the King of Parthians Legates, and the reſt of the Kings for their offers, and determined to take his paſſage ſo ſoone as conueniently he might: And ſo as a wiſe Emperour forgat not to take order for the defence and augmentation of the Empire, reſoluing to ſend his ſonne TITVS to make an end of the warres by him begun againſt the Iewes and the holy citie of *Ieruſalem*, to whom beſides the ordinarie legions, he gaue three other legions, wherewith TITVS continued the warres with great reſolution, and by gods permiſſion, the Iewes were in his time by the hands of the Romanes, and through their owne ciuill diſſenſion, plagued and oppreſſed euen to their totall confuſion, as hereafter in briefe ſhall bee declared. VESPASIAN could not ſo ſoone depart from *Alexandria* as he deſired, by reaſon of the contrarie weather by ſea vnfit for Nauigation; in which time there aroſe in *Rome* great troubles, emulations, enuie, and contentions betweene the Captaines MVCIANVS and ANTONIE, each ſeeking to be preferred before other: MVCIANVS, for that he was the principall Captaine ſent by VESPASIAN, and had borne great ſway in his election; and the other, for the great victories which he had gotten in his ſeruice againſt VITELLIVS and his Captaines. The euill practiſes of DOMITIANVS were alſo partly cauſe of theſe tumults, who conueniently could not be reſtrained, conſidering who hee was. But the commotions and inſurrections which then were in *Germanie* and part of *France*, did much more trouble them that ſwaied the gouernment: for all was in an vprore and in armes againſt the Empire, which had a former originall in the time of VITELLIVS, although that then wee could not recite it: the originall and occaſion thereof was in this manner.

Tumults in Rome.

In the prouince of *Battauia*, now called *Holland* (a prouince in low *Germanie*, which the *Rhine* diuiding it ſelfe maketh an Iland) was a principal audacious man, whoſe name was CLAVDIVS CIVILIS, who vnder colour of taking part with VESPASIAN againſt VITELLIVS, when the war began betweene them, leuied ſome forces of that country, & induced the Friſelanders and their captaine, whoſe name was BRINO, to doe the like: and being thus in armes, they aſſailed thoſe of the Romanes lodgings which held of VITELLIVS, and taking them at vnawares, ſlew many of them, being left weake by reaſon that VITELLIVS withdrew the greateſt part of the forces frō thence when he went againſt OTHO, as before hath bin declared. So as they draue all the Romane garriſons out of that prouince, and

An inſurrection in Holland.

there after enſued many encounters and skirmiſhes of either ſide, vntill that VESPASIAN preuailing in *Italie*, FLACCVS HORDEONIVS, being for VITELLIVS captaine of thoſe legions in *Germanie*, was ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers, proclaiming VESPASIAN, and the legions remained without order or captaine. And CLAVDIVS CIVILIS with the forces of *Holland* and *Freeſeland*, ioyning with another captaine called CLASSICVS, imagined that in the confuſion of thoſe troubleſome times, they might free their countries; or to ſay better, make themſelues Lords thereof, as many haue done: and drawing to their faction certaine of the legions which remained firme for VITELLIVS, they made an inſurrection againſt VESPASIAN, publiſhing abroade that he was dead, in ſuch ſorte that within few daies, ſome cities in *France* reuolted, ſo as it was feared that ſom great alteration would haue enſued in the Empire. Which, as I ſaid, put MVCIANVS and ANTONIE in great doubt, for DOMITIANVS who ſhould haue had the greateſt care, ſpent his time in his vices and paſtimes. After many councels and conſultations held about this matter, QVINTILIVS CERIALIS was ſent for captaine into thoſe parts, who both valiantly and wiſely followed the warres, and reduced thoſe legions to the ſeruice of the Empire. Which being deceiued, had ioyned with CLAVDIVS CIVILIS, and obtained notable victories therein, although hardly gotten and very bloudie, which CORNELIVS TACITVS recounteth at large. And being in the heate of this warre, holding it to be of great importance, MVCIANVS and DOMITIANVS departed from *Rome*, with the greateſt power they could raiſe, to the end to giue reliefe where neede ſhould require: who being come to the *Alpes* had intelligence that CERIALIS had obtained another notable victorie in a great battalle: by meanes whereof, and of the fame of their comming, all thoſe countries yeelded their obedience, and the *Germaines* laying downe their armes, deſired peace. Notwithſtanding this, DOMITIAN, although there were no neede, had a deſire to march forwards, and to take the gouernment and forces which CERIALIS held and commanded, and wrote ſundrie letters to him requeſting the ſame: whereupon he was ſuſpected, that he did it with intent to rebell againſt his father, and ſo writeth CORNELIVS TACITVS. Others ſuſpected that he did it of enuie againſt his brother TITVS, and to make himſelfe equall with him. But his deuiſes whatſoeuer they were, tooke no effect. For CERIALIS diſſembled & would not yeeld his captaineſhip and gouernment vnto him, and MVCIANVS ſtopped his paſſage from going any further: for CERIALIS within few daies had pacified the countrie, and DOMITIANVS returned to *Rome* to receiue and entertaine his father, who (he knew) was comming, and within few daies came, hauing ſailed from *Alexandria* to *Rhodes* in ſhippes, and from thence in galleies, and paſſing all along the coaſt of *Græcia*, viſited and ſaw all the cities thereof which were in his way, till his arriuall in *Italie*, and ſo came to *Rome*, where he was moſt ſolemnly receiued (which IOSEPHVS moſt elegantly relateth) For as his comming had been long time deſired and wiſhed for; ſo was it very gratfull and pleaſing to all men, and he preſently began to doe things conformable to the deſire and hope which they had conceiued of him, in miniſtring iuſtice, in reforming the lawes and cuſtomes of *Rome*, rewarding thoſe which had ſerued him, and pardoning and puniſhing with ſingular clemencie thoſe which were his aduerſaries: in concluſion, he made a godly and laudable beginning of his Empire, and perſeuered and ended therein, as ſhall appeare.

Domitianus ſuſpected.

Veſpaſianus comming to Rome.

In the meane time while as the Emperour VESPASIAN parting from *Alexandria* came to *Rome*, his ſonne TITVS proſecuting the warres againſt the Iewes,

and

and hauing ſubdued the marches round about, came and beſieged the citie of *Ieruſalem*, at ſuch time as from all parts of the world an incredible number of Iewes were come into the citie, to celebrate the feaſt of the Paſchall Lamb. Of the ſiege and deſtruction thereof, becauſe it was a notable matter, and prophecied before, and was famous afterwards, it ſhall not be amiſſe in few words to declare the end thereof: and for as much as in truth, it was the moſt ſtrictly and obſtinately beſieged, and beſt defended citie that euer was in the world, the Iewes perſiſting in their obſtinacie and rebellion by Gods permiſsion, in reuenge of the death and paſsion of his onely ſonne IESVS CHRIST our Sauiour God and man: all which IOSEPHVS, EGESIPPVS and CORNELIVS TACITVS write at large, to which I remit the curious reader, beſides many others which are more briefe: and being by TITVS beſieged in ſuch manner, that no man could ſallie out of it, or enter into it. For the which, not contenting himſelfe with the multitude of his men of warre and prouiſion, but within few daies compaſſed it round about with trenches and ramparts, ſuch as were ſufficient thereto, making the ſouldiers of his armie ſet their hands to the worke: ſo as he beſieged it in this manner the ſpace of fiue moneths, in which time there were ſo many aſſaults, skirmiſhes and ſlaughters, as by the numbers of the dead, which we wil tell you, may appeare: and ſuch as I neuer read or heard that the like had paſſed before any citie, with ſuch obſtinacie and reſolute force the beſiegers aſſailed it, and the beſieged defended themſelues. In all which TITVS performed the dutie of a moſt excellent Captaine and a valiant Knight, ſometime giuing direction and commaunding, and alſo when neede required fighting, that, as IOSEPHVS teſtifieth, in this conqueſt he ſlew twelue Iewes with his owne hands. The hunger which afflicted this citie of *Ieruſalem* in this ſiege, is wonderfull to reade, and to be conſidered: for all ordinarie ſuſtenance being ſpent, although they made the greateſt ſpare thereof that was poſsible, they gaue themſelues to eate all things that might yeeld any taſte, without any difference, good or bad, eating the fleſh of horſes, aſſes, dogs, cats, rats, ſnakes, adders, and other ſo vncleane and ſtrange things, that it ſeemeth incredible to all humane creatures. But this maketh it to be beleeued, for that all the writers both Chriſtian and Heathen affirme, that there was a mother which killed and ate her owne ſonne, whom ſhe had at her breaſt. Finally, after the death of an infinite number by the ſword and famine, vpon the eight day of September (hauing been beſieged round about, about fiue moneths, and aboue foure yeers after the warre was begun by VESPASIAN in the raigne of NERO) the citie of *Ieruſalem* was entred by force of armes, and a moſt huge number of thoſe which were therein ſlaine: and ſo had they all been, but that TITVS moued with compaſsion, commaunded the execution vpon women, and ſuch as bare no armes, to ceaſe. But although that this ſlaughter was ſtaied, yet in the prouince and the citie there died of hunger and the ſword (as EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS and other authors affirme) ſixe hundred thouſand men able to beare armes. And if wee ſhall giue credit to IOSEPHVS, who was an eie-witneſſe to moſt part thereof, there died eleuen hundred thouſand; and there were captiues and were ſold, ninetie ſeuen thouſand. EGESIPPVS, who is of no leſſe credit and authoritie, agreeth with him in the number of the captiues; but in the number of the dead he ſetteth downe 100000. leſſe, which ſeemeth to be an error but in the letter: both which doe yeeld the reaſon of ſo great mortalitie to be, as is ſaid; which was, that ſo great a number was gathered together in *Ieruſalem* to the feaſt at Eaſter, and had retired thither as to the head of all that prouince, there to die or defend the ſame.

Ieruſalem beſieged by Titus.

The extreame famine in the citie of Ieruſalem when it was beſieged.

A mother killed and ate her owne ſonne.

Ieruſalem taken by Titus.

Salomons temple destroyed.

And also that famous temple was burnt, and those most strong and high walles of the most famous temple of SALOMON were throwne downe, and all the citie laid waste, desolate and wholy destroied, as sundrie Prophets had before prophecied. And this iust and deserued destruction of *Ierusalem* happened in the second yeere of the Emperour VESPASIAN, and the fortith yeere after the death of CHRIST our Lord, and the seuentie three after his birth, being (according to EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS) one thousand one hundred and two yeers after that the temple was first built by SALOMON, and fiue hundred ninetie and one yeere, after that it was reedified in the time of King DARIVS, hauing been destroied by the Babylonians. In this account I follow EVSEBIVS his computation, to auoide disputation about the difference which is among the authors: All writers affirme, and it doth cleerly appeare by PLINY and CORNELIVS TACITVS, that *Ierusalem* had neuer been so rich, nor so populous, nor so sumptuous in wals, temples and buildings, as when CHRIST suffred his pasion, & when it was destroied: And so that citie and the holy temple were ouerthrowne and laid euen with the floore, without one stone remaining vpon another, according as our Sauiour CHRIST had told his Disciples, they shewing it to him and extolling the greatnes and building of that temple, as the holy Euangelist reciteth more at large: and so it lay vntil that the Emperor ADRIAN began to reedifie it, although not in the same place, neither such as it was before, as hereafter shall be declared. And so that prouince which had been gouerned by the Romanes as their friends, and in a manner free, was made captiue and tributarie; and the Iewes being captiues were sold and dispersed through all parts of the world. This warre being ended by TITVS in such manner, as is before specified, his father and al *Rome* greatly reioyced thereat, and to them both the triumph was graunted by the Senate, because that they both had followed that warre. And TITVS leauing all things in good order in the East, came victorious to *Rome*. And within few daies after, both the father and the sonne came thereinto triumphing, with one of the most solemne and stately triumphs that euer was seene in *Rome*. The which who that will see more at large, shall finde it written by IOSEPHVS in his seuenth booke of the warres of the Iewes.

Ierusalem destroyed and laid waste, so that there remained not one stone vpon another. Anno Dom. 40.

The Iewes taken in Ierusalem, sold and dispersed ouer the world.

Vespasian and Titus came into Rome in triumph for the warres of the Iewes.

While as TITVS was busied about the matters aboue said in the citie of *Ierusalem*, the Alanes a people of *Scythia*, of which hereafter we shall speake much, had their abode aboue the lake *Meotis*, neere the Riuer of *Tanais*, which in a most huge number abandoned their countrie, for that it was barraine and vnfrutefull, or for that it was not sufficient to sustaine them, and came into the countrie of the Medes, robbing and sacking that countrie, and marching forwards came into *Armenia*, where they did the like. And TIRIDATES King thereof, fought a battaile with them, wherein he was ouercome, and by great good fortune escaped from being taken: which when TITVS vnderstood, hauing then fully executed his enterprise against *Ierusalem*, marched with his forces to the reliefe of TIRIDATES, (although that then wee had not time to expresse the same) as to assist a King which was vassall and friend to the Empire, and came to the citie of *Antioch*, as EGESIPPVS writeth: but the Alanes vpon the onely report of his comming, returned to their countrie, contented with what they had gotten by theft. VESPASIAN being in *Rome*, enioying the Empire in peace had his sonne TITVS continually with him, and knowing and hauing good experience of his wisedome and good conditions, did most matters by his counsell and after his opinion, and in all matters held him for his companion in the Empire;

Tiridates King of Armenia ouerthrowne and put to flight by the Alanes.

and made him his fellow in office in the Cenſurie, and in the Tribunate, and afterwards in ſeuen Conſulſhips a row. VESPASIAN following his good beginning, neuer in all the whole courſe of his life omitted any thing that was fit for a good and excellent Emperour, aſwell in preſeruing and enlarging the Empire, as in beautifying and reforming the ſame; in correcting the abuſes and euill cuſtomes, as in execution of Iuſtice and other vertues; and chiefly he tooke great care for the publike edifices and buildings, wherein he ſpent much treaſure, and made the Capitoll which VITELLIVS had burned (when his brother SABINVS was ſlaine) to be reedified and new builded, farre more faire and excellent then euer it was before. He alſo repaired the whole citie of *Rome*, of thoſe ruines which remained by the fire which burnt it in the time of NERO, as in his life we haue declared. Beſides this, he built a moſt maruellous temple to the goddes pallas, the workmanſhip whereof was ſo rich, ſo perfect, and ſo excellent, that the like thereof had neuer been ſeene in *Rome*. For touching the painting, caruing, and inlaying, all the moſt excellent workmen of the world (theſe arts being then at the higheſt) ſhewed their skill therein, and left memorialles of their handworking, as PLINIVS, and IOSEPHVS reporteth who was an eie witneſſe, who affirmeth that men came from all parts of the world to ſee the richnes and excellencie of this temple. VESPASIAN alſo built an Amphitheater, of ſingular and moſt perfect workmanſhip, which is yet to this day to be ſeene in *Rome*, although ruined and defaced, which is a building of maruellous and ſumptuous greatnes, round in forme, as if two Theatres were ioyned together like to halfe-circles: in the middeſt of which were repreſented the plaies, ſhewes, wreſtlings, combats with wilde beaſts, and alſo combates of ſword plaiers: And euery thing was wrought and framed in ſuch manner, that by meanes of their rowes and ſeates, it was capable of an infinit number of people, without letting the one the other, which wee may conprehend by the Theater which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR builded, in remembrance of his Nephew MARCELLVS, of which wee reade that there were in order ſeates for foureſcore thouſand perſons. And VESPASIAN did not onely conſume great treaſure in building (whereto he was much affected) but he alſo beſtowed great gifts and penſions vpon ſuch as were maiſters and excellent workmen; and no leſſe but rather greater, vpon learned men, and ſuch as were expert in arts, and to the Rhetoricians and maiſters in eloquence, both in Greeke and Latin hee gaue great fees and penſions out of his Exchequer; and alſo to Poets and other excellent learned men, he beſtowed notable fauours and rewards: ſo that it is certaine that he not onely ſhewed himſelfe liberall in theſe things aforeſaid, but to all perſons and in all places. And in the prouinces where he knew that any publike buildings were deſtroyed or decaied, by reaſon of the ill gouernment in time paſt, he commanded them to be reedified and repaired at his owne charges out of the ſubſidies and tributes. The like care he tooke for ſome cities, which in his time were deſtroyed by earth-quakes. And becauſe that he would not forget to repaire and amend the liuing bodies aſwell as the dead, he endeuoured to reforme and ſet in good order, the great number and tediouſnes of ſutes and pleas in the lawe, chuſing new Iudges and Arbitrators, which ſhould take order with, and ſet agreement betweene the contrarie parties, and within few daies ſhould decide and determine controuerſies and pleas in ſute, and ordained and eſtabliſhed moſt excellent lawes and ſtatutes.

After that the good Emperour VESPASIAN had taken ſuch good order in all his actions, wherewith he made the time of his raigne moſt happie, he tooke

especiall care to increase and augment the same. And we also reade that he made many Prouinces subiects and tributaries, which vntill then were in a manner as friends and obedient, but yeelded no tributes, or did other seruices: among which in *Asia* the lesse were the Prouinces of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*; and in *Asia* the great, *Comagena*, which lieth Eastwards from *Cilicia*; and heere in *Europe*, the Prouince of *Thracia*, and the citie of *Byzantium* which is now called *Constantinople*, with the Iles of *Rhodes* and *Samos*, and other Countries & Prouinces which he also made tributaries. For what cause or reason he did so, I finde it not written; but duly weighing and considering the acts and doings of this Emperour, I presume that he did it not without iust occasion in them all. IOSEPHVS setteth downe the cause thereof in the Prouince of *Comagena* only, and in what sort it was made tributarie, and how that ANTIOCHVS the King thereof being ouercome and taken in battaile by CESSONIVS PETO Gouernour of *Syria* for the Empire, sent the same ANTIOCHVS prisoner to *Rome*. But VESPASIAN remembring himselfe that he held friendship with this King when he liued in the East, and although that he held it fit and requisit to dispossesse him of his countrey, yet he would not deale hardlie with his person: for being comming vpon the way, he sent commaundement that he should not be brought to *Rome*, but commaunded him to be caried to the citie of *Lacedæmonia* in *Græcia*, and that he should liue there, and that sufficient prouision should be made to maintaine him and his children in royall estate, and so that King led his life afterwards in that citie, and the Prouince of *Comagena* remained tributarie to the Empire. What else happened in the time of VESPASIAN, the Authors which I follow, haue not written, peraduenture because they were of small importance. But as concerning his vertue, bountie, and good gouernment, they haue written more at large then I haue done, such and so many were they: and because I will not be too scarce and briefe in this matter, I will say somewhat for a remembrance and an example to good Emperours. First, the manner and rule of his life after that he came to the Empire was this: he awoke euery morning before day, and in his bed did reade and heare letters and memorials of diuers matters and affaires; and then he commaunded the dore to be set open for his friends and such others as would come into his chamber, in whose presence he arose and made himselfe readie, without that any Page or seruant did help him therein, but to bring his cloathes to his hands; and then he stood a good space giuing audience to such as he had to deale withall, prouiding for all things, and making therein such dispatch as was conuenient; then he went into his litter or chariot, as the manner then was, and for his exercise went into the fields of MARS or some other part, and sometimes he went on foote. After all this, he retired himselfe to his lodging, to his secret exercises and pastimes: after which he vsed the bathes, whereto men in those dayes were much affected, which being ended, he returned to his busines, and to prouide for all things necessarie, wherein he spent the greatest part of the day. He was very moderate and temperate in his diet, and after supper was very pleasant and merrily disposed, delighting much to vse sharp and briefe speeches, whereof SVETONIVS reciteth some. He was a Prince of great modestie, patience, and singular clemencie, enduring and dissembling with those which did murmure and speake ill of him, pardoning and forgetting iniuries and offences, the examples whereof (which were many) I omit because of breuitie. VESPASIAN was noted and murmured at for being ouercouetous: for it is certaine that he made his rents to be collected rigorously, imposing new taxes and seruices, seeking extraordinarie

Prouinces brought into subiection by Vespasian.

Comagena made a tributarie prouince by Vespasian.

The life and manners of Vespasian after that he was Emperour.

Vespasian noted of couetousnes.

and

and new meanes to gather money. Whereof AVRELIVS VICTOR and other authors excuſe him, alleaging that hee was forced and compelled thereto: for that he found his Exchequer poore, and the Imperiall treaſure waſted and ſpent; ſo as for his maintenance it was very requiſite to raiſe it to ſome certaine ſumme and quantitie. Which maketh it ſeeme to bee true, ſeeing that he was extremely franke and liberall to all men, and ſpent and liberally parted with that which hee ſo gathered. Finally, howſoeuer it was, he is reckoned in the number, and for one of the good Emperours: and with ſingular wiſedome and valour he gouerned the Empire nine yeeres; at the end whereof (being ſeuentie and nine yeeres old) the flux tooke him, and he died in peace and quiet, in the yeere of our Lord foure-ſcore and one. He was a man of a middle ſiſe, well compact in his limmes, and of a good complexion, and liued euer ſound and in good health: for the preſeruation whereof, he ordinarily vſed frictions on his armes and his legges, and euery moneth faſted one whole day, without eating any thing.

THE LIFE OF TITVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND ELEVENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

VEſpaſian being dead, his ſonne Titus ſucceeded him, who reſerued the name of his father. This man in his youth applied himſelfe much to the ſtudie of good letters and Sciences, and delighted ſo greatly in writing, that he with great facilitie counterfeited all manner of letters: and he being generall, the long warres of Ieruſalem were ended. Comming afterwards to the Imperiall dignitie, he wholy altred his former condstions, and became moſt merciſull and moſt bountifull. His liberalitie was ſuch, that he ſaid that he had loſt a day wherein he had not done ſome deed of courteſie. He was alſo of ſo gentle nature, that he ſaid to his brother Domitian, who

who (it ſeemed) conſpired againſt him, that he ſhould not ſeeke to get that by fratricide, which hee might obtaine by his goodwill. He liued 41. yeeres, and ruled the Empire little more then two. His death was ſo grieuous to the citie of Rome, and to all the prouinces ſubiect to the Romane Empire, that all affirmed with one voice, that the father of the Empire, and delicacie of mankinde was departed out of the world.

SO ſoone as the Emperour VESPASIAN was dead, his eldeſt ſonne TITVS (called by his ſurname VESPASIANVS) without any contradiction was receiued and obeied for Emperour, as well for that his father in his life time had made him his companion in the Empire (as ſome authors ſay that hee did participate with him, and gaue him the name of Emperour) as alſo for that in his teſtament and laſt will, he appointed him for his ſucceſſor: yet his brother DOMITIANVS did proudly affirme, that his father had nominated him and not his brother TITVS, and that his fathers wil was falſified. TITVS was a good and an excellent Emperour, although that his raigne was but ſhort: for it laſted but little more then two yeeres: ſo, that for his naturall goodnes and noble condition, he was called the loue and delight of mankinde, although that before hee was Emperour he was ſlaundered for ſome occaſions: ſome imagining that hee would haue prooued wicked and peruerſe. But truth and vertue, although for a time they may be ſuppreſſed, yet at length they will preuaile and ouercome enuy and infamie: and as the cleere Sunne diſperſeth the darke clowdes, ſo did TITVS cleere himſelfe of the ſuſpitions conceiued againſt him, with the brightnes of his vertues and good deedes. He came to the Empire at the age of 39. yeeres, and ſomewhat leſſe, in which he followed the warres and gat great experience both in peace and warre. Firſt in his infancie he was brought vp in learning and other vertuous exerciſes, and thereby grew to be very learned both in Greeke and Latin, and expert in many Arts. He was a very good horſeman, and moſt skilfull in Muſicke, a very good ſinger, an eloquent Orator, and could make verſes with wonderfull eaſe and readines: he had a ſingular memorie, and was endued with an excellent wit, and was ſo ſpeedie in writing in ciphers and abbreuiations, that he excelled all his Secretaries and Notaries; and would ſo liuely counterfeit any mans hand and writing, that it was ſaid of him, that he might haue bin a notable counterfeiter or forger. Being endued with theſe graces & ſufficiencies in his adoleſcencie, before that his father came to the Empire, he bore armes in the wars, and was Tribune both in *Germanie* and *Britanny*, and purchaſed the reputation of wiſe and valorous. After which, being come to *Rome*, he vſed to plead and defend cauſes and actions (which was then the exerciſe of the moſt principall men) and afterwards in time hee was made Queſtor or Treaſurer. In proceſſe of which time he married twice: the firſt with ARRICIDIA the daughter of a Romane Knight, whoſe name was TERTVLLVS, who had been Prefect of the Pretorian Legions; and after her death being a widower, hauing neuer a child, he married the ſecond time with a woman of great bloud, whoſe name was MARTIA FVLVIA, whom he afterwards put away, after that he had a daughter by her. And the warres beginning againſt the Iewes, he went thither with his father, hauing the Captainſhip and charge of a Legion: and matters ſucceeding in ſuch manner, as is alreadie ſaid, he made the finall end thereof. And although that ſome practiſed to bring him in ſuſpition with his father, falſely alleaging that he would haue rebelled againſt him; yet after thoſe victories he came into *Italy*, and ſufficiently

Titus was endued with noble vertues.

cleered

cleered himſelfe,and triumphed of the Iewes; and (as wee haue ſaid) obtained ſo much grace with his father, that hee made him his companion, and in a manner equall with him in the Empire. And it happened that in his fathers life time hee made himſelfe ill beloued, and murmured at for ſome occaſions; whereof one was, that they charged him with the couetouſnes and auarice of his father, for the new impoſitions which he laid vpon the ſubiects of the Empire; whereof although that he might well haue done it; yet he manifeſted not his innocencie, becauſe the fault ſhould not be imputed to his father. The other was,for that he cauſed AVLVS CINNA and certaine other principall men to,be put to death, although that hee had iuſt occaſion to doe it,as SVETONIVS ſheweth in AVLVS CINNA: and other authors in others.

TITVS alſo diſcredited himſelfe for bringing of Queene VERONICE from *Iudea* with him for his friend or concubine,whom hee ſo deerely loued, that hee entertained her in a manner as his wife: and there is an author which affirmeth that he ſlew AVLVS CINNA, through iealouſie of her. All which being laid together, when by the death of his father hee came to the Empire,they doubted that hee would haue prooued a wicked Emperour: but his goodnes and vertue preſently made him ſo cleere,that thoſe clowdes of ſuſpition vaniſhed. The firſt, and peraduenture the greateſt was,the forcing of his will and bridling his deſires and affections,by withdrawing himſelfe from the company of VERONICE, for the euill example and infamie which thereof followed him, although that he loued her exceedingly much,and was by her beloued in the ſame degree. Hee alſo gaue ouer his other paſtimes,which he held vnfit and vnbeſeeming an Emperor, and began to liue and behaue himſelfe very honeſtly and honorably,and to ſhew his liberalitie, clemencie, and ſingular curteſie. Whereof I hold it requiſite (although I keepe not order, ſeeing his time was ſo ſhort) to make ſome mention; that ſeeing that his bountie, clemencie and wiſedome made his Empire voide of accidents, warres and motions, which vſually pleaſe the reader, they may ſpeake of the vertues and greatnes of this Emperour. Firſt for a ſhew and oſtentation to the world (which great Princes ſometimes ſhould make, becauſe that thereby they make themſelues in ſome ſort beloued of the common people) he repaired, and made ſome new great buildings,and he alſo made games and ſports, wherein(according to EVSEBIVS, EVTROPIVS and SVETONIVS) were ſlaine 5000. wild beaſts,and therein alſo fought a great number of Sword-players. He cauſed alſo to be repreſented a Naual battaile in one of the auncient Naumachias,whereof mention hath been made heretofore. And as he was by nature moſt noble and liberall, all the fauours,graces and rewards which his predeceſſors had made and graunted,which none of them would confirme,but graunted ſome new,he granted, and by a decree confirmed. And beſides this, to any ſupplication made vnto him,he neuer gaue euill anſwere, neither ſuffered any man to depart from him diſcontented,or without hope to obtaine his demaund. And being reprooued by ſome of his Councell, for promiſing more then it ſeemed he was able to performe: he anſwered them,that it was not fit nor decent, that any man ſhould depart from him ſorrowfull and diſcontent with his entertainment. He was naturally ſo deſirous to doe good and to helpe others, that one night after ſupper remembring himſelfe, that that day he had giuen nothing, with a ſad and heauie countenance he turned towards thoſe which were in his companie,and ſaid: My friends,I haue loſt this day: which were ſpeeches truly worthy to be noted and to be engrauen in the minds of all great Princes. He was alſo ſo deſirous to pleaſure

ſure and giue contentment to all men (holding alwaies his grauitie and authoritie) that in all his ſpeeches and diſcourſes with any kinde of people whatſoeuer, he alwaies ſhewed himſelfe affable, pleaſant, courteous, and conuerſable.

In ſome ill fortunes which in his time happened in *Rome*, as one was (as ſaith PAVLVS OROSIVS) a great fire, wherewith were burned a great number of houſes, and alſo a great plague, he not only vſed the diligence of a carefull prince, but alſo ſhewed the loue and affection of a pittifull father, helping with his owne rents to repaire and new-build that which the fire had conſumed, and cauſing thoſe which were wounded to be cured with great diligence; and thoſe which died of the peſtilence, to be buried. The clemencie and gentlenes of this prince extended to ſo high degree, that he not onely pardoned many, and moderated the rigor of the lawes in caſes of ordinarie crimes: but two great men of *Rome* hauing conſpired againſt him, and being thereof conuict, ſo as they could not deny the fact, he would make no other inquiſition, put them to any torments, or otherwiſe puniſh them, but onely warned and aduiſed them in ſecret that they ſhould alter their euill purpoſes, willing them to vnderſtand and conſider that the Empire was giuen by Gods prouidence and ordenance, and by the fates, and not by any humaine induſtrie: and if they would or deſired any other thing, it ſhould be better to ſue to him, and he would not deny it, and ſaying this, he pardoned and vſed them louingly, and afterwards entertained them with other compliments, which SVETONIVS writeth, ſo as he tooke ſuch order that they did repent and amend them; and he did better aſſure his life then if he had put them to death: For therein he ſhould haue had greater cauſe of feare, and more would haue hated him. The like temperance he held with his brother DOMITIANVS, who neuer left to lay ſnares to entrap him and to lie in waite for his life, and to practiſe his death, and to incenſe the armies and Cohorts againſt him: yet for all this he would not put him to death, as he might iuſtly haue done; neither ſeclude him from him; neither diminiſh his reputation and authoritie wherein he liued, but made him his companion in the Empire, and proclaimed him for his ſucceſſor. And the better to conuince and mollifie him, ſometimes retiring him into a ſecret chamber alone, with teares in his eies, he would admoniſh and require him, that he ſhould not attempt to obtaine that by treaſon and fratricide, which he ſhortly ſhould haue voluntarily, & that which he alreadie enioyed with him by his goodwill. And for concluſion, this excellent prince TITVS in the ſhort time that he raigned, gouerned with ſuch wiſedome, and in ſuch manner, that he was through all the whole Empire extremely beloued, and generally obeied and ſerued by all men: So as during all his whole raigne there were no contempts, inſurrections, warres, rebellions, nor contentions. But as men for their ſinnes were not worthie of ſo good a prince, ſo by Gods ſecret iudgement he was taken away from amongſt them: for being taken with a ſtrong burning feuer, within fewe daies hee died thereof, in the ſame village wherein his father died, neere *Rome*, being of the age of one and fortie yeeres, two monethes and twentie daies, although that EVTROPIVS ſetteth downe ſome monethes leſſe, which may be through error in a letter.

Snares laid by Domitianus to entrap his brother Titus.

The death of Titus.

So ſoone as his death was knowne, there was the greateſt lamentation and ſorrow that euer was ſeene in *Rome*, and the Senat being aſſembled, there was more ſpoken to his honour and commendation, being dead, then was of any man that euer liued before him, or was euer ſpoken in his preſence in his life time, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 83.

THE

THE LIFE OF DOMITIANVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND TWELFT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMEFT.

Domitianus brother to Titus, after his death was made Emperor, who in the beginning of his gouernment, faining much goodnes, was mercifull, pittifull, and aboue all, most iust. He preuailed in all the warres that he began, and in Rome finished many edifices alreadie begun, and built many more from the ground: so as in the beginning of his raigne he purchased a very good name, and the credit of a very vertuous and good man. But afterwards altering his conditions, he became so cruell, so iniurous and so couetous, that putting men to death for very small and ridiculous causes, he vsurped the goods of the dead, alledging that he was their heire. He persecuted the Iewes, and particularly those which were of the line of Dauid, hauing vnderstood that from him should descend a man which should be Lord of the whole world. He was also a great persecutor of the christian religion, so that in his time many holy men were martyred. He made such warre with the flies, that a courteour being demaunded, who was aboue with the Emperour; answered, that there was not one flie with him. He made great shew of Astrologie, and was a great friend to those which made profession of that facultie, yet he dealt hardly with an Astronomer which told him that he should die shortly. He liued fiue and fortie yeeres, ruled the Empire fifteene; and by the

conspiracie

conſpiracie of one Stephen who was ſteward of his houſe, and certaine others, amongſt which his wife was one: he was ſlaine in his pallace. The common people was neither ſad nor glad of his death, but the gentlemen and Senators were ſo well pleaſed with his death, that euen the very ſame day they made all his ſtatues to be throwne to the ground, which he would haue made of no other thing but of pure gold.

Domitianus was wicked, and farre vnlike to his brother Titus.

TO the good Emperour TITVS, his brother and ſucceſſor DOMITIANVS was farre vnlike; for he was wicked and peruerſe, although that in the beginning hee did ſome things which were agreeable, and gouerned the Common-wealth reaſonable vprightly; vſing deeds of clemencie, humilitie, and liberalitie, deceiuing the world with fained bountie, cleane contrarie to all that hee did afterwards. When he came to the Empire, he was of the age of thirtie yeeres (little more or leſſe) in his younger yeeres, he liued in meane eſtate, and in euill fame, for the diſhoneſtie of his perſon. After that his father was Emperour, in his abſence, he was called CÆSAR, and to him was giuen the greateſt dignitie and authoritie in *Rome*, which hee vſed licentiouſly and diſhoneſtly, committing adulteries, other vices and inſolencies: and vpon a day, hee depoſed twentie ſeuerall perſons from their charges and gouernment, and gaue them to others: ſo as his father (when he vnderſtood thereof) ſaid, that he marueilled, that his ſonne DOMITIANVS had not ſent one, to haue ſucceeded him alſo: and warres then growing in *Battauia*, he attempted that which we then declared. But when his father was come to *Rome*, to deſſemble and cloake his wicked conceites, he gaue himſelfe to ſtudie, and to the exerciſe of poeſie, although with little affection: for before that time hee neuer regarded it, or any other learning, and ſo afterwards left and abhorred it, although that during that time hee vſed it onely to flatter. For the ſmall time which hee ſpent in poeſie, SILIVS ITALICVS, QVINTILIAN, and PLINIE in the proeme of his naturall hiſtorie, doe commend him: and MARTIAL forgetteth him not in his Epigrammes. And much leſſe did DOMITIANVS giue himſelfe to the practiſe and exerciſe of armes, but was much affected to ſhooting with bowe and arrowes; wherein hee was ſo skilfull, that he would oftentimes for his glorie cauſe a Page to ſpread his hand open for a marke againſt a butte, and he ſtanding a good diſtance off, would ſticke his arrowes betweene the boies fingers without hurting him; and in like manner would doe many other ſtrange things therewith, which SVETONIVS reporteth as an eie-witnes, wherein and in dicing was his moſt principall exerciſe and paſtime. After the death of his father and brother, for whoſe goodnes ſake he came to be Emperour, without any contradiction, he gouerned the ſame contrarie to his naturall inclination, as may appeare by that which he did afterwards. But becauſe we will not depriue him of the commendation, which his good deedes deſerued, before that we will ſpeake of his accurſed cruelties, wee will firſt ſpeake of that which was good and commendable, ſeeing hee liued in ſuch manner, that his actions were intermixt with ſome ſpottes of euill: wherein I cannot obſerue any order or time, as I alwaies deſire to doe, becauſe that the authors which I follow write it ſo confuſedly and out of order.

Domitianus his good deedes.

Firſt, he made great ſhew of liberalitie, and iointlie therewith of clemencie, iuſtice, and equitie, of either of which we will produce ſome examples. He ſhewed himſelfe ſo cleere and free from couetouſnes, and ſo willing to giue, that

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he refuſed certaine heritages which certaine free perſonages would haue giuen him; and gaue ordinarilie gifts and rewards, and forgaue penalties and tributes, and erected certaine pillers and publike buildings, which were very excellent, and of wonderfull great coſt, among which this was one: He repaired and new builded the Capitoll, which againe had bin burned, wherein he made to be builded a ſumptuous Temple to his god IVPITER, and other Temples and wonderfull buildings. And to obteine the loue and applauſe of the people, he ordeined ſo many ſhewes and games which were ſo rare and coſtly, that it is wonderfull to reade, and tedious to write them. Firſt he made a lake, for a Naumachia or battaile by ſea, wrought all by mans hand, which was ſo great as it was ſufficient therein to conteine many galleyes, wherein were ſuch battailes, that they wanted nothing to proue them to be in good earneſt and not counterfeit. He had alſo a moſt great number of Sword-players and Goales, and great rewards for thoſe which did runne with chariots. He had turneyes and battailes of horſemen and footemen, and huntings of an infinite number of wild beaſts, in ſuch ſort as other Emperours had done, and more then any other: for he had alſo women which like men fought with wild beaſts, whereof SVETONIVS, IVVENAL, and MARTIAL, make mention. He alſo made games and feaſts which they called ſecular, which were made but euery hundred yeares, which were the moſt ſolemne of all others: for then were accompliſhed a hundred yeeres ſince the time that OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS had celebrated them, although that the Emperour CLAVDIVS at another time commaunded them to be made, without obſeruing any order or time, wherein he made the addition of the two new colours, which the horſemen did before vſe to weare, whereof before hath been made mention, which were purple, and gold colour. And beſides all this abouеſaid, he cauſed diſputations and argumentes to be held, wherein great rewards were diuided betweene Poets and Orators both Greeke and Latin, and all kind of Muſick. There were alſo Comedies, dumb ſhewes, tragedies, and wreſtling games. In concluſion, there were made by his commaundement all thoſe feaſts, games and reuels that euer had been ſeene or knowne in *Rome* vntill that time, beſides many which were newly inuēted. Among all which he made a diſtribution among all the Romane people, which they called Congiarij, of 300. deneers to euery perſon: and during the time of theſe reuels (which was not ſhort) he made many banquets and publike feaſts, and there were throwne to the common people all kinds of coines, and clothes, with other things which were caſt from aloft out at the windowes, this was called *Miſſilia*. I will not herewith forget one pleaſant thing, whereof SVETONIVS writeth, which was, that in the beginning of his Empire he was wont euery day one houre to be in ſome chamber or ſecret place alone, wherein he did nothing all that while but catch flyes, which he afterwards filed vp vpon a ſtiletto or long ſharp needle: So as vpon a day one asking whether any bodie were within with DOMICIANVS, anſwere was made, that there was not ſo much as a flye within with him, meaning, that he had killed and throwne them all away.

Secular games made but once in an hundred yeeres.

Gifts giuen by Domitianus.

Domitianus delighted much in catching of flyes.

DOMITIANVS did not only thoſe things which were pleaſing to the people, as making of feaſts and ſports, but he in all other things tooke ſo good order, ſhewing himſelfe diligent in hearing complaints, and doing iuſtice, and particularly in puniſhing ſuch Iudges as receiued bribes and rewards, aſwell the Romane Magiſtrates, as the Preſidents and Gouernors of Prouinces. And herein concerning Iudges he perſeuered, not only before that he diſcouered his crueltie and

wickednes, but euen afterwards: and although that he were euill of himselfe, yet he forbare not to punish euill Gouernors, and so SVETONIVS affirmeth, that Gouernors were neuer so temperate, iust and vpright at any time as in his. He also made himselfe to be chosen Censor, wherein he greatly endeuoured to reforme and amend the abuses and euill maners of the Romanes, as though that his owne conditions had been good, and so he made many other good orders, and did iustice in all things: and of the other side shewing himselfe mercifull and pitifull, in such sort that if he had perseuered in that maner of gouernment which he began, he had this day been held for a very good Emperour. But neuer any man fell from good to euill so notablie, and making so strange an alteration as he did, whereof in that which we haue before said, he gaue some indice and forewarning. For in those good things which he did, he vsed such pride and elation, and shewed himselfe so vaine-glorious, that a man of any iudgement might well perceiue, that what he did, proceeded not from any good mind, or from his naturall inclination, which he manifested in some his words and speeches: chiefely when he was made Emperour (without shame or blushing) he vaunted and said in the Senate, that he had giuen the Empire to his father and to his brother, which they had now restored vnto him, this being as false, as by the historie before doth appeare. And those his statues which they commaunded to be set vp in the Capitoll, he would not consent that they should be made of any other thing, then of cleane gold, and so in other things he shewed extreme pride. But he did one thing which was so accursed and abominable, that to make mention thereof onely, is a sufficient proofe of the incomparable pride of this man: for he commaunded and ordeined by a publike Edict, that in all Letters and Edicts they should call him God and Lord, which both the christian and heathen authors do affirme: For which sinne and wickednes it pleased God to suffer him to fall into those abominations which he afterwards incurred, as couetousnes, crueltie, and other abominations, whereof before that we will speake, it shall not be amisse in summe, to treate of the warres which happened in the time of his wickednes, although he prosecuted them not in his owne person, which were three or foure with strange nations, and one ciuill warre.

Domicianus had his statues of pure gold.

The first warres abroade were against the *Sarmates* in *Europe*, which inuaded the Empire, with which and also with those of *Asia*, there ioined many of the auncient Scythians. That Prouince is scituate in the north of *Germany*, and stretcheth to the sea called *Mare Sarmaticum*. On the East it is bounded with the riuer of *Tanais*, and the lake *Meotis*: and on the West with the riuer *Mistula*. Vnder this Prouince are now conteined *Muscouia*, *Russia*, *Polonia*, *Lituania*, and some other Prouinces. This warre was cruell and dangerous, and in the beginning it went ill with the Romanes therein: for in a battaile were slaine the Generall of the Romanes, and one whole legion, but DOMITIANVS afterwards reenforcing his armies, the *Sarmates* were compelled and constrained with losse of many of their people to retire themselues. He had twise other warres with the inhabitants of the great prouince of *Dacia*, the inhabitants whereof (as *Plinie* affirmeth) were called by the Greekes *Getæ*. That prouince contained all that which is now called *Walachia*, and *Transsyluania*, and other countries. Of this warre SVETONIVS, EVTROPIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS make mention, but none of them reporteth how it passed, neither for what cause it was vndertaken, although they affirme that it was very costlie to the Romanes: for in the first warre wherein OPPIVS SABINVS being Generall, who had been Consul, whom EVTROPIVS calleth

Sarmatia what countries it contained.

Dacia how it is called at this day.

APPIVS,

APPIVS, he was ouercome, and the greateſt part of his people ſlaine. And in the ſecond, CORNELIVS FVSCVS Commaunder of the Pretorian Cohorts, had the like fortune, whom DOMITIANVS made Generall of that warre. In both the one and the other were great encounters and battailes, wherein was ſpilt much of the Romanes bloud, as PAVLVS OROSIVS relateth, and he ſaith that CORNELIVS TACITVS treateth thereof very largely and copiouſly in his hiſtories, but that periſhed with the reſt of that authors workes, whereby we know not the diſcourſe of thoſe warres: but they all write that DOMITIANVS triumphed of that prouince. And he alſo triumphed of a people in *Germanie*, which they called Catti, with which he alſo waged a doubtfull warre. And during the time of theſe warres, wholy diſcouering his wicked inclination, DOMITIANVS neuer ceaſed to commit murthers, robberies, violences, and other vices, as hereafter you ſhall heare. Wherefore hauing freed himſelfe from the warres aforeſaid, there aroſe a ciuill warre and more daungerous, which was, that LVCIVS ANTONIVS, called alſo SATVRNINVS, being Generall in *Germanie*, roſe againſt DOMITIANVS, vſurping the name of Emperour, making profit of this occaſion, that DOMITIANVS for his euill life was ill beloued: againſt which SATVRNINVS, DOMITIANVS ſent APPIVS NORMANDVS for his Generall. This warre was very doubtfull and much feared: but comming afterwards to a battaile, LVCIVS ANTONIVS was ſlaine, and APPIVS remained victor. And herein happened a moſt ſtraunge and wonderfull accident, which was; that the ſame day wherein this battaile was fought in *Germanie*, it was knowne in *Rome* how euery thing particularly did paſſe: and DOMITIANVS that ſame day, ſeeking to know the author of thoſe newes, could not finde him, and therefore beleeued that it was falſe; ſo as preparing himſelfe to goe to thoſe warres in perſon, meſſengers came which brought certaine newes of the victorie, and they auouched that it was at the ſame inſtant, according to the newes then in *Rome*.

After the warres were ended, which we haue recited, and during the time thereof, DOMITIANVS put to death many principall men, Senatours, and ſuch as had been Conſuls, for ſo light and fained cauſes, that thereby hee cleerely manifeſted the fierce crueltie of his minde. ELIVS LAMIA he commaunded to be ſlaine, for that hee vſed to vtter pleaſant ſpeeches and ieſts: which although he ſuſpected, yet were they offenſiue to none. He commaunded SALVIVS COCCEIANVS alſo to be ſlaine, becauſe that he celebrated the birth day of his vncle the Emperour OTHO: And METIVS POMPOSIANVS, becauſe that hee heard that his conſtellation did prognoſticate vnto him Imperiall dignitie, and for that hee had giuen to ſome of his ſlaues, the names of HANNIBAL, and MAGO. And in like manner, SALVSTIVS LVCVLLVS, for that hee cauſed certaine launces to be made of a new faſhion, which according to his owne name hee called *Luculleian*. He put IVNIVS RVSTICVS to death, becauſe he publiſhed a treatiſe in praiſe of PETVS TRASEA, and of VIBIVS PRISCVS which were very wiſe men, which had bin of a faction contrarie to his father.

Domitianus did put many Noblemen to death, with the cauſes.

How little loue this tyrannous Emperor bare vnto learning, may well appeare by that which SVETONIVS and other authors write of him: for he commanded to be baniſhed out of all *Italy*, the Philoſophers, and with them (as EVSEBIVS writeth) the Aſtrologers, of which baniſhment AVLVS GELIVS and PHILOSTRATVS make mention, and PHILOSTRATVS ſaith, that ſome fled into *Spaine*, and others into the deſerts of *Libya* and *Scythia*: and hauing expelled the Philoſophers and wiſemen, proceeding in his crueltie, he ſlew an infinite number of peo-

Domitian baniſhed Philoſophers and Aſtronomers out of Italy.

ple(as SVETONIVS reporteth)for very ridiculous cauſes: And his furie was ſuch, that ſome of thoſe which he purpoſed to put to death vpon the next day, he entertained ouer night in his chamber, and ſhewed them many fauours with a cheerefull countenance. And among theſe his cruelties,he gaue himſelfe to luxurie and incontinencie, and other diſhoneſt exerciſes, conuerſing and keeping ordinarie companie with diſhoneſt women;and herewith committed many robberies and ſtraunge extortions, ſeiſing vpon mens wares and goods for fained crimes, and thoſe ſo light, that they deſerued not to be accounted of. He would faine himſelfe to be heire to thoſe which were dead,ſeiſing vpon their goods,and produced ſome to depoſe that they had heard the deceaſed in their life time ſay, that they meant to leaue him for their heire. With which deuiſes, and ſo many more as he could imagine or deuiſe, hee neuer left robbing and diſpatching men out of the way,as well in *Rome* and *Italy*, as in other prouinces ſubiect to the Empire. But amongſt all other nations,thoſe which endured the greateſt oppreſsion and tyrannie were the Iewes, by Gods permiſsion for their ſinnes: for all thoſe which were of that religion, or liued after their faſhion and cuſtome, although they were not ſo,he made them pay a certaine new and rigorous impoſition and tribute by the head, ouer and aboue all that any other nation paid. And SVETONIVS and alſo EVSEBIVS write, that as HERODE when CHRIST was borne; ſo was hee in feare that out of the ſtocke of DAVID one ſhould come,which would bereaue him of the Empire: for he was informed that it was written, that from DAVID ſhould deſcend a man which ſhould rule and command the whole world: Wherefore hee commaunded with all diligence all thoſe amongſt the Iewes, which were of the linage of DAVID, to be ſought out and ſlaine: yet EVSEBIVS writeth that he pardoned two, which were of that linage. And to ſet his ſeale to all his wicked deedes, being induced by the diuell, or ſome of his angels, he gaue himſelfe to the perſecuting of the Catholike Church,and by his letters and edicts both in *Rome*, and out of it, an infinite number of Chriſtians were baniſhed and put to death; vpon which hee executed horrible kindes of cruelties, written by EVSEBIVS,PAVLVS OROSIVS, and other Catholike authors: And this was the ſecond generall perſecution of the Primitiue Church, wherein S.IOHN the Euangeliſt was baniſhed into the Ile of *Pathmos*,where he ſaw the viſion of the Apocalypſe. How long this perſecution endured, I cannot ſay; but by EVSEBIVS it ſeemeth that it laſted little more then two yeeres:for he afterwards in the thirteenth chapter of his third booke, ſaith, that DOMITIANVS did moderate this perſecution,and commaunded it to ceaſe. So as by that which is written, and hath been ſeene, DOMITIAN was one of the worſt Princes that euer was in the world, and ſo bad, that hee vſed to ſay, that the vice of the fleſh was but a kinde of honeſt exerciſe, and ſuch were thoſe wherein hee vſed to paſſe his time. For theſe cauſes and many other which I omit, wherein DOMITIANVS ſpent foureteene yeeres of his raigne, hee came to bee extremely hated and abhorred of all men. And as now it was growne to a cuſtome in *Rome*, not to endure wicked Emperours long, and as God alſo permitteth that ſometime wicked Princes come to euill ends; ſo thoſe which were moſt priuate and neereſt about him conſpired againſt him; the chiefe and captaine of which, was one STEPHANVS, who was ſteward to his wife and Empereſſe DOMICILLA, whom they affirme to haue been partaker in the conſpiracie and practiſe to put him to death, and they afterwards ſlew him in ſuch manner, as I will tell you.

The crueltie and incontinencie of Domitian.

The feare of Domitian.

The ſecond perſecution of the Primitiue Church.

In

In that ſeaſon, while this conſpiracie was a plotting, there appeared certaine ſignes in the skies, whereof all men conceited and prognoſticated, that the death of DOMITIANVS was at hand, and hee alſo ſtood in extreme feare thereof, as he which tooke great heede to auguries and ſignes, and preſumed much to be an Aſtrologer and Diuiner. And amongſt other ſignes which then were ſeene, there appeared for many daies together round about the Sunne a great bright ſhining Crowne that did compaſſe it about, which reſembled the Raine-bow againſt foule weather; but that it was a whole Crowne and did compaſſe the Sunne in ſuch manner, that it bereaued and eclipſed the ſame of his brightnes: Which ſigne all men did interprete to ſignifie a chaunge and alteration in the Empire, with the death of DOMITIANVS. And for as much as STEPHANVS in Greeke ſignifieth a Crowne, there were ſome which diuined that the ſaid STEPHANVS was hee which ſhould kill him, notwithſtanding that they knew nothing of the practiſe. By meanes whereof, and of other things which then were ſeene, DOMITIANVS was in ſuch feare and deſpaire, that as vpon a day there was a great tempeſt, and there happened certaine flaſhes of lightning, which hee and all others did preſage to be againſt him: and he being very angrie, they write that he ſaid, Let IVPITER then ſmite whom hee will. Whereof the feare which I tolde you of, was the principall cauſe: for euen then was the time accompliſhed which the Aſtrologers, caſting his conſtellation, had told him that he ſhould die. But one thing aboue all the reſt made him moſt amazed, which in truth was very ſtrange, and for ſuch (although it be of ſmall importance) I will declare, which was this: that hee liuing in this feare, ſent for an Aſtrologer, who in that time was very famous, and asked him many queſtions thereupon: who anſwered him, that by his art he found that his death was neere at hand. Wherewith DOMITIAN was ſo wroth, that hauing determined to commaund this Aſtrologer to bee ſlaine, hee asked him, if hee knew what end hee himſelfe ſhould haue. The Aſtrologer anſwered him, that by his conſtellation hee knew, that hee ſhould ſhortly be torne in pieces by dogges. And DOMITIAN thinking to make him a lier in that which hee had ſaid, and that, that which hee had prophecied of his owne death, ſhould not come to paſſe, commaunded him preſently to bee ſlaine, and his bodie to be burnt, and his aſhes to be buried, to the end that dogges ſhould not teare him. And hauing begunne to burne his bodie, there fell ſuch a tempeſt and raine as quenched and diſperſed the fire; and the bodie of the poore Aſtrologer remaining halfe vnburnt, there came certaine dogges which tare it in pieces, as he had prognoſticated. Which (as I thinke) was, by Gods permiſsion, a practiſe of the diuell, as he which knew the ſecrecie of the conſpiracie, which then was in hand to kill him. Now STEPHANVS and his conſorts hauing agreed vpon the day, wherein they determined to giue DOMITIANVS his deſerued death, one morning this STEPHEN came into his chamber, bringing a poiniard hidden vnder his arme, which for that purpoſe he had ſome daies before fained to be ſore, and carried it bound: and comming to the Emperour (who was ſuſpitious enough and very fearefull) hauing oportunitie to come to his preſence, by reaſon of his office, with much diſsimulation he told him that he had brought him certaine intelligence of a conſpiracie againſt him. Which when DOMITIANVS heard, as he was very iealous thereof, and beleeuing his words to be true, without any further conſideration, he withdrew himſelfe apart to talke with him about this matter: and ſtanding in that manner, the reſt which were of the ſame confederacie, being all his ordinarie ſeruants, and at hand, this STEPHEN gaue him a memo-

Signes prognoſticating the death of Domitian.

An Aſtrologer foretold Domitian of his death, and of his owne alſo.

tiall, such as he had fained and deuised; wherein he discouered a conspiracie, naming therein such as hee thought good. And DOMITIANVS beginning to reade therein with great attention, STEPHEN at his pleasure stabbed him into the groyne; and the Emperour feeling himselfe wounded, began to call and to cry out aloud: and as hee was very strong and valiant, before that STEPHEN could giue him another wound, hee closed with him and threwe him to the ground, and striuing to take the poiniard from him, he cut and mangled his owne fingers therewith: And by this time before that any succour could come to him, there ranne vpon him SATVRNINVS, CLODIVS, PARTHENIVS, MAXIMVS, and others which were of that conspiracie, being all his owne seruants, and there giuing him many wounds, they killed him. And so had DOMITIANVS such an end as his deedes deserued, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 98. in the fiue and fortith of his age, and the fifteenth of his raigne, and left no sonne to succeede him: for although that in his fathers time, hee had had a sonne by his lawfull wife, named DOMICILLA, that sonne died being a childe. DOMITIANVS was a man tall of stature, and in his youth of a fine and proper constitution, a good countenance, great eies, and somewhat redde: but comming to age, he lost his proportion and good grace, by reason of a long sicknes which he had, whereof his legges became little and slender, and afterwards hee had a great gorebelly, and a very bald head. His death was taken in *Rome* in diuers manners, for it grieued the pretorian souldiers very much: so as if that daie they had had any Captaine that would haue but made the motion, they would haue slaine all the conspirators. The common people tooke it indifferently, shewing neither ioy nor sorrow. The Senate was not onely well content therewith, but conceiued exceeding ioy thereat, and assembling themselues that same day, they caused all his statues to be throwne downe, and all the inscriptions and memorials of him to be cancelled and defaced.

The death of Domitianus.

THE

THE LIFE OF COCCEIVS NERVA, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THIRTEENTH ROMAME EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

HIs wise Emperour was borne in the citie of Narnie: it is not certainely knowne whether he were an Italian or of what other Nation, yet all agree that he was of a most noble house: he was aduanced to the imperiall dignitie being alreadie old, and in the beginning of his raigne he had newes (though false) that Domitian was not dead, which much troubled him. He recalled the Christians from banishment, eased the oppressions of the citie, and made the children of poore parents to be bred vp at the publike charge: and to be briefe, did many good and vertuous deedes. There was neuer but one conspiracie against him, which had ill successe: for the conspirators in his time were contumeliously slaine, those which slew Domitian, though against his will: He adopted Traiane for his sonne, hauing no sonne of his owne, to whom he might commit the charge of the Empire. He held the Empire thirteene moneths onely, and died of choler, taken against a Senator whose name was Regulus, which choler cast him into such a sweate that he died thereof; and the same day that he departed out of this life, there was a great eclipse of the Sunne.

THe death of the Emperour DOMITIAN was not onely profitable for the Empire, by that meanes to be freed and deliuered from his crueltie and tyrannie, but for that it gaue occasion to NERVA to succeede him: and that afterwards TRAIANE and ADRIAN should raigne, which were most excellent Emperors, and honored and enlarged the Empire. And although that NERVA raigned but a while, yet he did many good things, but the best that he did was, in that he made TRAIANE his successor, as when time serueth, shall be declared.

Nerua chosen Emperour by the Senate of Rome.

declared. The death of DOMITIAN, as I haue ſaid, did not grieue the Romane people, but pleaſed the Senate exceedingly, who hauing commaunded the remembrance of him to be cancelled and blotted out, they preſently tooke order to giue him a ſucceſſor, before that any one ſhould be choſen by the armie. And COCCEIVS NERVA, being at that time for his many vertues, prudence, experience, and age, a man of the greateſt reputation and authoritie in *Rome*, was by the Senate choſen Emperour, hauing been fauored and aſſiſted therein by PETRONIVS SECVNDVS Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, and PARTHENIVS, who was one of thoſe which killed DOMITIAN. This NERVA was of noble linage, borne in the citie of *Narnia* in the prouince of *Vmbria* in *Italie*, his fathers name was NERVA, as was his. Saint ISIDORE onely ſaith, that he was borne in *Spaine*, I know no ground for it; neither haue I read it in any other auncient author. Being receiued in the Senate and accepted to the Empire, vpon a ſodaine without knowing who was the author, it was told him that DOMITIAN was liuing, and that the report of his death was vntrue. This newes did ſomuch trouble NERVA, that all the colour went out of his face, and being vnable to ſpeake, he had much to doe to ſtand vpon his feete, vntill that PARTHENIVS did encourage him, aſſuring him of the truth. Whereupon he came againe to himſelfe, and ſet a good countenance vpon the matter. And preſently they all came to him to doe him reuerence, and to receiue him for their Lord and Emperour, ſhewing great ioy, in hope of good ſucceſſe. Onely ARRIVS ANTONIVS, who was a very wiſe and iuſt man & had bin his great friend, ſpake vnto him in a more ſtrange manner then any of the reſt, and therefore I will recite it. Truely NERVA, in that thou art aduanced to this high degree, I will attribute the benefit and happines thereof vnto the Senate and people of *Rome*, and generally to the whole Empire (for ſuch hath been their good fortune) but not vnto thee. For thou hauing eſcaped with ſuch honor and eſtimation by meanes of thy vertue, and wiſedome, from the iniurie of thoſe wicked princes paſt, art now made ſubiect to infinit troubles and daungers, and aboue all to the infamie and hatred of thy enemies, and aſmuch or more of thy friends: for they will preſume that they haue deſerued all fauour, in reſpect of the auncient friendſhip which they haue held with thee; and if thou ſhalt deny them any thing that they ſhall aske, although it be neuer ſo vniuſt, they will become greater and more cruell enemies vnto thee, then thoſe which openly ſhew themſelues to be ſuch. Now as the ſolemnities and accuſtomed ceremonies for the new Emperor were ended: In the beginning of his Empire hee began to doe moſt noble and excellent workes, whereof in ſumme wee will make a briefe relation, without diſtinction of time, ſeeing his Empire was ſo ſhort as in a manner not to be deuided. And one of the beſt and firſt was, in releaſing from baniſhment all the Chriſtians which from *Rome* and other cities were baniſhed in the time of the Emperour DOMITIAN, and to permit and giue libertie to euery man to hold what faith and religion he would, and in this time (according to EVSEBIVS and other catholike hiſtoriographers) Saint IOHN the Euangeliſt came from the Ile of *Pathmos* (whither he was baniſhed) to the citie of *Epheſus* in *Aſia*. The like humanitie did NERVA vſe in all other matters: Firſt he releaſed and diſcharged all the cities of the Empire from the new impoſitions, which VESPASIAN and DOMITIAN had laid vpon them. And to many which by DOMITIANVS were vniuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of their goods, he commaunded their poſſeſſors to be reſtored with all their moueables, which could be found in the imperiall palaces. And he not onely ſhewed himſelfe

Speeches vſed by Antonius to Nerua.

Nerua his good deedes.

ſelfe liberall to thoſe which were oppreſſed, but to all poore men which had ſonnes, he made them to be bred vp at his charges. He made alſo a diſtribution among all the people of *Rome* in greater value and quantitie, then was vſuallie done by any others. And ſome poore citizens of *Rome* which he knew had no wealth, he made certaine poſſeſſions, which he bought for that purpoſe, to be diuided among them. And aboue all he did great fauours, and beſtowed great gifts vpon thoſe which had bin his friends and allied vnto him: and his liberalitie was ſo great, as DION writeth, that in the beginning and firſt comming to the Empire, he was conſtrained by neceſſitie to ſell his gold and ſiluer plate, and other moueables of his houſe, to performe and accompliſh thoſe his fauours and good deedes. And in this manner he did many deedes of charitie and clemencie: for it is written for very certaine, that he ſware that no Senator of *Rome* ſhould by his commaundement be put to death, which he afterwards performed, although there failed not of thoſe which deſerued the contrarie. He alſo forbad many ſlanders and accuſations vſed in thoſe times, deſiring that all men ſhould liue contented and at libertie.

Although that NERVA was ſo good a man (as we haue ſaid) and vſed ſo good a kind of gouernment, ſo as there was nothing in him to be reproued; yet there wanted not ſome which murmured againſt him, as wicked men vſe to do againſt the good, alleaging that ſo much humilitie and gentlenes in a Prince was not profitable: ſo as FRONTON a principall man in *Rome* preſumed to ſay openly, that it was an euill thing to haue ſuch an one for Emperour, which would ſuffer no man to do any thing that he deſired; but it was a worſe matter to haue ſuch an one vnder whom euery man might do what he liſted. When NERVA was aduertiſed thereof, he was not angrie, but prohibited and forbad ſome things, which had giuen cauſe to ſay ſo: and he deſired ſo much to gouerne vprightlie, that he did nothing of his owne head alone, but had alwayes about him, and ſent for wiſe and good men, ſuch as were of the greateſt experience in *Rome*, by whoſe counſell he prouided, ordeined, and diſpatched all matters. He alſo made in the ſmall time of his Empire ſome very good lawes and ordinances, among which, he ſharply forbad an abuſe of thoſe times, which was, to geld men and to make them Eunuches. He alſo forbad that any man ſhould marry his neece or brothers daughter, and many other things which wanted reformation. And to conclude, this Emperour had in his ſhort time all thoſe parts which a good Prince ought to haue, and ſo ſound and cleere a conſcience, that he oftentimes ſaid, that he remembred not to haue done any thing (although that he left and gaue ouer the Empire) why he ſhould not liue ſecure, and without feare of any bodie. And although that all this was ſo (as to the wicked the yoke and ſcepter of the iuſt is a heauie burthen, and *Rome* had then taken ſuch a cuſtome, that it could neither indure an euill Emperour, nor obey him that was good) So there wanted not ſome therein which practiſed his death and conſpired againſt him, the mouer and head thereof was CRASSVS CALPHVRNIVS, but it pleaſed God that it tooke no effect, but was reuealed to the good Emperour, who without any rigour or bloudſhed was freed thereof, contenting himſelfe only (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth) with the baniſhment of thoſe which were culpable, although the Senate would haue inflicted a more rigorous puniſhment.

All theſe things being paſſed (as I haue ſaid) and all things ſucceeding well and proſperouſly, as well in *Rome* as in all the Prouinces ſubiect thereto, it hapned that ELIANVS CASPERIVS, who at that time was Prefect and Captaine of the

Pretorian

Pretorian Cohorts, moued and incited all the ſouldiers thereof, to reuenge the death of the Emperour DOMITIAN, and to put all thoſe to death which had bin confederates therein, which they determined to put in execution, although that NERVA gaue them no leaue thereto. This motion was ſodaine, and NERVA was much troubled, and would haue letted it, and would haue defended thoſe from whoſe hands he had receiued the Empire, or haue dyed in the quarrell, and ſo he ſaid and publiſhed openly: but the matter came to ſuch iſſue, that the old Emperour was neither able to reſiſt or hinder it, and ſo PARTHENIVS and PETRONIVS were ſlaine, and all thoſe which CASPERIVS would require or nominate of thoſe which were culpable. With this contempt NERVA was ſo much grieued and offended, that he was very ſorrowfull to ſee that he could not puniſh it as the caſe required; for by reaſon of his old age & infirmities he was not regarded by the ſouldiers. Wherefore to redreſſe the preſent, and to prouide for that to come, he determined to adopt & make TRAIANE his ſucceſſor, who was then Captain and Gouernour in the neather *Germany*, and was at that time in the citie of *Colen*, which charge he had executed with great honor and fame, and was the moſt excellent man liuing in that time as well in peace as in warre, to whom he was no way allied, for he was a Spaniard and a ſtranger to *Rome* and *Italy*. And although that NERVA wanted not parents and kinſemen, yet he choſe TRAIANE, hauing more reſpect to the publike good, then to his owne houſe and poſteritie: wherein how iuſtly he made his choiſe, this hiſtorie will hereafter manifeſt. And hauing put this his determination in execution, and the accuſtomed ſolemnities performed, and hauing adopted him in the Capitoll, and made him CÆSAR in the Senate, he preſently ſent him Ambaſſadors, with the enſignes and armes of the Empire, and they inueſted him in the Empire, and herewith he ſent him a verſe in Latine, wherein in few words he incited and exhorted him to come and ſuccour him. The adoption of TRAIANE was a great bridle to the commotions, which were feared would haue enſued, and all remained ſtill and obedient. But it pleaſed not God that NERVA ſhould long enioy his good counſell: for as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth, he liued but only three moneths afterwards, in which time they write not that there paſſed any notable matter, neither is it vnderſtoode by the hiſtories that TRAIANE came to *Rome* before his death, which hapned (in a maner) ſodainely, through anger and diſpleaſure which he conceiued againſt a Senator, whoſe name was REGVLVS: for as he was old and feeble, he gaue a great ſhout, and was taken with ſo great a ſweat, that being vnable to endure it, he dyed thereof. The ſame day there was a great Eclipſe of the Sunne, which might be (in part) cauſe of his death; which was in the hundreth yeare of our Sauiour Chriſt. He raigned one yeare, foure moneths and odde dayes, according to SEXTVS AVRELIVS, EVTROPIVS, and BEDA. About the time of his age there is ſome difference among the Authors: for ſome ſay, that he was 71. yeares old, and others 76. but as it importeth little, ſo do I not meane to ſpend much time about contrarieties of ſo ſmall moment, and herein I hold decorum with my curious reader, to the end that he condemne me not of negligence, if he find me to differ from that which he ſhall reade elſewhere.

Traiane adopted and inueſted in the Empire by Nerua.

Telis Phœbe tuis lachrymas vlciſcere noſtras.

The death of Cocceius Nerua at the eclipſe of the Sunne, Ann. Dom. 100.

THE

THE LIFE OF TRAIANE, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND FOVRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the good Nerua ſucceeded a better Traiane, borne (as is heere ſaid) in the citie of Italica, ſcituate neere to Senil: yet ſome ſay that he was borne elſewhere, whoſe fathers name was Traiane, and his mothers Plotina. He was aduanced to the Empire with the good liking of all men, for that his goodnes, clemencie, liberalitie, and equitie towards all men was publickly knowne; which vertues he loſt not when he was Emperour, but rather ſeemed to haue increaſed the ſame: neither did he omit them, although he were neuer ſo much buſied in matters of importance concerning the warres, or ſtanding for the recreation of his mind, to behold feaſts and diſports. The firſt enterpriſe that he vndertooke, after that he was Emperour, was againſt the King of Dacia rebelling the ſecond time, and he likewiſe ſharply perſecuted the Chriſtians, but he afterwards mitigated the perſecution, which was the third that the Church indured, then daily greatly increaſing. He alſo ſubdued Armenia. In his time there was a very great earthquake which was almoſt generall, but it did moſt harme in Antioch, where he then was. After this, he made very great voyages. In his time the Iewes againe rebelled, which when he had tamed, he returned triumphant to Rome, where was a wonderfull triumph prepared for him: but being ouerburthened with age, and infirmities, he dyed in the citie of Selencia, to the great vniuerſall ſorrow and griefe of the whole world. He lined 64. yeares; and being dead and burnt, his aſhes were borne to Rome, and ſet vpon the top of a pillar, which is yet

to this day to be ſeene in Rome, which was a wonderfull piece of worke, and trulie worthie of ſo great an Emperour, who was a no leſſe father to the countrey, then to all vertues and vertuous men.

AFter the wiſe and good Emperour NERVA, ſucceeded TRAIANE, as he had ordeined in his life time, who was the flower of all the heathen Emperours, and in his time was the Romane Empire at the greateſt height, for neuer: either before or after, was it ſo great, ſo much feared or eſteemed. His ſufficiencies, excellencies and vertues were ſo many and ſo great, that as SEXTVS AVRELIVS affirmeth, the deepe wits of the writers of thoſe times were hardlie able to expreſſe and declare the ſame. For although that I would exceede in the hiſtorie of this excellent Prince, for the loue of my countrey, of whence I might ſay that TRAIANE was (as preſentlie ſhall appeare) yet I could not do it according to my deſire and his deſerts, for the breuitie of thoſe authors which we haue at this day which wrote of him: wherefore I hold it for a better courſe to obſerue the ſtile and forme alreadie begun, then by breaking it, to be euer too briefe and deficient. I ſay then that TRAIANE was by nature and birth a Spaniard, whereof there is no doubt: for ſo do all auncient true authors affirme. EVTROPIVS in the life of him, and EVSEBIVS in his Chronicle, ſay, that he was borne in the citie of *Italica*, which is ſubiect and neere to *Seuil*: which is alſo affirmed by SEXTVS AVRELIVS, although he name it not; and ANTONY LEBRISHA, whom we may alleadge among the auncient authors, calleth *Italica* TRAIANES countrey: wherefore I cannot coniecture by what authoritie he did it, which wrote that TRAIAN was borne in *Cales*. This citie of *Italica* (according to PLINIE in his third booke) was in that time in ſubiection, and within the iuriſdiction of *Seuil*, and ANTONY in his perambulation ſaith, that it was ſixteene miles from thence: the ſame in a manner is gathered by PTOLOMIE his geographie, and that it lay Northweſt from *Seuil*: but in what time it was ruinated, or where about it lay, I could neuer certainely vnderſtand, ſo as *Seuil* may glorie and vaunt it ſelfe to be TRAIAN his countrey: for although that he were not borne in it, yet he was borne in a place ſubiect and neere vnto it. TRAIANE was alſo of noble bloud and linage, although (not very famous for any great dignities.) His fathers name was alſo TRAIANE, as was his. When he came to the Empire, he was 42. yeares old, but not fullie complete, and married to a woman of great account, whoſe name was PLOTINA. For the certaine knowledge they had in *Rome* of his goodnes and valour, he was by generall conſent ioyfullie receiued and obeyed therein, and he preſently began to put his great vertues in execution, ſhewing himſelfe both in word and deed, good, affable, gentle, mercifull, verie wiſe, and a louer of truth and equitie, and of all other vertues, wherein he perſeuered vntill the end: it ſhall not be amiſſe if I recite part thereof in the beginning, ſeeing that all the hiſtoriographers which write of him do the like.

Traiane his good deedes.

TRAIANE taking vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, firſt endeuoured to reforme the lawes, and to make them to be obſerued, and that there ſhould be equitie and iuſtice in all things. In publike charges and offices he tooke care to eſtabliſh noble and vertuous men; and ſuch as were not ſo, he reformed and amended with gentlenes and clemencie, and not with rigour and extremitie. He did ſo moderate and repreſſe his wrath and choler, that he was neuer knowne to be ouercome therewith; and was moſt abſtinent from other mens goods, and free from couetouſnes. His liberalitie and bountie did exceede, beſtowing benefits

His liberalitie.

and

and good turnes vpon all men, greatly ſuccouring and relieuing the poore and needie, imitating and excelling his adopted father NERVA. Hee beſtowed much coſt and tooke great care for the bringing vp, and inſtructing of poore mens children in *Rome* and in all *Italy*. He was a great builder of publike and neceſſarie Edifices; and alſo made an infinite number of bridges, gates and temples, and repaired high waies & cauſeies, as yet is to be ſeene in many places in *Spaine*; whereof one (as ſaith S. ISIDORE) is the bridge at *Alcantara*. In all his buildings hee neuer made benefit of any mans goods or labour, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done. He was with the multitude and common people gentle and courteous, and the principal perſonages he honoured and entertained with loue and familiaritie; and chiefly thoſe which deſerued it, he admitted to priuate couerſation: whereof being vpon a time reproued, he anſwered, that he deſired to be ſuch an Emperour towards his ſubiects, as he would wiſh they ſhould be to him, if hee were not ſo. In Arts and Sciences he was not very learned, by reaſon of his great buſines, but neuer left to practiſe when hee had time thereto; hauing for his maſter the excellent Philoſopher and Hiſtoriographer PLVTARCH, whom, and others for their high and excellent wits, he loued and honoured much, as IVVENAL teſtifieth, beſides other writers.

Plutarch was Traianes maſter.

To concluide, this Prince had all the good parts and conditions which an excellent King ought to haue: in peace he was vpright and iuſt, and in warre (whereto he was ſo affected, as hereafter ſhall be declared) he was valiant; and in both the one and the other very wiſe and prudent. And becauſe wee will not conceale the truth, of two vices and paſsions he was noted, and accuſed to be ſpotted withall: the one was, that he did eate and drinke much, and that very ſumptuouſly; and the other was, that he was much giuen to the vice of the fleſh: the cauſe whereof was the want of faith, together with his great power and libertie; but it was neuer knowne that the wine ouercame his wits, or that by meanes thereof he committed ought, that might ſeeme vnfit; neither through the other paſsion, that he euer vſed violence, or forced any woman, or offended any.

With theſe conditions he began his raigne and Empire, and gouerning it moſt happily for ſome ſpace, as he was a moſt excellent and valiant Captaine, and addicted to the wars, deſirous of honour and fame aboue all his predeceſſors, he determined to extend and enlarge the Empire by warre and force of armes. His firſt enterpriſe was againſt the King and inhabitants of the prouince of *Dacia*, a very great and ſpacious countrey; wherein are now included, *Walachia*, and *Tranſiluania*, and other lands, taking the occaſion hereof to be for the warres and harmes which that people had done to the Romane Empire, in the time of the Emperour DOMITIAN. TRAIANE went to this warre with an exceeding great armie, and the King of *Dacia*, whoſe name was DECEVALVS, had leuied for his defence all his whole force and might, which was very great: ſo as this warre was very cruel. But the King of *Dacia* being no other way able to defend himſelfe, determined to come to a battaile (as he did) wherin TRAIANE had the victorie, with exceeding great loſſe to his enemies, and not a little to the Romanes, for the battaile was very cruell and bloudie. This victorie being obtained, and TRAIANE following the chaſe of his enemies, purſued them ſo hard, that DECEVALVS being in deſpaire, ſent to him, humbly deſiring peace, offering to accept any conditions that he ſhould preſcribe. And TRAIANE, who took as great glorie in pardoning the humble and meeke, as in taming and ſubduing the proud and hautie, notwithſtanding that he had taken almoſt all his countrey; was contented to admit him to

VVarres made by Traiane againſt the King of Dacia.

his grace and fauour, writing and ſending certaine conditions by him to be performed: which were, that he ſhould preſently deliuer vp all his inſtruments and engines of warre, and the enginers and maſters thereof, together with all fugitiues that were within his dominion, which were Romanes, or their confederates, and ranne to the enemie. And that out of all the Caſtles and fortreſſes within his dominions, hee ſhould withdraw the garriſons, and ſhould throw downe ſuch as ſhould be appointed: and before all theſe things, that hee ſhould ſurrender certaine lands which he held within the bounds of the Empire; and that hee ſhould euer hold for friends and enemies, thoſe which the Senate of *Rome* held for ſuch.

Theſe articles and conditions the King of *Dacia* accepted and promiſed to accompliſh, more through neceſsitie then for any goodwill; and hauing ſworne to obſerue them, he came to the Campe to the Emperour, where proſtrating himſelfe vpon the earth before him, he confeſſed himſelfe to be ouercome, and to be his vaſſall. This ſolemnitie being ended, and other things done which were expedient, TRAIANE returned victorious to *Rome*, wherein he entred in triumph, as ſaith EVSEBIVS, hauing raigned two yeeres, and brought with him the Ambaſſadours of the King of *Dacia*, to whom was giuen audience in the Senate; and the peace, which TRAIANE had graunted, was therein confirmed. And hee for his victorie was called *Dacicus*, for that hee had ſubdued the prouince of *Dacia*, as the Romanes in former time had vſually done by ſome other excellent Captaines.

Traiane came into Rome in triumph.

When TRAIANE had ordred all things in the prouince of *Dacia* in this manner, for ioy and honor of this victorie, and to pleaſe the Romane people, he made in *Rome* al manner of ſports and games, which of cuſtome were wont to be made by the Emperors (as is aboue ſaid) adding thereto ſuch other things as he thought good. But theſe games and ſports did not withdraw him from doing iuſtice, neither from care of the gouernment: but rather ſo long as they laſted, he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in diſpatching of buſines, and miniſtring iuſtice, going himſelfe in perſon to the Tribunal and publike audience, to iudge and determine many cauſes, which he did moſt iuſtly and wiſely. Paſsing ſometime in ſo good quiet, reſt, and generall peace, the King of *Dacia* being as vnable to endure ſubiection and ſeruitude, as his predeceſſors, againe beganne ſome commotions and alterations, firſt ſecretly; and afterwards publikely: repairing and fortifying his Caſtles, prouiding armes and engines, and leuying his neighbour forces againſt the Empire: whereof ſo ſoone as TRAIANE and the Senate had intelligence, hee was adiudged, the ſecond time, enemie to the Empire. And with an equall armie and greater wrath and diſpleaſure then the former, TRAIANE went this ſecond time to the warres in perſon: in which the King of *Dacia* taking warning by that which was paſt, refuſed to come to battaile, and vſed policies, ſtratagems and trecheries againſt TRAIANE; which were ſuch and ſo many, that the Emperour was in daunger to haue been either ſlaine or taken; and by treacherie (vpon a ſafe conduct) they tooke a ſingular good Captaine and a great fauourite of the Emperours called LONGINVS. The King of *Dacia* hauing ſo good a pawne, ſent to TRAIANE to entreate a pardon, and to treate of peace, threatning that except he might obtaine the ſame, hee would put the ſaid LONGINVS to death. Whereto TRAIANE gaue ſuch an anſwere, that the King well vnderſtood thereby, that he preferred his honour and the publike good before any particular perill, and proſecuted the warres by all waies and meanes poſsible: During

the

the which, within a very ſhort ſpace he builded a bridge ouer the riuer *Danubius*; beyond which (parting from *Italy*) lieth the countrie of *Dacia*, which was one of the moſt ſtately bridges that euer was made in the world, all of ſquared ſtone of marueilous beautie. This bridge contained twentie Arches, each of which was one hundred and fiftie foote high, beſides the foundation, and ſixtie foote broad; the one Arch was diſtant from the other one hundred and ſixtie foote, which was the compaſſe of the Arches of the bridge, which truly was a wonderfull peece of worke, and for ſuch is recorded, as well for the greatnes thereof, as for the many difficulties, and the ſhort ſpace wherein it was made: which among other things is an argument of the wealth and greatnes of the Romane Emperours. VVhich bridge this Emperour made, to the end to hold a free paſſage for his armies to paſſe ouer the riuer *Danubius*, againſt thoſe barbarous nations: and ADRIAN his ſucceſſor being of a contrarie opinion, to bereaue the barbarous of the like paſſage (as ſome ſay) commaunded it to be broken. This bridge being finiſhed, TRAIANE continuing the warre, did many things; wherein he ſhewed himſelfe to be a valiant and excellent Captaine: and ſo much oppreſſed the enemie (notwithſtanding that the countrie was great, and the people very fierce and hardie) that he conquered and ſubdued it all, and put their King DECEVALVS to ſuch a ſtreight, that to eſcape taking, being in great daunger thereof, he ſlew himſelfe; and his head was caried to *Rome*, and the countrie of *Dacia* was made ſubiect and tributarie to the Romane Empire: the greateſt part whereof at this time (for our ſinnes) is ſubiect to the Turke. After this, taking ſuch order for all things in thoſe parts as was requiſite, TRAIANE came to *Rome* with great honour, bringing with him an exceeding great ſumme of money and riches, taken from that King and countrie, being now (as EVSEBIVS teſtifieth) the fift yeere of his raigne. And his name and bountie was ſo famous through the world, that vpon the way Ambaſſadours met him from the *Eaſt Indies*, and diuers other parts to ſue for peace, and to acknowledge him for their Lord. And being come to the citie of *Rome*, hee entred thereinto in great triumph; and afterwards there were made ſhewes and feaſts for ioy of his victorie and returne; which laſted one hundred and twentie daies, which were foure whole moneths: which being ended, he applied himſelfe to the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and the tranquillitie of the Empire. And remaining in *Rome* buſied in theſe exerciſes, hee made many bridges, cauſeies, and other publike edifices both within *Italy* and out of it. About this time there died a great friend and fauourite of his, whoſe name was SVRA LICINIVS, whoſe death he tooke heauily, and honoured his memoriall with publike ſtatues, which he commaunded to be erected to him, and other honors then vſed. This SVRA was ſo good a man, and TRAIANE repoſed ſuch truſt in him, that being told one day for certaine, that SVRA meant to kill him, hee went that night to ſup at his houſe; and commanding his guard to returne, remained there alone amongſt SVRA his friends and companions, and commaunded his Barber to ſhaue his beard with a raſour, which the Emperours then held for a cuſtome, vntill the time of his ſucceſſor ADRIAN, who wore his beard ſomewhat long: and hauing ſo much truſted and tried this SVRA LICINIVS, hee returned to his Palace; and calling thoſe vnto him which had told him thereof, hee ſaid to them, that he had made triall of LICINIVS his loyaltie, and that they ſhould no more hold him in ſuſpition: and ſo hee euer after loued him both aliue and dead, as I haue ſaid.

A bridge ouer the riuer Danubius.

The death of the King of Dacia.

A Feaſt of one hundred and twentie daies continuance.

TRAIANE liuing in this proſperitie without error, or diſorder in any thing

that might deſerue reproofe, being deluded by the diuell, or ſome of his miniſters, reſolued to perſecute the Chriſtians, and made edicts and decrees againſt them, commaunding them to adore his Idols; ſo as an infinit number of them were put to death vpon that occaſion. This was the third generall perſecution of the Chriſtians, whereof EVSEBIVS treating ſaith, that it was in the tenth yeere of his raigne, and ſo doth OROSIVS and other Chriſtian authors. Which perſecution the ſame TRAIANE commaunded afterwards to bee mittigated, as it appeareth by ſome hiſtories, and by the letters written by PLINIE to TRAIANE, and from TRAIANE to PLINIE, which are extant to this day: Wherein he commaunded, that if the Chriſtians were not accuſed of any other crimes, they ſhould be ſuffered to liue at libertie, and according to their lawes. In theſe and other things, in peace, and doing iuſtice, TRAIANE buſied himſelfe in *Rome*, vntill that moued with deſire of fame and glorie, he determined to make warre againſt the King of the Parthians, and againſt the King of *Armenia*, making this his occaſion; that the King of *Armenia* had receiued the crowne and enſignes of a King, from the hands of the King of the Parthians, acknowledging him for his ſuperior and ſoueraigne, and not from the Emperour of *Rome*, as he was bound to haue done, as appeareth by that which is alreadie ſaid. And hauing ordered his people and made ſuch prouiſion, as for ſo great an enterpriſe was requiſit: he departed from *Rome*, wonderfully accompanied with armies both by ſea and land; and arriuing in *Aſia*, he inuaded *Armenia*, wherein the fame of his comming was ſo great, and there was ſo terrible a feare ouer all the land, that but in very few places he found any reſiſtance, aſwell in *Armenia* as in countries adioyning. And the greateſt part of the Kings, Nobles and Gouernors of the prouinces bordering thereupon, came peaceably to him, humbly confeſſing themſelues to be his ſubiects, and him to be their ſoueraigne Lord, and bringing him many preſents they made great ſhew of ſubiection. Among many other things of great price which they preſented vnto him, there was brought him a horſe in greatnes, colour and ſhape, one of the moſt faire in the world, which being taught before hand, ſo ſoone as he came in the Emperours preſence, kneeled downe vpon the ground vpon both his knees, and bowed downe his head to the earth; which although it was knowne to be artificiall, yet it made a very good ſhew, and greatly delighted the beholders, being a thing rare and vnthought of.

The third generall perſecution of the primitiue Church.

Traiane made warre againſt the Parthians.

TRAIANE hauing in ſhort time ſubdued the countrie of *Armenia*, and gotten the King thereof into his power, whoſe name was PARTAMIASITES, he viſited and ſeiſed all the land into his hand. And ſo (as EVTROPIVS and SEXTVS RVFVS teſtifie) the countrie of *Armenia* was made a tributarie prouince, and at that time hee gratified and gaue gifts and rewards to thoſe Kings and Tetrarches, which had ſerued him in thoſe warres, and to many others. And others he condemned in great ſummes of money, according as each one had deſerued. And ſetting all things in good order, leauing ſufficient garriſons to defend the ſame, he marched forwards with his armie, conquering the dominions of the King of the Parthians, and particularly entred into the fertill countrie of *Meſopotamia*, and tooke the citie of *Niſibe*, and other places therein, and made that prouince, like *Armenia*, tributarie and ſubiect to the Empire; the King of the Parthians being no way able to hinder the ſame. Paſſing herein, and in that which is alreadie ſaid, many skirmiſhes, encounters, aſſaultes of cities, and feates of armes, TRAIANE ſhewed himſelfe in all things an excellent Captaine, in trauailes and daungers, in directing his armies, in lodging it, in marſhalling his men, and

marching

marching with them according to the militarie gouernment and diſcipline. For whom, the Senate (being aduertiſed of his great victories and good aduentures) commaunded great ſacrifices to be made, after the manner of the Gentiles; and ſent him new titles and names, ſignifying his bounties and victories, calling him *Optimus*, *Armenicus*, *Parthicus*, and other names of like qualitie, for the conqueſt of *Armenia*, and other countries of the Parthians. And hauing had in all things good ſucceſſe, encreaſing and enlarging the Romane Empire, deſiring for ſome reſpects to repoſe himſelfe for ſome few daies, he came to paſſe the winter in the prouince of *Soria*; where diſperſing his armie in the marches, he lodged himſelfe in the citie of *Antioche*, whither came Ambaſſadours from many parts of the Eaſt: And being there in great proſperitie and at reſt with a full determination to returne to the warres as afterwards hee did, the whole citie being full of his court, and of Ambaſſadours and princes which came to ſee him, and to follow their ſutes vnto him, there happened an earth-quake which was in a manner generall, which in that citie and in a great part of *Aſia* (but chiefly in thoſe quarters) was the greateſt that euer was ſeene or heard of. He that will know the wonders which paſſed therein, let him reade DION, and alſo COCCEIVS in the life of TRAIANE; for many cities were ruinated, much people periſhed; many mountaines and hilles ſunke and became plaine; many riuers were dried vp; and many fountaines and waters ſprang where neuer had been any before. And in the ſame citie of *Antioche*, almoſt all the houſes and buildings thereof fell to the ground, and the Emperour TRAIANE eſcaped by flight, and was driuen to leape out at a windowe into the fields, ſeeing that all his palaces fell downe: in which fieldes he remained many daies in tents, notwithſtanding the earth-quake was paſſed; ſo great feare poſſeſſed him for that which was alreadie happened. This misfortune being paſt, and this citie and others, which endured the like calamitie, being repaired by TRAIANE, and ſommer being come, gathering together all his forces, hee departed from *Antioch* to proceede in the warre which he had begun, directing his iourney towards the Eaſt, to make a conqueſt of *Aſſyria* and *Chaldea*, with the great citie of *Babylon*, head of the auncient monarchie of the Aſſyrians. And being to paſſe the riuer *Euphrates*, at a great turning which it maketh, he paſſed therein many difficulties and daungers; for the Parthians with all their whole power endeuoured to ſtoppe his paſſage: But TRAIANE knew ſo well how to vſe ſuch induſtrie, and to proceede ſo warily, that making boates and bringing them in cartes from the mountaines neereſt at hand, by force of armes he made a bridge and paſſed his armie ouer it in deſpite of his enemies, although not without great ſlaughter and daunger to both partes: And hauing paſſed the riuer, he marched forwards conquering cities and caſtles on euery ſide, and among other the great citie of *Arbela* in *Aſſyria*, which MARCELLINVS calleth *Gandabela*, in whoſe fields ALEXANDER the great ouerthrew the King DARIVS. And from thence he went and tooke other countries, wherein neuer had any Romane enſignes been diſplaied: and from thence without finding any that durſt to giue him battaile in his march, he came to the famous citie of *Babylon*, of whoſe greatnes and power we reade marueils, and taking it by force of armes, he did the like by all the borders: And from thence he marched by land to the riuer *Tigris*, and aſſaulted and tooke by force the great citie of *Theſiphonte*, which is in *Perſia*, and other townes in thoſe parts. But in what manner TRAIANE tooke this citie, and what happened in the many aſſaults and battailes giuen, and how long this warre continued, we finde it not written: for thoſe authors which

An horrible and fearefull earth-quake in the citie of Antioch.

A bridge ouer the riuer Euphrates.

Arbela.

Babylon and Theſſiphonte taken by Traiane.

are come to our hands treate thereof in briefe; and the bookes of his great acts which FLAVIVS MARCELLVS and AVRELIVS VERVS wrote therof at large and copiously, are perished, with other notable workes, which time hath consumed and wasted; by which meanes the acts of this Emperor are vnknowne. Neither is hee compared with ALEXANDER the Great, or the greatest Captaines of the world, notwithstanding that he was no lesse, considering the lands, the Seas, and the Nations, which he trauelled, tamed and subdued, with his armie, his mind, his wisedome and bountie.

TRAIANE hauing made himselfe Lord of all those quarters, both on this side, and beyond the riuers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, to wit, *Syria*, *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and other countries and prouinces thereto adioyning; DION writeth that hee went downe the riuer *Tigris*, to the Persian Sea, to subdue a mightie King, whose name was ATHARILVS, who liued in an Iland (which that riuer maketh, diuiding it self into two armes) & comming to that countrie, the King and inhabitants of those countries not daring to make any resistance, yeelded all those places into his hands. But here hee was in greatest trouble and daunger of all others: for winter comming on, there fell so much raine, and there were such tempests, and the riuer *Tigris* made such inundations, that he was likely to haue lost the greatest part of his armie. After which, these authors affirme, that he rigged vp a great fleete, wherewith sailing all along the Persian sea, he came into the maine Ocean, conquering euen to the *Indies*, all the lands and coasts thereof, subduing them to the Romane Empire: and finding by chaunce certaine Merchants ships which sailed into the *Indies*, on this side the riuer *Ganges* (they write) that he informed himselfe thereof, and discoursed with those which were in those ships of all matters in those parts. And he somtimes said, that had it pleased God that he had bin a little younger, and had more strength and health, he would not haue staied vntill that he had attained to the vttermost and most remote ends of the world: and that he accounted ALEXANDER the Great for very happie, in that he began to raigne when he was but young, and yet purposed to passe further then he had done. And so hee wrote from those Seas to the Senate of *Rome*, and sent them the relation and names of all the Nations which he had conquered and subdued; the number wherof was so great, that they could hardly be reckoned and knowne. Vpon which newes, there were made in *Rome* great ioyes, new sacrifices, and many other things to his honour and praise; among which was a most sumptuous Arch. But this attempt and enterprise of the *Indies* prospered not with TRAIANE, according to his expectation: for as those countries, which hee left behind him in the East were newly conquered, while as he continued his Nauigation and conquest by Sea, many of those countries reuolted, and thrust out the Romane garrisons which were left in them. Besides this, whereof hee was aduertised, he found not in those coasts and countries where he came, such fertilitie and abundance of victuals as he expected; neither were they answerable to the reports of writers, which fabled thereof: for he found there great scarcitie and want of many necessaries, and the enterprise seemed vnworthie of so great a Prince as he: for which causes, and for that that hee was now old and vnweildie, hee determined to returne with his fleete to the place from whence he came.

Traiane made warre in Persia and the Indies.

TRAIANE hauing in this manner returned through the Persian sea, and taking land neere to the riuer *Tigris*, hee speedily tooke order for the punishing of those which reuolted, and the recouerie of those countries which had rebelled, whereto he sent two Captaines called LVCIVS and MAXIMVS, with two good armies; which

which in the beginning prospered ill; for MAXIMVS in a battaile against the Parthians was ouerthrowne and slaine: but LVCIVS afterwards reinforcing and relieuing his armie, obtained some victories against the enemies, wherein hee well repaired the harmes receiued, and recouered againe by force of armes the citie of *Nisibe* in *Mesopotamia*, and others which had rebelled; and did the like by the citie of *Edesta* in the same prouince, which hee set on fire and wholy destroyed. While as LVCIVS was busie about these things, TRAIANE his other Captaines and Lieutenants, named EVRICIVS and CLARIVS, made warre in other parts against such as had reuolted, and took by force of armes the citie of *Seleucia*, which standeth vpon the same riuer *Tigris*, and other cities which the Parthians had recouered in those quarters: so as in short space TRAIANE not onely recouered all those lands which had rebelled, but also conquered many other cities and prouinces more: so as hee was possessed, and was Lord of the greatest and best parts of *Asia*. His wisedome and valour was so great, that during all the time that hee followed these warres and conquests, so remote and farre from *Rome*, it was perceiued that therein was not any tumult or disobedience.

But this sage and wise Emperour seeing himselfe now old and tired, and knowing how vnmeasurably great the Romane Empire was, and that it seemed impossible (as indeed it was true) well to gouerne a state so diffuse and great, chiefly those prouinces which hee had conquered from the Parthians, which were so hard to be tamed and kept vnder; he determined to establish a King in *Parthia* and *Persia* of his choosing, and in some other countries which hee had taken from the Parthians, which King should rule and gouerne the same, as before they were ruled; but as a King which was subiect and a vassall to the Romane Empire, reseruing to himselfe the supreame iurisdiction and soueraigntie. And with this determination he came to the great citie of *Thesiphonte*, which is in *Persia*; and calling thither the principall men of the Parthians, hee conferring with them concerning the making them a King of their owne stocke and nation; they giuing him great securitie to serue and obey the Romane Empire. This being concluded, he placed and established in the royall throne with great solemnitie, a great man of the royall house of the Parthians, whose name was PARTHENASPATES. And afterwards (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS and EVTROPIVS record) he did the like in the prouince of *Albania* in *Asia*, neere to the Caspian Sea, seating there also a King to gouerne the same: and placing gouernours and Presidents in the other prouinces, he enlarged and extended the bounds and limits of the Romane Empire beyond the riuer *Tigris*, where before his time the name of Romane had scarcely been heard of. And hauing ended all things in good sort in the East, with great glorie and honour (for no place could defend it selfe against him, sauing one little citie in *Arabia deserta*, which the Agarenes had taken, which could not long be besieged for the great sterilitie and want of water in all the fields and marches thereabout) hee resolued to addresse his iourney towards *Italy*, and so to *Rome*, with greater honour and triumph, then any of his predecessors had euer obtained.

Traiane in Persia.

While as TRAIANE made prouision for his iourney towards *Italy*, it happened that the Iewes which inhabited the prouince of *Cyrene*, which is in *Africa*, to the East of *Syrtis Magna*, which were a great number, conspired and rebelled against the Romanes and Greekes which liued in that prouince, and slew them almost all. The like did those Iewes which dwelled in *Egypt*, and both the one and the other committed such cruelties, as were neuer seene or heard of: So as PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that they left the land in a manner dispeopled; and that Nation

The Iewes rebelled against the Romanes.

Nation was euer ſo readie and apt to rebell and diſobey, that thoſe Iewes which dwelled in the Ile of *Cyprus*, knowing what had paſſed in the prouince of *Cyrene*, and in *Egypt*, rebelled alſo, and committed greater crueltie and exceſſe, then the others had done: ſo that DION ſaith (although it ſeemeth incredible) that there were ſlaine by them 200000. perſons, of thoſe which inhabited that Iland. Which is confirmed and made credible by that which EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS report thereof, who affirme, that they ſlew all thoſe which dwelled in the citie of *Salamina*, which is in that Iland: vpon which occaſion there was afterwards an imperiall lawe made, that no Iew vpon paine of death ſhould come within the Ile of *Cyprus*, vpon what occaſion ſoeuer hee came thither. This law was afterwards ſo ſeuerely executed, that if any of them came thither, although through miſchaunce or fowle-weather at ſea, they were preſently put to death.

The crueltie of the Iewes.

When the Emperour TRAIANE vnderſtood of this great rebellion and crueltie (as we haue declared, being vpon his way toward *Italie*) as a iuſt prince willing and deſiring to giue condigne puniſhment, according to the qualitie of the crime, he ſent Captaines with ſufficient companies of ſouldiers into diuers parts, to put to death all the Iewes which they ſhould finde in thoſe countries before named, or in any other whereſoeuer: which they affirme, was the greateſt execution and puniſhment that euer was done in the world, God permitting the ſame for their ſtubburnes, and obſtinacie. This great ſlaughter and puniſhment being executed, taking the beſt order that might be for matters in *Aſia*, the good Emperour began his iourney towards *Italie*, leauing his Nephew AELIVS ADRIANVS, who was afterwards Emperour, for generall of the armies in the Eaſt, and ſo continued his Iourney with infinit honour and gladnes: there being in *Rome* ſo ſolemne triumph and entertainement prepared for him, as the like had neuer been made therein. And comming into the prouince of *Cilicia* which is in *Aſia* the leſſe, as he was old and ſomewhat ſickely, his diſeaſe encreaſed vpon him in ſuch ſort, that ſtaying in the citie of *Seleucia*, within few daies after, he died therein, of a naturall ſicknes, although that ſome ſuſpected that he was poiſoned. And ſo ended this excellent Emperour, hauing raigned nineteene yeeres and a halfe, and liued ſixtie and three, in the yeere of our Lord 119. leauing neither ſonne nor daughter by his wife PLOTINA, with whom he was married; neither would he adopt or name any one that ſhould ſucceede him, which he did in ſome mens opinion (as SPARCIANVS writeth) to imitate ALEXANDER the Great, whom he euer ſought to excell in honor and renowne. TRAIANE his aſhes were afterwards brought to *Rome*, and ſet vpon the crowne of a pillar, which he had commaunded to bee erected in the market place thereof, which pillar was of one whole peece, containing one hundred & fortie foote in height. This prince held more countries and prouinces, and the greater part of the world in ſubiection; or to ſay better, was the greateſt and mightieſt man, of all that euer were in the world, either before or after him, as he which is curious may well know and perceiue by this our hiſtorie. He gouerned the Empire with ſuch authoritie and ſo much iuſtice, and his vertues were ſo many, that he therein excelled all thoſe which had not the light of our faith, for therein is no compariſon. And this was held for a cuſtome in *Rome* after him, that when they powred out their bleſſings vpon their new choſen Emperours, they would pray that he might be as fortunate as AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, and as good as TRAIANE, accounting him to haue attained to the height of all goodnes. It is truely great pittie to thinke that ſo excellent a man ſhould be loſt and damned, as doubtleſſe he was; for he not onely

A iuſt puniſhment inflicted by Traiane vpon the Iewes.

The death of the Emperour Traiane.

onely was an idolater, and held not our christian faith, without the which there is no saluation, neither did he confesse or professe it, but persecuted and oppressed the Christians. And some men being moued with more pittie and compassion, then with any witte or vnderstanding, fained a fable and iest, saying, that through the prayers of Saint GREGORIE, TRAIANE his soule was released out of hell (from whence is no redemption) and carried to paradice: whereof, besides that our faith doth controule it, there is no historiographer either auncient or moderne, of any authoritie that I euer sawe, that maketh any mention or remembrance thereof in their treatises of TRAIANE, and of Saint GREGORIE: whereby it is cleere, that those which say it one to another, raise false witnes both against heauen and hell. TRAIANE was of a bigge stature, of a swarth complexion, and had thin haire on his head and beard: and likewise had a hooke nose; great broade shoulders, and long hands; and aboue all had a very louing regarde with his eies. He was borne the twentith and one day of May in the second yeere of the raigne of the Emperour NERO.

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS ADRIANVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FIFTEENTH ROMAME EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Traiane, Adrian was aduanced to the Empire, more through the policie of Traianes wife, then by the election of the people, or the Senate, or for that Traiane had adopted him. Neuertheleſſe after that he was preferred to the imperiall dignitie, he gaue ſo good an account of himſelfe, that Rome had no cauſe to repent, for hauing made him her Lord. He made very great voiages, and in his perſon viſited in a manner all the Romane Empire. He was very ſtudious in all arts and ſciences, and cauſed all ſuch

as were famous and excellent in any art to come to Rome. He happily ended all such warres as he began, and was very seuere to the Christians. His many vertues were accompanied with many vices, neuertheleſſe he knew ſo well how to diſſemble the paſſion of his minde, that he ſeemed to contemne thoſe things which he feruently loued. He liued ſixtie and two yeeres, and ruled the Empire twelue. In his olde age he had ſo grieuous an infirmitie, that he deſired to die, and entreated his familiars to kill him; which for pittie hauing not the hart to commit ſo brute an act, he was finally counſelled by his phiſitions to abſtaine from meate and drinke, and he following their counſell haſtened his death by hunger.

THe death of the good Emperour TRAIANE was extremely lamented, and moſt grieuouſly taken through all the Empire; for he, for his bountie and goodnes was much beloued of all people, and nations ſubiect to the ſame Empire. And as he neuer had any ſonne either naturall or adopted, that might ſucceede hem; and his Nephew ADRIAN for his vertues, great wiſedome, and the affinitie betweene them, was much beloued and eſteemed: PLOTINA the Empereſſe wife to TRAIANE, who was with him at his deceaſe, for the great loue that ſhe bare vnto ADRIAN, ſought meanes to aduance him to the Empire. To bring which her deuiſe to paſſe, ſhe agreed with ADRIAN, who alreadie was a man of great power and had been very priuate with TRAIANE, and was his countrieman; and tooke ſuch order, that his death was concealed, vntill that he had ſounded the good will of the armie which he led, and of ſuch other great perſonages as were in the Emperours court, faining (after ſome writers) that TRAIANE had adopted him for his ſonne, ſhewing a counterfeit inſtrument or writing to that effect. Finally, the matter was ſo cunningly handled, that it tooke ſuch effect as they deſired, and the armie preſently ſware obedience and did homage to ADRIAN; notwithſtanding that he was abſent in the citie of *Antioche* in *Syria*, where he was left (as is ſaid) generall. Who being aduertiſed hereof, and the legions whereof he was Generall conſenting thereto; he preſently wrote to the Senate, entreating to be confirmed in the Empire. When the Senate had receiued his letters, and vnderſtoode what paſſed, his requeſt was eaſily graunted, and ſo was he of all men obeied and held for Emperour. ADRIAN was TRAIANES Nephew, as ſome ſay, by his mother; and ſome ſay, by his father: it may be that he was his kinſman of both ſides, and ſo both the one and other may ſay the truth. He was alſo a Spaniard both by linage and birth, and according to EVTROPIVS and EVSEBIVS, was borne in the ſame citie of *Italica:* yet SPARTIANVS inferreth that his father in *Rome* was called ADRIAN as he was, but was borne in *Italica*, and his mother DOMITIA PAVLINA, was alſo natiue of *Spaine*, and borne in the citie of *Cales*. He was married to SABINA TRAIANES ſiſters daughter, (as DION writeth.) And was a tall man of ſtature, of a good conſtitution and countenance; and of a very good cleane ſtrength, which he much exerciſed. He is reckoned among the good and excellent Emperours; and with great reaſon, conſidering his many vertues and excellencies, his knowledge and wiſedome wherewith he gouerned, and the peace and iuſtice wherein he maintained the Empire two and twentie yeeres, that he liued therein; whereof beſides that the authors write briefly, I alſo purpoſe to treate thereof in ſumme, ſeeing I ſpent ſo much time in the laſt, ſo as except I vſe more breuitie then hitherto I haue done, the volume of this my booke will growe to a greater proportion then I purpoſed, or is conuenient. Wherefore I will doe, as he which within certaine daies ſpace

Adrian being in Antioch, was choſen Emperour.

hath

hath determined to trauell a long iourney, and hauing taken leiſure in the beginning, deeming that trauelling in this maner, he ſhall not be able to attaine to that place at the time appointed, haſtneth his way with greater ſpeede, vntill that he know that he may come to his iourneis end before the time be expired: So will I do from henceforth, at the leaſt after I am paſt ADRIAN, for ſome ſpace I purpoſe to proceede with greater expedition then heretofore, vntill I come ſo farre on my way, that I may ſafely diuide the proceſſe of this hiſtorie, and hold the proportion which I haue determined, preſuming rather to make this inequalitie in the ſtile, then to make a worke ſo tedious and weariſome.

The Parthians and other nations lately ſubdued, hearing of Traianes death, rebelled.

I ſay then, that ſo ſoone as the barbarous nations vnderſtood that TRAIANE was dead, notwithſtanding that they alſo knew of the election of his nephew ADRIAN, the Parthians chiefely and other Nations which were lately ſubdued, began commotions, and to rebell: and there were alſo ſome alterations in *Britannie* and in ſome other parts: all which ADRIAN might eaſily haue pacified and ſubdued by force of armes, and wanted neither courage nor meanes thereto; but he would not beare it by the extremitie of warre and rigor. For truly as theſe two Princes were both very valiant and excellent Captaines and Gouernors, yet herein they did much differ: for TRAIANE being greedie of honor and renowne, deſired by conqueſts and warres to increaſe and inlarge the Empire: and ADRIANS care was to hold and preſerue the auncient limits, not regarding any more, but rather diminiſhed great part thereof, and ſo preſentlie in the beginning of his raigne, to the end to liue in peace and concord, he left to the Parthians and to other Princes of the Eaſt, all thoſe Prouinces beyond the riuer *Euphrates* vnto the *Indies*, which TRAIANE had conquered, nothing regarding *Armenia*, *Media*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, *Meſopotamia*, nor all the reſt, and he ſet his limits and placed his legions at the riuer *Euphrates*. Some thought, and alſo wrote, that he did it of purpoſe, enuying TRAIANS honor, but I truly attribute it to that he held it for the better and moſt aſſured courſe. And hauing taken ſuch order in the Eaſt (as is ſaid) and left CATILIVS SEVERVS for gouernour of *Syria*, and pacified the troubles lately raiſed by the Iewes: he tooke his way by land towards *Italy*, and ſent the aſhes of TRAIANE by ſea, and comming neere to *Rome*, he was aduertiſed that they had prepared a triumph for him in the ſame manner as it was prouided for his vncle TRAIANE; for that he was in the ſame warres and conqueſts with him: But he would not accept thereof, commaunding that the ſame triumph and enterteinement ſhould be made and giuen to TRAIANS image, and ſo it was done, and he (ſo farre as I haue read) was the only man that euer triumphed after that he was dead. And ADRIAN was receiued and obeyed with the greateſt loue and good will that could be, and preſently performed many parts of an excellent Prince, conformable to his preſent goodnes, to the courſe of his life paſt, and the hope conceiued of him for the time to come, ſo as all were glad and well content with his gouernment, with his faſhions and conditions: and truly with great reaſon, for he deſerued no leſſe. And becauſe that the graces and excellencies of this Emperour were in the higheſt degree, beſides the vertues and wiſedome wherewith he was adorned, I hold it fit in this place to ſpeake thereof, to the end that they may ſerue for example to other Princes, whereby they may make themſelues the more honorable by imitating him.

Adrian ſent Traianes aſhes to Rome.

A triumph giuen to Traianes ſtatue after his death.

Firſt, he was naturally enclined to learne all ſuch ſciences as apperteined to wit, and to the exerciſe both of the mind and of the bodie alſo; aſwell in learning, as in the exerciſe of armes and other vertues, wherein he ſought to excell all men. It is

Adrian was expert in all faculties.

a wonderfull matter to consider how God endued this Prince with wit and vnderstanding, apt and capable to comprehend whatsoeuer he desired, with skill, strength and abilitie in all exercises: whereby (concerning letters) he became very learned in both the toongs, Greeke and Latine, and wrote and compiled excellentlie well, both in verse and prose. He pleaded causes and exercised himselfe in the arte oratorie, and so much affected the stile and phrase of auncient time, that he preferred CATO before CICERO, ENNIVS before VIRGIL, and CELIVS before SALVST. He was as skilfull in other arts as he was herein: for he was a singular Mathematician, Arithmetician, Geometrician, and a great Astronomer, and tooke great delight in iudiciall Astrologie, and would giue his opinion: so as SPARCIANVS writeth, that the first day of the yeere he would cast the reuolution of the whole, and foretold what would ensue, and did so by the same yeare wherein he died. He was very skilfull in Phisick, and knew the vertues and properties of hearbs and stones. He was expert and very politick in the warres and militarie discipline, and was very strong, able and skilfull in armes both on foot and horseback: And besides all this, he could play on instruments, and sing maruellouslie well. He could draw and paint aswell, as the skilfullest maister workeman in that art that could be found. Finally, in all things he had so readie and so good a wit and skill, as any one man could haue in any one thing particularly: wherein, besides his deepe vnderstanding, his exceeding memorie did much help him: for they affirme, that he forgat not any thing that he had either read or heard. He was of such capacitie (as SPARCIANVS writeth) that he would both endite, write, and conferre of busines all at one instant, and had a singular grace and promptnes in vsing quick speeches and quips, either in earnest or in iest; and the like in answering vpon the sodeine, if he were touched or quipped by any other. Of his quick and sharp speeches which they write of him, I will recite one only, as fitting this time, although it be none of the sharpest and subtillest of them, which was thus: A certaine Romane Knight came to intreate a fauour at his hands, who (according to his age) had a gray beard, and full of white haires, and failing of that which he desired, within few dayes after he came againe with a new petition to the same effect. But in the meane season (it seemed that men were then as skilfull in dying as now they are) he had dyed his beard, and looked yong againe: which being noted by the Emperour, who to guird him therewith, answered him to his request, I would be very glad to do you the pleasure which you require, but there are but few dayes past since that I denied it to your father who desired the same; wherefore it seemeth to me a matter vniust to graunt that to the sonne which I would not yeeld to the father: and so the old man departed with shame, and in this manner he vsed many such like od iests. Besides all that is alreadie said of him, he was very strong, and able to endure any labour, and was so lustie, and able of his bodie, that he ordinarily went the greatest part of his way on foote, and bare headed, in the sunne, in the raine, and the mists. He was much addicted to the chace, and was a great hunter, and excellent therein: so as with his owne hands he killed Lions, Beares, wild Boares, and other most fierce beasts; although that he were oftentimes in great danger; and fell once vnawares from a rock, and put one of his shoulders out of ioint, and brake one of his legs, and some of his ribs. Finallie, there was nothing wherein the Emperour ADRIAN was not excellent and very able, and in all things presumed to excell the wisest, as truly he did in the most. And although that he were a great reprouer of maisters in arts, and did often put them to their shifts with his questions and arguments,

ments, yet he did much honor them, and beſtowed many gifts and rewards vpon them; and had alſo neere about him Philoſophers, Aſtronomers, Poets, Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Muſitians, Arithmeticians, Geometricians, and excellent Painters and Caruers, with all which he might compare, and the moſt of them he did far excell: and did vſe to ſay, that He had not forborne to learne any thing more then other men did, that might be needefull in peace or warre either for an Emperour, or a man of any other condition whatſoeuer. Being endued with theſe qualities before ſaid, he was not void of other vertues and gifts of the mind, which he ſhewed and put in execution in the time of his raigne, more, and better then before: although that in the beginning he was noted of crueltie, for that ſome eſpeciall men, by his commaundement and permiſſion, were put to death. There were alſo ſome vices and euill diſpoſitions noted to be in him, but they all affirme that he did repreſſe and diſſemble them, and was ſo much maiſter of himſelfe, that he did eaſily maiſter and ſuppreſſe his naturall euill inclination: which did well appeare in his maner of gouerning the Empire; the good vſage of his ſubiects; beſtowing fauours and good turnes vpon all men; mitigating the tributes and ſubſidies through all the Empire; miniſtring iuſtice with equitie and indifferencie; doing all things by the aduiſe and counſell of the Senate, and of wiſe and prudent men which he kept about him, and caryed with him whither ſoeuer he went: for he did not only loue to be counſelled, but alſo to be reproued and aduiſed. He entertained all men gentlie and courteouſlie: and although that to the common ſort he ſhewed greatnes and maieſtie, yet principall men he honored much, and viſited them in their ſicknes, and inuited them, and went to them when they inuited him. And although that he euer loued and procured peace, yet all his life time he had exceeding great care of martiall diſcipline, puniſhing the libertie and vices of men of warre, reforming errors paſt, and preſcribing rules for time to come. In this manner (as I haue ſaid) he had liued when he was priuate, and followed the ſame courſe after that he was Emperour.

ADRIAN hauing remained ſome ſpace in *Rome*, gouerning the Empire in good forme and order, many northerne nations roſe againſt the Empire, to wit, the Alanes and Scythians of *Europe*: and the Sarmates, which are now the people of *Ruſsia*, *Muſcouia*, and *Poland*, and other countries thereto adioyning, which with intent to make warre in the Empire, came downe into the prouinces of the vpper *Miſsia* now called *Seruia*, and the lower *Bulgaria*, both which at this day are in ſubiection to the great Turke. Againſt which nations the Emperour ADRIAN departed from *Rome* with a mightie armie: but comming neere to thoſe prouinces where the enemies were, there were certaine treaties of peace moued, and ADRIAN who was addicted thereto graunted the ſame: and making his aboade for ſome dayes in thoſe quarters, he returned to *Rome*, leauing MARCIVS TVRBO for Captaine and Gouernour of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*. And in this iourney there was a certaine conſpiracie againſt him, which being diſcouered, foure principall men which had been Conſuls (being guiltie thereof) were put to death: which execution the Emperour ADRIAN afterwards denied to haue been done by his will or conſent. And being come to *Rome* to purge himſelfe of the infamie and enuie thereof, he made a great congiarie or diſtribution of money among the people, beſtowing many graces and fauours vpon all ſtates and kinds of men; and commaunded alſo infinit games and ſports to be made, ſuch as were accuſtomed in *Rome*, not forgetting (neuertheleſſe) the execution of iuſtice in his gouernment. And ſtaying at this time a leſſer ſpace in *Rome* then at the firſt, he departed

Northerne nations roſe againſt the Empire.

parted from thence with a great court and companie to visit *France* and the Prouinces neere adioining, vpon the cities whereof he bestowed many graces and fauours. And from thence he passed to visit the legions and armies in *Germanie*, wherein he set order in many things concerning militarie discipline: and after that he had remained awhile in those parts, hauing determined to visit all the whole Empire (as afterwards he did) he directed his iourney into *Flanders*; and from thence into *Britanny*, where he set order and agreement betweene the inhabitants thereof, and the Romanes which liued therein, aswell the garrisons, as the inhabitants and colonies. And for their better quietnes and securitie, SPARCIANVS saith, that he caused a strong wall of fourescore miles long to be builded, to make a diuision of the lands of the one from the other, which was a marueillous great piece of worke: and hauing made such prouision for all things in that Iland as he thought needefull, he returned into *France*, where he erected some singular buildings, and bestowed other graces and fauours in that countrey.

Adrian visited the Empire.

After that the Emperour ADRIAN had visited *France* and the borders thereof, and the Ile of *Britannie*, he directed his iourney for *Spaine*, where hee was ioyfully receiued, as a man natiue and borne in that countrie: and after that he had visited some places he went to winter in the citie of *Tarragona*, where he called a parliament of all the prouinces, and prouided and ordained many things for the publike good thereof. After that the furie of winter was past, he trauelling through all *Spaine*, visiting the cities, and bestowing benefits vpon them: principally vnto his own countrie *Italica* and *Seuil*, he graunted many priuiledges and exemptions, and did many great fauours, as DION writeth: but would not come thither, notwithstanding that he was in the marches thereof. And hauing visited all *Spaine*, he returned towards *Rome*, and in this time hee set downe and assigned the limits and confines of the Empire, from the barbarous Nations, where there were no riuers, to diuide them with notable markes of stone, pillars, trees, and other things; and his authoritie and reputation at that time was so great, that to the high Almaines which were free, hee appointed and set a King: and at that time some commotions were punished in *Africa*.

The Emperour ADRIAN liuing in this peace and quietnes, being in the seauenth yeere of his raigne, the Parthians being a fierce and vnquiet nation, began to stirre and to make warres in the Empire; and ADRIAN making prouision for all things accordingly, with great power passed into the East, with a sufficient armie to follow that warre in person: but seeing that he managed it himselfe, they moued certaine treaties of peace; which being concluded, he trauelled peaceably through all the East prouinces, and came into *Asia* the lesse, and from thence into *Græcia*, and bestowed many fauours vpon the Athenians, and other cities, where he remained sometime. From thence in gallies he tooke his passage into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and saw the principall places of that Iland, and desired to see the mount *Etna*, which is so famous for the fires which it continually casteth out of the earth. And setting all things in *Sicilia* in such order as he thought good, very ioyfull and victorious he returned to *Rome*, now the fourth time after that he was Emperour. After which his last comming, he staied not long therein: for he had vndertaken (for the better gouernment thereof) to visit the whole Empire in person; and to that purpose preparing shippes and gallies he passed into *Africa*, wherein the ioy is incredible that was conceiued for his comming. For besides that ADRIAN was very much beloued, it happened (as SPARCIANVS and others doe write) that *Africa* for fiue yeeres space had endured great want of raine, and therefore hunger

Adrian in Africa.

and

and famine; and ſo ſoone as he was arriued in that land, ſufficient raine fell, which made his comming moſt ioyfull. And the time that hee was in that countrie, hee ſpent in reforming of the gouernment, in ending controuerſies, and commaunding certaine publike buildings to be erected: among which was the reedifying of a great part of the citie of *Carthage*, which (according to my author) hee commaunded ſhould be called *Adrianopolis*, after his owne name. And all matters being ended in *Africa* at his pleaſure, and hauing ſtaied there ſo long as to him ſeemed good, hee returned proſperouſly to *Rome*, where hee ordained and prouided for all common matters of the Empire: yet the time was not long that he ſtaied therein; and when euery man thought leaſt of any iourney, hee againe prouided for his paſſage into the Eaſt. And within ſhort ſpace paſſed into *Græcia*, and trauailing through it, he ſtaied in ſome cities, and made thoſe buildings and temples to be finiſhed, which before he had commaunded to be begun, and commaunded others to be builded new: & ſo continuing his iourney he went into *Aſia* the leſſe, and did the like therein, as in other prouinces he had done where he had trauailed. And being come into *Syria*, by letters and meſſengers hee moued the Kings and Tetrarches, as well thoſe which were friends and ſubiects, as thoſe which were neighbours and ſtraungers, to come to ſee and ſpeake with him. Among which one was the King of the Parthians, to whom hee freely ſent his daughter, whom the Emperor TRAIANE in the wars paſt had taken priſoner; wherewith many of them being moued, came to his Court to viſite him and to doe him honour: all which he ſo friendly and courteouſly entertained, that thoſe which came not did exceedingly enuie thoſe which came, grieuing very much that they had not done the like. Theſe meetings and feaſts being ended (which in truth were very great and notable) ADRIAN tooke his way towards *Syria*, and came into *Paleſtina* and *Iudea*, viſiting and ſeeing the principall cities thereof: and from thence paſſed forwards, and did the like in *Arabia*, after which he preſently went into *Egypt*, wherein hee remained longer then in any other part, and there commaunded a moſt ſumptuous Sepulcher to bee builded ouer the great POMPEY, becauſe that, that which was there before was ruined and decaied. He alſo cauſed a citie to be founded to the name, and in memoriall of a moſt faire young youth which died there, whom he deerely loued. And at the ſame time hee permitted, and alſo commaunded that the holie citie *Ieruſalem*, which (as is before ſaid) was deſtroyed and lay deſolate, to bee reedified and new builded; which was preſently done, with admirable expedition, principally by the Iewes; and commaunded that it (leauing the firſt name) ſhould be called, *AElia Adria Capitolina*: ſo great was then the power and wealth of the Romane Emperors, that it was as eaſie a matter for them then to build Cities, as now houſes, or things of leſſer moment. And although that the Iewes did greatly reioyce for the new building and reſtoring of *Ieruſalem*: yet afterwards they tooke it very grieuouſly that the Gentiles ſhould ioyntly dwell therein with them, which builded temples to their gods and Idols: and the Chriſtians, they would not ſuffer freely to vſe their rites and ceremonies. And this is the cauſe of the rebellion which afterwards enſued. Truly it is a thing much to be noted in this people, which became ſo ſtifnecked, that when they were bound to keepe and obſerue their law, being then good and holy; for very light occaſions they would forſake it, and take ſtrange religions and become Idolaters: but after that it was aboliſhed, and ought no longer to bee obſerued, they would neuer leaue it, neither receiue the holie Catholike faith: and yet vntill this day, ſome of that generation in ſundrie parts of the world, obſtinately perſeuere therein.

A Sepulcher made by Adrian ouer the great Pompey.

The power of the Romane Emperours.

The peruerſe perfidie of the obſtinate Iewes.

These and many other things being ended by ADRIAN, in the time of his aboad in *Asia* and in *Egypt*, hee returned into *Europe*; and arriuing in *Græcia*, staied with his whole Court in the citie of *Athens:* and being there (which was in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne) al the Iewes openly rebelled, and cast the Romane garrisons out of their prouinces of *Iudea*, *Galile*, and the rest, killing as many of them as they could, with a very great number of Christians. This was a very dangerous warre, for therein did conspire al the Iewes which dwelt in any other prouinces, which were very many. ADRIAN considering the greatnes and importance of this accident, prouiding for remedie thereof a new armie, whereof hee made IVLIVS SEVERVS Generall against the Iewes, causing him to come so farre as from *Britannie* for that purpose; who came with great power, and passed into *Syria*, and made most cruell warre: wherein after the shedding of much bloud of both sides, the Iewes were ouercome and destroyed, and all the whole land left in a manner desolate: So (as writeth DION) there were fiftie excellent strong Castles and fortresses laid euen with the ground; and nine hundred, foure-score and fiue townes, and populous villages burnt; and there were slaine in skirmishes and battailes fiftie thousand fighting men, besides those which without number died of hunger, sicknes and miserie of the warre: and so was performed the subduing, and (in a manner) the totall destruction of the Iewish nation. And ADRIAN gaue commaundement and made an edict, that the Iewes should bee perpetually banished from the new *Ierusalem*, and prohibited to inhabite therein. Within few daies after that the warres with the Iewes were ended, the Alanes and Mesagetes, which are barbarous fierce Nations of *Scythia Asiatica*, came with great furie, and entred into *Media* making warre, and afterwards into *Armenia*, and came so farre as *Cappadocia*, where FLAVIVS ARRIANVS was Captaine for the Empire, and did put all the countries thereabouts in great feare. But ADRIAN (who euer loued peace) vsed such meanes, that through the gifts which he sent to their King VOLOGESVS by his Ambassadours, they returned peaceably to their houses, loden with spoyles and riches which they gate in other barbarous countries.

The Iewes ouerthrowne and destroyed by Iulius Seuerus and banished from the new Ierusalem by Adrian.

ADRIAN hauing ended al matters to his best liking, after that he had bestowed many gifts and good turnes vpon the cities in *Græcia*, came lastly towards *Rome*, hauing (as I haue said) trauailed a long time through the world, where his comming was very gratefull to al estates in that citie: and although that he were now old and vnweildie, yet he failed not to prouide and take as good order for al things then, as when he was of greatest strength. But hee considering his age, which was now aboue threescore yeeres, and that hee had not any sonne, and that a disease which hee ordinarily had, which was much bleeding at the nose, did now more oppresse him then euer theretofore; hee tooke great care who should be his successor, and therefore determined to adopt some excellent Nobleman to succeede him in the Empire: and hereupon tooke much counsell and made many doubts before he would resolue. In the end, contrary to the liking of most of his Counsell, hee adopted one LVCIVS CEIONIVS COMMODVS, entitling him CÆSAR, and nominated him for his successor, which (as SPARCIANVS reporteth) had not been vsed to be done in that manner vntill then. And changing his name, after his new father, he was called ÆLIVS VERVS. The same day that he did this, he commaunded SEVERIANVS to be slaine, who was a great man in *Rome*, and FVSCVS which was his nephew, for certaine euident signes and suspitions which he perceiued, that they practised to tyrannize and vsurpe the Empire: and so likewise

wise he commanded some others to be slaine and made away. After this election and adoption, and great feastings for the same, this new adopted CÆSAR was ouertaken with an infirmitie, so grieuous, and of so long continuance, that ADRIAN found himselfe deceiued: and seeing that now he could not liue long, he repented that he should leaue so weake and feeble a successor. It is written, that he oftentimes said, That he leaned to a rotten wal. But it so happened that within few daies he was eased of that griefe: for this LVCIVS CEIONIVS whom hee had adopted and called ÆLIVS VERVS died. And notwithstanding that this man left sonnes behinde him, yet ADRIAN presently adopted ANTONINVS or ANTONIVS (for I finde him written after both names) who was afterwards surnamed PIVS; vpon condition that he should also adopt a sonne of the said ÆLIVS VERVS, who was called LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS, and MARCVS AVRELIVS also; in the first place ANTONINVS, of whose linage hereafter mention shall be made, which were noble and very excellent and vertuous men. This being done to the good liking, and with the consent of the Senate, and of al the principall men in *Rome*, ADRIANS disease encreasing vpon him, he made himselfe to be carried to the citie of *Baias*, where his griefe so extremely tormented him, and therewithall came so many passions and conuulsions, that hee oftentimes desired to die, and procured his owne death; and with gifts and flatteries, and sometime with threatnings hee prouoked some to kill him: and seeing that no man would doe it, and that he wanted strength to doe it himselfe, for the last remedie of his infirmitie, by the counsell of some of his Phisitions (for he had many about him) he resolued to forbeare either to eate nor drinke, and so he died in the yeere of our Lord 140. vsing that common saying: *Turba Medicorum interfecit Regem*: which is, A multitude of Phisitions killed the King. *The death of the Emperour Adrian.*

ADRIAN at the time of his death was sixtie two yeeres old and fiue moneths, and had raigned twentie one yeeres and eleuen moneths, and neither left behind him, or euer had had any sonne; he was but once married, and then with a woman whose name was SABINA, and after that she was dead, he married no more. He was a man tall of stature and of a good presence, and did weare his beard and haire long, and tooke delight therein. Hee was as excellent a Prince as euer was any, although that he had some vices and euill inclinations, which with his wisedome he couered and kept secret. As concerning the Christian faith, although in the beginning (as an Infidell) he did hate it, and was an enemie to it, yet afterwards he shewed himselfe more temperate towards the Christians: for as EVSEBIVS and others doe write, QVADRATVS a disciple of the Apostles, and ARISTIDES a Philosopher of *Athens* and a Christian, did compile certaine notable bookes in defence of our faith: wherewith ADRIAN being moued, wrote to MINVCIVS FVNDANVS who was Proconsul in *Asia*, and to other parts, that no Christian should be compelled to renounce his faith, neither be punished, except he were accused for some other offence.

So as the Christian faith was taught and preached freely, a great part of the raigne of the Emperour ADRIAN.

THE

THE LIFE OF MARCVS ANTONINVS PIVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SIXTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ANtoninus was adopted by Adrian, and by reason of his adoption succeeded him in the Empire; in which dignitie hee lived so vertuously, that it may be said, that he lived without example, and was likened to the good Numa Pompilius. There were not many warres in the time of this good Emperour: for he with his onely authoritie bridled all Nations, and to him came Ambassadours in a manner from all the furthermost parts of the world. He would neuer be very farre from Rome, in such manner as his predecessor had done, being of opinion that it was most fit for the Emperour to remaine in that citie, which was head of the Empire. He was liberall, courteous, iust and pitifull, and a great louer of vertuous personages, so as it might be said, that he was father of the vertuous. His life was not stained with any vice, as his predecessors were. And being of the age of 72. yeeres old, he died in his towne of a feuer, when he had ruled the Empire 23. yeeres, whose death was much bewailed by the world, for that they had lost an Emperour and a father, who, they might iustly say, was Pius.

ADRIAN was not onely wise and fortunate in gouerning and ruling the Empire, the time that he held it; but he was also, so in the successor whom he chose and left therein: for he prooued to be such, and so good, that after hee had ended his daies, ADRIAN was no more praised and remembred for his wisedome and good gouernment, then for the succession which hee left, by adopting ANTONINVS: who what he was we will presently tell you. I say then that the death of ADRIAN being

ing knowne (which was greatly lamented and bewailed) ANTONINVS PIVS his adopted ſonne was preſently without any contradiction receiued and obeied for Emperour, accordingly as he had appointed him by the conſent and good will of all the Senate, as in his life we haue written. This ANTONINVS was the ſonne of AVRELIVS FVLVIVS, and Nephew of TITVS AVRELIVS FVLVIVS, which had been Conſuls and had held other offices and dignities, and were very noble men and of auncient blood, whoſe originall was in *Gallia Ciſalpina*, now called *Lombardie*. His mothers name was ARRIA FATIDILLA, the daughter of ARRIVS ANTONINVS a moſt noble gentleman and twiſe Conſul. This Emperour ANTONINVS was one of the moſt excellent princes in vertue and bountie, that euer hath been in the world: and who that with greateſt authoritie, iuſtice, liberalitie, and clemencie gouerned the Empire. He had a good aſpect and was tall, and of a good conſtitution of body, of an excellent witte, gentle of condition, moderate in eating and drinking, well learned, and ſingularly eloquent, very bountifull, and willing to giue of his owne, and very abſtinent from taking from others. He was a great louer of husbandrie, and delighted much in hunting; and was ſo free from all manner of vices, that therein neither TRAIANE, ADRIAN, nor any of his predeceſſors could compare with him: Wherefore the wiſemen of his time compared him with NVMA POMPILIVS, which was ſecond King of *Rome*, and deſerued to bee called PIVS, for which they ſhew many reaſons. Before that he was Emperour he had been Queſtor, Pretor, and Conſul, and had held ſome other charges and magiſtracies. In his time were few warres or battailes, or at leaſt little ſpoken of, and thoſe troubles which were, he eaſily pacified by his Captaines: and therefore the moſt that hiſtoriographers write of him, is of his good conditions and his bountie: and ſo will I; although it will not be ſo pleaſing to the reader as to diſcourſe of warres; yet to follow the truth, and principally to ſhew the fruite which is to be gathered out of this hiſtorie, which are examples to liue well: as for the reſt there will bee ſufficiently enough found in the proceſſe of this booke, and that is not a little, which is alreadie written.

Antoninus his deſcent.

Antoninus compared with Numa Pompilius.

ANTONINVS then ſo ſoone as he began to rule, preſently ſhewed his naturall goodnes: for he remooued not any of thoſe from their office and charges, which he found placed and eſtabliſhed there by ADRIAN; but rather confirmed them therein: and euer held it beſt, to ſuffer thoſe which prooued good gouernours to continue long in their charges and gouernments. He commaunded alſo his rents and ſeruices (beſides that they ſhould be moderated) to be gently and temperatly collected. He preſently did ſo many fauours, and gaue ſo many gifts of his owne goods which he had before, that his wife ANIA FAVSTINA daughter to ANIVS VERVS reprooued him for it: to whom he made anſwere to this effect, that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid, and therefore he did let her know, that at what time he attained to the Empire, they had loſt all that which before they poſſeſſed liuing priuate. In matters of equitie & gouernment, he was as vigilant, and tooke as good order as ADAIAN did. He determined alſo, neuer to depart from *Rome* all the time of his raigne, except it were to recreate himſelfe and ſometimes to hunt, being herein contrarie in opinion to his predeceſſor ADRIAN: for he ſaid that the court and people which trauelled with the Emperour, were troubleſome and preiudiciall to the countries and cities by which they paſſed: and that in viſiting ſome parts, he was farre from others; and therefore the moſt fit and conuenient place for the Emperour to ſtay and make his abode in, was in *Rome*, which was the

the Ladie and head of the Empire and the middeſt thereof, and moſt fit to receiue Ambaſſadours and meſſages from all parts. So as following this counſell (which indeede prooued not ill) the warres and inſurrections which happened, hee ſuppreſſed and pacified by his Captaines; as the Britaines, which rebelling in part of that Iland, the rebels were defeated by his captaines, and the Iland brought to ſubiection. And within a little while afterwards the like happened in the countrie of *Dacia*, and alſo in *Germanie*, which tooke armes, but through the victorie of his legions, peace was eſtabliſhed: whereby he wanne ſo great reputation, that all the reſt of his raigne, there happened no daungerous warre, and all men feared and honored him for his goodnes, and therewith he was ſo much beloued, that he was held and eſteemed, for father, Lord, and Emperour. And the barbarous nations which were vnknowne to the Romanes, did ſo much loue and eſteeme him, that in contentions and matters in controuerſie which happened betweene them, they choſe him for their Iudge and arbitrator, ſubmitting themſelues to his cenſure. And ſo thoſe of the countrie of *Hircania*, which is a prouince of *Aſia*, neere to the *Caſpian* ſea, and the Bactrians which are more to the Eaſtwards, and both verie farre and remote, and alſo the East Indians, ſent to him their Ambaſſadours, offering amitie and obedience. And from other countries which were exceeding farre, there came ſome Kings to doe him honor: among which they make mention of STANGORVS from *India*, and of the King PHARASMANES and others. And in other parts and countries, he eſtabliſhed Kings at his appointment, whereto the inhabitants did conſent, notwithſtanding that they were not ſubiect to the Empire. And the King of the Parthians determining to make warres, being with a great power entred into *Armenia*, one letter from the Emperour ſufficed to make him retire and to diſcharge his armie. ANTONINVS being in this manner beloued and feared by ſtraungers, was no leſſe eſteemed and beloued by his ſubiects and vaſſals, but rather without compariſon farre more: as by thoſe which knew and enioyed his goodnes and equitie: and ſeeing that he was ſuch, he was by the whole Senate intituled father of his countrie, which he much refuſed, but yet in the end he accepted thereof, with great courteſie and humilitie: for hee was naturally gentle and noble of condition, and therewith very courteous, and as ſuch hee entertained the Senatours and principall men gently and louingly, with great honour and courteſie; and neuer did any thing of importance, without their counſell and conſent, and towards all men generally he ſought to moderate the ſtate and maieſtie of an Emperour, ſhewing himſelfe affable and pleaſant. And aboue all, he tooke order that no man ſhould make benefit of his fauour to another: neither take bribes by amazing ſuch as were ſutors vnto him: for he gaue audience and anſwere to all men himſelfe in perſon, and in this he knew the qualitie and difference betweene men, vſing herein ſometime the opinion of others when neede required. Whereto beſides the ordinarie counſell of the Senate, and his owne skill and knowledge in the lawes, hee had alwaies ſome excellent lawyers neere vnto him, as VLPIVS, MARCELLVS, IABOLENVS and ſuch others: By which meanes and ſuch others as ſhall be declared, the prouinces and cities in his time floriſhed and grew rich, which hee relieued with his owne rents towards the buildings thereof, aſwell ſuch as were neceſſarie as others to beautifie and adorne the ſame. And when any misfortune or calamitie happened, he repaired and reedified it with money out of his eſchequer, as was a great fire which happened in *Rome*, wherewith were burned three hundred and fortie Iles, principall houſes; a great part

Ambaſſadours and princes from far countries came to ſee Antoninus.

Great harme done by fire in ſeuerall places.

of

of the citie of *Narbone* in *France*, and the citie of *Antioche* in *Asia*, and the market place in the citie of *Carthage*. And in time of great hunger which in his time was in *Rome*, he prouided and mainteined the people with bread and wine the most of the time that the famine lasted, making victuals to be brought from all parts, he paying for the same at his proper cost: so as generally through the whole Empire all men were well content with him; for he mainteined them in peace, quietnes, and equitie. And truly in this place is to be noted and considered the power and gouernment of the Romane Empire, and how contentedly, and at what libertie the people liued in the time of ANTONINVS, TRAIANE, ADRIAN, and other good Emperours; and to see the greatnes and riches of that court frequented by the greatest and best men in the world; and to see the greatnes and buildings of that most populous citie of *Rome*: and to consider of the libertie and securitie wherein men might trauaile through the world, obeying and seruing one Lord, and he good and iust, without feare of warres, robbers by sea or land, without finding euery where new lawes, new coynes, new Lords, Kings, and tyrants, as there are now adayes, needing no securitie or safeconducts, without being taken prisoners, and made captiues, or ill vsed by enemies, strangers, and vnknowne persons, but vsing all men as friends and neighbours in the greatest and best parts of the world, which as a little Kingdome was quietly and iustly gouerned. One countrey was furnished from another, with such things as in the one did abound, and the other wanted. Merchandize and traffick passing through the world without so many prohibitions, molestations and troubles, as we see now adayes, all liuing then vnder one lawe euery where, in the best and greatest parts of the earth in vnion and peace, which they more perfectlie enioyed, after that the Emperours were Christians, as hereafter shal be declared. But as this was but humane power, so could it not continue long without fall, alteration or change: for it is the condition of the world, that nothing can continue long in one estate.

A wonderfull obedience, and vniuersall peace.

And returning to our ANTONINVS, among his other vertues wherewith he made the time of his raigne happie and ioyfull, one was his clemencie; wherewith he exceedingly mitigated the rigor of the lawes, punishing offences with pitie, or pardoning them, euer desiring and procuring peace: Wherein he commonly vsed that saying of SCIPIO, which was, that he more desired the preseruation of one friend or subiects life, then the death of an hundred enemies. This Emperour was also a great friend to learning, and much honored learned men, giuing them great rewards and pensions, drawing them vnto him from all the parts of the world; among which he caused to come from the citie of *Chalcide* a great Philosopher which was a Stoick, whose name was APOLLONIVS, whom he sent for to be maister to his adopted sonne MARCVS ANTONINVS, who afterwards was Emperour. This Philosopher being come to *Rome*, ANTONINVS sent for him to come to see him, seeing that he stayed long ere he did it of himselfe: whereto the Philosopher made answere, that with greater reason the scholler ought to come to the maister, then the maister to the scholler. This arrogancie did nothing offend ANTONINVS, but laughing thereat, he said to those which were with him, that he maruelled that APOLLONIVS should deeme it a shorter way from *Chalcide* to *Rome*, then from his lodging in *Rome* to his Pallace. This Emperour, among the waightie affaires and matters of importance, forgot not to please and recreate the people, but as the custome then was in *Rome* at certaine times he caused feasts and solemne sports to be made. In conclusion, he was an excellent Prince, and left nothing vndone, that was behouefull for the good gouernment

Proud speeches of Apollonius a Philosopher, with Antoninus his answere.

uernment of the Empire: and hauing ruled the ſame 23. yeeres, being aboue threeſcore and ten yeeres old, he was taken with a burning feuer, whereof within three dayes he dyed in peace and reſt, firſt recommending the Empire to MARCVS ANTONINVS, who was his ſonne in law, and married to his daughter FAVSTINA, and is commonly called MARCVS AVRELIVS, commaunding that the image of FORTVNE which the Emperours did vſe to haue in their chambers, ſhould be caried to ANTONINVS his chamber, which hapned in the yeare of our Lord 163. Some ſpace before that he died, being a man of a great ſtature, and by reaſon of his age vnable to go vpright, but ſtooping, he ware vpon his breaſt certaine thin boords, whereupon he made faſt his clothes with ſuch art, that it couered the defect of nature. His death was generally lamented, and the Romanes did him great honour, and made ſacrifices vnto him, canonizing him for a God, and builded a Temple vnto him, as they did to the vanitie of their other gods.

The death of Antoninus Pius.

Ann. Dom. 163.

THE LIFE OF MARCVS AVRELIVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, ALTHOVGH SECOND OF THE ANTONINES, CALLED THE PHILOSOPHER, AND OF LVCIVS COMMODVS VERVS ANTONINVS *his companion, and ſeuenteenth Emperour of Rome.*

THE ARGVMENT.

MArcus Aurelius being adopted by Antoninus Pius, ſucceeded in the Empire, and was endued with ſo much bountie and vertue, that he was worthily called the Philoſopher: and conſidering the many calamities which in his time oppreſſed the Romane commonwealth, there needed a man no leſſe good and vertuous. In his time were moſt dangerous warres,

very

very great earthquakes, inundations of riuers, plagues of pestilence, and most extreame famine; all which he through his singular wisedome excellentlie remedied. He made the Christians to be persecuted, whereby the Church indured much hurt. He was vnhappie in the honestie of his wife, and in wise children, and notwithstanding that she was dishoneſt, yet he would not put her away, accounting to haue had the Empire for her dowry. This good Emperour died in the wars against the Germanes, taken with a most grieuous infirmitie, when he had raigned 18. yeeres. His death was deplored through the whole Romane Empire, whereto he had euer shewed himselfe a good Prince and louing father.

SO soone as the Emperour ANTONINVS PIVS was dead, MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS VERVS, without any contradiction succeeded him, who was called the Philosopher, whom (as we haue said) ANTONINVS PIVS had named & adopted for his sonne in the time of the Emperour ADRIAN, and afterwards married him to his daughter FAVSTINA. This man so soone as he was confirmed in the Empire, and began to gouerne the same, chose and tooke for his companion and equall therein, LVCIVS VERVS COMMODVS ANTONINVS: who together with him, was adopted by ANTONINVS, by the commaundement of the Emperour ADRIAN, being the sonne of LVCIVS CEIONIVS COMMODVS, whom ADRIAN had first adopted, & who died before him. These two were the first that euer ruled in *Rome* togethers with equall power. This excellent Emperour MARCVS ANTONINVS was also called AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. I would that the reader should vnderstand, that this confusion and varietie of names is caused by reason of the adoptions which then were made: for the Romanes did vse to haue three names, a forename, a name, and a surname. And to declare it more plainely, when any one was adopted for a sonne, he receiued the name and surname, and sometime changed all the three names. Sometime they held one, and changed the rest, to continue the memorie of both fathers: and from hence grew so many names, which obscure the historie, and oftentimes deceiue the reader. To be eased of this trouble, I will call this principall Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS, and his brother and companion, LVCIVS VERVS, giuing to them both sometime the surname ANTONINVS.

Marcus Aurelius called the Philosopher.

Lucius Commodus taken by Marcus Aurelius for his companion in the Empire.

Adoption in what manner.

MARCVS AVRELIVS then was the naturall and true sonne of ELIVS VERVS, who died Pretor. And his Grandfathers name was ELIVS VERVS also, and had bin twise Consul and Prefect in *Rome*, and was enobled and made Patrician by the Emperour VESPASIAN, as IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS recordeth. His mothers name was DOMICIA CAMILLA, and was the daughter of CALVISIVS TVLLVS, who had bin twise Consul. By his fathers side he was of so auncient a linage, that it was reported of him that he was descended from NVMA POMPILIVS the second King of the Romanes. This Emperour was endued with so many vertues, good qualities, and conditions, that there will not any be found that hath excelled him, and hardlie any to be compared vnto him. In his time there were so dangerous warres and so many calamities, that therein was great neede of his vertue, wisedome and valour, to resist so many perils, and to redresse so many ill fortunes. He was so addicted to the studie of Philosophie, and all arts and sciences, that he was therefore called the Philosopher, and did honor and greatly enrich wise and learned men. His principall maisters in Philosophie amongst others, were APOLLONIVS CHALCIDONENSIS, in the Greeke toong, and SEXTVS CHERONENSIS nephew to PLVTARCH; and in Rhetoricke FRONTO an excellent Orator in that time, by whose instructions he greatly profited. And beginning to gouerne in companie of his adopted brother LVCIVS

The origine of Marcus Aurelius.

VERVS ANTONINVS (as is ſaid) as he did in all things ſo notablie excell the other, ſo (in a manner) had he the adminiſtration of all matters: for which cauſe of him chiefeſt mention is made; as alſo for that he liued longer, and remained alone in the Empire, ruling with the good liking and contentment of the whole Senate and people of *Rome*, for the great experience which they had of his vertue and goodnes. In the beginning of his raigne, there happened ſo great an inundation and ouerflowing of the riuer *Tiber*, that it deſtroied many buildings in *Rome*, and drowned ſome people, with a great number of cattell; and ſpoiling the fields cauſed extreame dearth and famine. Which MARCVS AVRELIVS through his great liberalitie in companie of his brother LVCIVS VERVS, ſufficientlie redreſſed and prouided for, relieuing and victualling the citie at their owne proper coſt and charges, making prouiſion of corne from all parts. After this, in the third yeare of his raigne, followed the dangerous warre againſt the Parthians, a nation which the Romanes euer feared: which warre was moued by their king VOLOGESVS, who leuying an exceeding huge army came againſt the ordinarie legions in *Syria*, where ATIODIVS CORNELIANVS was Captaine, and gouerned that countrey for the Empire: who hauing no ſufficient armie to make head againſt the Parthians was driuen to retire, and VOLOGESVS tooke ſome countries. At that time alſo rebelled certaine people in the Ile of *Britanny*, and in *Germany* alſo, and much northern people called Catti inuaded the borders of th'Empire, againſt all which MARCVS AVRELIVS made ſpeedie prouiſion. Into *Britanny* was ſent CALPHVRNIVS AGRICOLA with new ſupplies, who ioyning with the ordinarie legions of that Iland, pacified thoſe troubles. Againſt the Catti, was ſent AVFIDIVS VICTORINVS for General. To the warres againſt the Parthians, becauſe it was important and more dangerous, it ſeemed requiſit to the Emperours and to the Senat, that one of them two ſhould go, and it was concluded that LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS ſhould vndertake the charge, becauſe that MARCVS AVRELIVS could not be ſpared: for his preſence was very needefull in *Rome* for the generall gouernment, and to prouide for all parts. And ſo LVCIVS VERVS with great prouiſion and a great court departed, whom MARCVS AVRELIVS accompanied to the citie of *Capua*, but LVCIVS fell ſick by the way (as ſome write) through his diſorders, riot, and ſurfetting, by reaſon whereof and his long lingering, the Romane legions were put to the worſe, and were ouerthrowne by the Parthians, and their Generall was ſlaine in a battaile which was fought betweene them. But ANTONINVS being arriued with his great armie, the warre was managed with apparant aduantage to the Romanes ſide, not by the endeuour of LVCIVS VERVS, but of his Captaines ESTACIVS PRISCVS, AVIDIVS CASSIVS, and MARCIVS VERVS, valiant and wiſe gentlemen; he giuing himſelfe to his pleaſures and paſtimes; in Summer, in the citie of *Antioch*; and in winter, in *Laodicea*, for 4. yeeres ſpace that theſe warres continued: wherein paſſed many great conflicts, skirmiſhes & battailes betweene the ſaid Captaines and the King and nation of the Parthians. But ſucceeding proſperouſly with the Romanes, they obtained many victories in diuers parts: ſo as recouering what was loſt in *Syria*, they did the like in *Armenia*, and entred the prouince of *Media*: and finally, being maſters of the field, came with their Enſignes diſplaied euen to the citie of *Babylon*. While as theſe things were a doing, the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS remained in *Rome*, applying himſelfe with great care to the good gouernment, prouiding all things neceſſarie for the warres, with great wiſedome and foreſight; diſſembling and with patience enduring the vices and rechleſnes

The ouerflowing of Tiber.

VVarre with the Parthians.

Lucius Verus againſt the Parthians.

of

of his companion LVCIVS VERVS, to whom at that time he ſent his daughter LVCILLA to be married vnto him in *Syria*, where he then was; which he did the better to confirme the friendſhip and brotherhood betweene them. And during the time of theſe warres with the Parthians, EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS write, that the Chriſtians were perſecuted by the commaundement of the Emperour, chiefly in *Aſia* where LVCIVS VERVS was; which was the fourth perſecution that the Church endured: wherefore (as it is to bee beleeued) God ſent the generall peſtilence, and other calamities which afterwards enſued.

The fourth perſecution of the Primitiue Church.

Hauing obtained ſo many victories againſt the Parthians, LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS reſolued to come to *Rome*, leauing that countrey quiet and in ſubiection: and ſetting the affaires of *Aſia* in good order, he diuided the kingdomes among thoſe which to him ſeemed to haue moſt right vnto them, leauing them as ſubiects and vaſſals to the Empire: and in other prouinces and countries, hee made the officers of his houſe and Court gouernours, which were called *Comites* or *Earles*: from whence the title and dignitie of Earles now adaies might haue the originall. And being come into *Italy*, with the new ſurname of PARTHICVS, for the victorie attained againſt the Parthians, which was alſo giuen to MARCVS AVRELIVS, with the triumph, they both together triumphed with great ſolemnitie: and ſo this enterpriſe was happily atchieued and ended. And notwithſtanding that this comming of LVCIVS VERVS from the Eaſt was verie ioyfull, by reaſon of the many victories obtained by his armies; yet was it otherwiſe the cauſe of much ſorrow and heauines: for when he came out of *Syria*, the plague was very ſore therein, and hee diſperſed the ſame in ſundrie places by the way as he came; ſo as many of his ſouldiers, and of his Court and companie died thereof: and doing the like in *Italy* and in *Rome*, he infected the whole land, in ſuch ſort, that it was the greateſt and moſt furious peſtilence that euer was ſeene vntill then. For remedie whereof, MARCVS AVRELIVS vſed all care and diligence poſſible, as well in preſeruing thoſe which were infected, and auoiding further infection, as in curing the liuing, and burying the dead; to his great coſt and hazard of his life. This aduerſitie being paſt, before it, and whileſt it continued, hee omitted no time nor care that was neceſſarie for the gouernment, and good of the common-wealth; hearing and diſpatching all cauſes in generall; ſeeing in perſon what was done in the Senate, without whoſe opinion, and of the moſt principall and wiſeſt men he did nothing: for he vſed to ſay, That there was greater reaſon that hee ſhould follow the counſell of ſo many and ſo good friends, then that ſo many and ſo wiſemen ſhould doe after his will alone. And at the meetings wherein Magiſtrates were choſen, hee was euer preſent; and in all things cauſed the ancient order and libertie to be obſerued. In Courts and iudgements he increaſed the number of the Iudges and the Iudiciall daies. Hee alſo encreaſed the almes and rewards of his Palace; and in a time of famine and want of corne in his time, he ſpent an infinite ſumme of treaſure, prouiding for many cities ſufficient quantitie of graine. And in *Spaine* being more fruitfull then the reſt, where his predeceſſors had too much gleaned, he mittigated great part of the tributes, releaſing many taxes and ſeruices.

A great plague in Rome and all Italy.

Marcus Aurelius relieued many cities with corne in time of ſcarſitie.

And herein he was ſo temperate and pitifull towards his ſubiects, that whatſoeuer briberies and extortions were committed by his collectors and receiuers, he moſt ſeuerely puniſhed; yet in all other crimes and offences he euer vſed great clemencie, and euer inflicted leſſe puniſhment then the lawes commaunded. This Emperor not onely ſaw aduerſities (as we haue ſaid) as famine, and the peſtilence,

with inundations and earthquakes; but within his house hee endured a greater plague with his wife FAVSTINA, who was (as all writers affirme) dishonest and vnmeasurably dissolute; which hee sought by all meanes possible to redresse; although not by such rigorous punishment as she deserued. And being by some perswaded to put her away, and to diuorce himselfe from her, seeing that hee would not put her to death; he remembring that she was ANTONINVS PIVS his daughter, who had left him the Empire, they write that he answered them in this manner: If we put away FAVSTINA, we are bound to leaue the Empire also, which was the dowrie we had with her at our mariage. There ensued so many calamities after that LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS came from the East, as well by meanes of the generall and most cruell pestilence, as by earthquakes, famine, inundations, and catterpillers, not onely in *Italy*, but in other prouinces of the Empire also: so that all writers affirme, that if it had not happened that MARCVS AVRELIVS had been so diligent, so wise, and so worthie an Emperour as he was, the Romane Empire had been destroied and rent in sunder, and the barbarous Nations had subdued the greatest part thereof. For taking occasion of that which is aforesaid, seeing the countries wasted and destroied, many northerly Nations conspired against it, as the Sarmates, the Vandales, the Marcomans, the Sueuians, and in a manner all *Germanie:* and they seised vpon the prouinces of *Pannonia*, which were *Austrich* and *Hungary* and other countries, threatning *Italy* and *France*. Whereto the Emperor MARCVS AVRELIVS desirous to yeeld redresse, thought it not sufficient to send thither his companion, and much lesse durst hee leaue him in *Rome*, hee was so rechlesse and vicious, and therefore resolued that they would both goe together: and putting it in execution, with all prouision necessarie thereto, it happened that vpon the way, LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS was taken with an Apoplexie, whereof hee died suddenly, hauing raigned about nine or tenne yeeres in companie with his brother. And so MARCVS AVRELIVS remained alone in the Empire, who onely was worthie thereof, and followed his iourney with his armie, and began the warre with great courage and discretion, wherein the infection did greater harme to his armie, then the force of his enemies; although it passed not without many battailes and encounters. And so with great difficultie, by reason of the pestilence, he maintained this warre three yeeres: and wanting money to pay his souldiers (for the prouinces, by reason of the miseries past, could not bee taxed) hee was constrained to sell all his iewels, vessels of gold and siluer, the furniture of his chamber, and his owne proper possessions, therewith to pay his armie, which was greatly diminished of his most principall men which died of the plague, whereby it receiued much more harme then by the enemie: wherefore he was often counselled to leaue the wars and to returne. But he willing rather to die then to lose any iot of his honour, continued it with a very great resolution, vntill that (after many great perils and extremities, which were such that the Historiographers describe this warre to be as daungerous, as the wars of *Hannibal*) he obtained the victorie, which he throughly accomplished in a great battaile. Wherein (as it was thought) through the prayers of the Christians which were in his armie, vnto which he recommended himselfe, God graunted in his behalfe a most euident miracle; which was, That he and his people being readie to perish through want of water (the passages being on euery side stopt by his enemies) there fell such abundance of raine from heauen, that his armie was sufficiently relieued with drinke: and therewith there fell such lightning and so cruell a tempest amongst his enemies, that hee then setting vpon

Faustina Marcus Aurelius his wife dishonest and dissolute.

Northerly nations conspired against the Empire.

The death of Lucius Verus.

A most manifest miracle.

vpon them ouerthrew and slew a great number of them; as EVSEBIVS and IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS recount. And this being past, hee recouered the *Pannonies*, and the rest which they had vsurped: and had done much more, but that at that instant AVIDIVS CASSIVS, before named, who was Captaine and Gouernour in the East, rose against MARCVS AVRELIVS, proclaiming himselfe Emperour, taking occasion thereof to see him so much troubled in so doubtfull a warre: wherfore of necessitie the Emperor was constrained to leaue the best order that he could in matters concerning *Germanie*, and thence to returne into *Italy*, from thence to take his way towards AVIDIVS CASSIVS; and doing so hee came to *Rome*, whereinto he entred in triumph ouer the Germanes, and ioyntly with him went his sonne COMMODVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, and nominated for his successor.

The triumph being ended, and leauing in *Rome* such order for the gouernment as was most expedient, with part of his victorious armie which he brought with him out of *Germanie*, and with other forces which he had newly leuied, hee departed towards the East, against AVIDIVS CASSIVS; where being arriued, the matter went so well of his side, that before that hee came to any conflict or battaile, the same Legions which AVIDIVS CASSIVS commaunded, rebelled against him, and slew him, without the commaundement or knowledge of MARCVS AVRELIVS: for hee was rather displeased therewith then otherwise; so gentle and noble was he. And his head being brought vnto him, he commanded it to be honourably buried, and therewith seemed to be very sorrowfull, saying, That they had bereaued him of a meane and occasion to shew him any mercie; and that he much desired to haue had him in his power aliue, to the end to haue giuen him his life, and to haue reproued him of his ingratitude. And those Cities which with him had conspired, hee easily pardoned, and commaunded that they should not be rigorously dealt withall. And of their goods, which the Senate had commanded to be confiscated, and put into his Exchequer, he would not receiue any part; but commaunded that they should bee put into the publike treasurie of *Rome*. And being by one of his Counsell reproued, for shewing such clemencie in a crime so notorious, telling him that hee ought not to haue done so, and that AVIDIVS CASSIVS would not haue done so by him if hee had bin ouercome: Whereto hee answered, with great constancie and assurance, saying, That AVIDIVS had not so well serued the gods, nor liued in such sort, as to be able to haue ouerthrowne him. BVLGACIVS GALLICANVS reporteth, who is an author very ancient, and liued in the time of the Emperour DIOCLESIAN, in the life which hee wrote of this AVIDIVS CASSIVS, recounteth that the Emperour commaunded to bee giuen to his sonnes and daughters the one halfe of their fathers goods; and that there should not any iniurie or displeasure be done vnto them; and that they should bee admitted to Magistracies and dignities, if they were thereto chosen: and so towards others which were guiltie, he vsed the like clemencie and gentlenes.

This rebellion being pacified, MARCVS AVRELIVS withdrew himselfe to the citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*, now called *Soria*; whither came vnto him many Kings and Ambassadours from the East; where treating of peace and amitie, and concluding the same with them, he was greatly esteemed and beloued of all men. And setting all matters of the East in good order, being now old and wearied, hee made his returne into *Italy*; and by the way his wife the Empereſſe FAVSTINA died, whom hee most sumptuously, and with great honour buried. And being

come to *Rome*, hee entred thereinto in triumph, for the victorie obtained against AVIDIVS; and returned to his accustomed goodnes and vpright gouernment of the Empire, as he was wont to doe. And when it seemed that he should now haue rested from his former troubles, there began new alterations and insurrections in *Germanie*; which hee fearing (as was reason, as that Nation had alwaies been feared and doubted) he determined in person to goe to that warre, and did so with very great power; and prosecuted the same the space of three yeeres together, wherein were done many feates of armes on either side, and hee obtained some notable victories. And being readie to haue fully concluded his conquests, (they being as it were in his hand) hee was taken with a grieuous pestilent infirmitie; which he perceiuing to be mortall, commaunded all the most principall men which were there with him to come before him: to whom hee made a notable speech, which HERODIANVS reciteth; wherein hee recommended vnto them the Romane Common-wealth, and his onely sonne COMMODVS, whom he left for his successor; and him hee charged very effectually to end that warre which hee left in so good termes; concluding, that hee should not suffer the enemie which was brought low and well nigh to confusion, to recouer force and courage. And then being no longer able to resist his sicknes, he died, hauing raigned eighteene yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord (as EVSEBIVS reckoneth) one hundred, fourescore and two, being threescore and one yeere old. Yet SEXTVS AVRELIVS saith, two yeeres lesse. His death was extreamely lamented and bewailed through the whole armie, and afterwards in *Rome*, and generally through all the prouinces of the Empire: for in them all he was infinitely well beloued. MARCVS AVRELIVS had had one other son, whose name was ANTONINVS, which died young, and one daughter named LVCILLA, which maried with a great and mightie man called POMPEIANVS.

The death of Marcus Aurelius, Anno Dom. 182.

THE

THE LIFE OF COMMODVS ANTONINVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND EIGHTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the good Marcus Aurelius, ſucceeded his wicked ſonne Commodus. Who for that he was held to be the ſonne of ſo good a father, was without any difficultie hailed Emperour; and foraſmuch as when his father died he was in Germanie, when he returned to Rome all the citie made great ioy; but being come to the citie, giuing himſelfe ouer to all wickednes that a man could imagine, he behaued himſelfe ſo, that ſome conſpired againſt him; which he eſcaping had occaſion to ſhew his crueltie. He was very actiue of his bodie, and ſo wonderfull in caſting of darts, that he would openly kill wild beaſts in the Amphitheater. Finally, his wife Martia finding a booke, wherein were written the names of ſuch as he had determined to put to death, and ſhe finding her owne name amongſt the reſt, tooke order for his diſpatch out of the way, and giuing him poiſon, whilſt he was vomiting it vp againe, ſhe made him to be ſtabbed; and ſo died that monſter, to the great contentment of the whole Empire, which he had wickedly gouerned thirteene yeeres.

THE good MARCVS AVRELIVS being dead, his ſon COMMODVS was by the whole armie obeied and acknowledged for their Lord and Emperor: and ſo he was afterwards by the Senate and people of *Rome*, and likewiſe by all the prouinces: for no man would deny obedience to the ſonne

of ſo good a father. But he prooued ſo ill, and ſo wicked, that in nothing he ſeemed to bee his ſonne, and ſo ſoone ſuſpected that hee was not, conſidering the adulterie of his mother FAVSTINA. The auncient authors which write of him, which are many, in a manner treate of nothing elſe but of his abominable vices and cruelties; which were ſo many, that it ſeemeth that he exerciſed himſelfe in no other thing; neither left any other thing behinde him, whereby he might be remembred. He came to the Empire being of the age of nineteene yeeres, and was of a fine conſtitution of body and of a very faire complexion, cleere eied, and had the moſt gallant yellowiſh haire in the world. All (in truth) ill beſtowed vpon him, ſeeing that theſe gifts and ſuch exquiſit corporall beautie, he emploied ſo filthilie and diſhoneſtly; being a gamſter, incontinent, a leacher, negligent, flothfull, a glutton, a drunkerd, and aboue all, cruell. Within ſome few daies after that his father was dead, he came to the campe where the armie lay, accompanied with all the Romane Nobilitie; and made a good ſpeech to the people, promiſing a good hope of him, and matters cleane contrarie to thoſe which he vſed: and gaue ſuch gifts to the ſouldiers as the new Emperours were accuſtomed to giue. In theſe good beginnings he perſeuered ſome few daies, which being expired, through the counſell of ſome lewd perſons, he determined to leaue the warres and to returne to *Rome*. And the opinion and counſell of POMPEIANVS being his brother in law, and a man of ſo great authoritie, could no way perſwade him to ſtay, neither other wiſemen and his loyall ſeruants: who were of opinion that he ought to ſtaie, and to ſee the end of the warre. With this reſolution he preſently wrote his letters to *Rome*, aduertiſing them of his comming, and made ſuch truce and peace with the enemies, as was rather to their aduantage then his. HERODIANVS writeth, that he bought it with money, yet onely EVTROPIVS writeth, that he firſt wanne a great battaile. He then leauing the ordinarie Captaines in the frontiers of *Germanie*, held on his way towards *Rome*; and in all the cities through which he paſſed, was receiued with incredible ioy and ſolemnitie, for the great loue which they bare to his father, and for the hope which they conceiued of him; as yet not knowing his conditions. In *Rome* he was receiued with exceeding great ioy, triumph and bleſſings generally of all men, they ſtrawing the waies with flowers where he went, making all the ſignes of ioy that were poſſible; hoping and aſſuring themſelues that they ſhould haue a good prince of him; being the ſonne of MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS, and Nephew of ANTONINVS PIVS, which were ſingular, good, and excellent Emperours. But it was not long before that he put them out of doubt, making fruſtrate their good hope of him: For he openly gaue himſelfe to vice and incontinencie, going by night with others of his condition (as there neuer want thoſe which will imitate the prince, although in doing euill) to brothell houſes, and publike tauernes; ſpending alſo whole daies and nights in banketting, feaſting, bathings and moſt abominable luxurie. And as wicked men neuer loue any, but ſuch as are like themſelues; ſo he ſent for gouernours into the prouinces, ſuch as were his companions in his abominations: whereto he was ſo much addicted, and ſpent ſo much time in them, that he tooke no care for the gouernment; leauing all to the diſpoſition of a fauourite of his, whoſe name was PERENIVS, whom he afterwards made Pretorian Prefect, which is Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, who was a moſt couetous, vicious and cruell man, yet very expert in the warres. And this man gouerning all things, the accurſed Emperour COMMODVS encreaſed ſo much in his vices and abominations, that they write that he kept three hnndred

Commodus ſuſpected to be a baſtard.

Commodus leauing the warres of Germanie, returned to Rome.

hundred Concubines, and as many boyes for deteſtable vſes: for which cauſe he grew to be ſo odious and ſo abhorred, that certaine principall men conſpired againſt him, determining ſecretly to haue ſlaine him, his ſiſter LVCILLA which was wife to POMPEIANVS being a partaker in the action: Whereby it may well be imagined what he was; ſeeing that his owne ſiſter iudged him worthie of death. All being concluded how it ſhould be, and the charge of the execution being giuen to one, whoſe name was QVINCIANVS (as HERODIANVS reporteth) yet LAMPRIDIVS ſaith, that the charge was giuen to POMPEIANVS, that he ſhould firſt ſtrike him, and ſhould haue been ſeconded by the reſt of the conſpirators. But it happened that this man, as hee was very bold and hardie, erred in the action: for hauing had ſufficient oportunitie to haue ſlaine him, and being come neere, would not ſo diſpatch him, but in a brauing manner, being ſomewhat farre from him, he ſet his hand vpon his poiniard, and going towards him, ſaid, heere COMMODVS, the Senate hath ſent thee this poiniard; and for any haſte that he could make to ſtabbe him, with greater haſte he was letted by ſome of the Emperours guarde, and by them was taken; ſo as the conſpiracie was preſently diſcouered, and a great way was laid open to COMMODVS his cruelties. For afterwards that all thoſe which were guiltie were executed, together with his owne ſiſter LVCILLA, with her husband POMPEIANVS, by the hand and direction of PERENIVS; many Senatours and a great number of other noble and principall men were alſo put to death, and their goods ſeaſed vpon, by producing falſe witneſſes, which falſely accuſed them: Wherewith PERENIVS became ſo rich, that he practized, and was in hope, to haue made himſelfe Emperour. But COMMODVS being aduertiſed of theſe and other his treacheries, made him and a ſonne of his to be ſlaine. And he preſently ſuffered himſelfe to be ruled by another fauorite, named CLEANDER, who was ſo wicked and extreame in crueltie, rapine, and briberie, that he ſurpaſſed PERENIVS. And this fellow was ſo extreme, that the people of *Rome* vnable to endure him, vpon a day tooke armes, and in a tumult, went to a houſe of pleaſure in *Rome*, wherein the Emperour was, and required to haue CLEANDERS head; and notwithſtanding that the Emperours guarde began to make reſiſtance, yet the matter came to ſuch iſſue, that COMMODVS was conſtrained in deſpite of himſelfe to deliuer him; and ſo were both he and his two ſonnes ſlaine. This tumult being pacified, which COMMODVS durſt not puniſh, he was ſo angrie and therewith ſo fearefull, that from thencefoorth he truſted no man in the world: but as a Swine drawne out of the mire, ſo returned hee to his abominable vices, taking care for no other thing. Within a while after, according to his accuſtomed manner, he ſuffered himſelfe to be ruled by another fauorite, whoſe name was IVLIANVS, and another called REGILIVS, both which he afterwards cauſed to be put to death, with other his fauorites which ſucceeded them; together with a multitude of great men, which LAMPRIDIVS reciteth: and all things were ſo farre out of order, that magiſtracies and the gouernments of prouinces were ſold for money; and they which bought them were oftentimes ſlaine alſo. And matters being thus handled by the Emperour, and by thoſe which ruled him, he ſpent his time onely in vices, and moſt diſhoneſt, and effeminate pleaſures: colouring his haire, and often bathing himſelfe in companie of others of his condition: which he called by moſt diſhoneſt names, to the end that they ſhould be conformable to their doings: And was not aſhamed (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo abominable actions) to take the name and habit of a man, who was a very great enemie to thoſe

Commodus his Concubines.

Lucilla Commodus his owne ſiſter conſpired againſt him.

Commodus ſlew his fauorite Perenius and his ſonne.

Cleander ſlaine by the people.

Commodus changed his name.

thoſe vices, which was HERCVLES: For it was ſo, that in lieu of COMMODVS ANTONINVS ſonne of MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS; he commaunded himſelfe to bee called HERCVLES the ſonne of IVPITER; and cladding himſelfe ouer other rich attire in moſt ridiculous manner with the skin of a Lion, and with a clubbe or mace in his hand, as HERCVLES with his clubbe, and he ſo vſed to goe abroade; whereat ſome laughed, and others murmured. And ſometimes he went clothed like an Amazon woman, which was more naturally correſpondent to his condition: which hee did for the loue of one of his Concubines whom hee much loued, whoſe name was MARTIA, whoſe picture hee ware drawne at life vpon that habit. And after this, as though hee had aſwell deſerued it, as AVGVSTVS CÆSAR had done; he commaunded that the moneth of Auguſt ſhould bee called Commodus; and September Hercules; for hee had taken that name: and December Amazonius, after the name of an Amazon: But this was obſerued no longer then he liued. This accurſed man among his miſchiefes, had a ſtrange abilitie of body, which was, to caſt or hurle a dart or a launce, better then any man of his time: and was a moſt certaine ſhooter in either croſſe-bow, or long-bow; and was ſo skilfull therein (that in certaine feaſts and huntings, which according to the cuſtome were then made in *Rome*, whither came an infinit number of people to behold the ſame) he commaunded a gallerie to be made round about the Amphitheater; within which he might runne free and in ſafetie; and from thence running round about with exceeding ſwiftnes, hurling his darts or iauelines, he killed almoſt all the Stagges and Harts that were let looſe, without miſſing one throw, or needing any more then one ſhotte: he was ſo ſure in hitting either in the heart, in the forehead, or any other part whereſoeuer he would: and he did the like by the Lions, Panthers, and Ounces, which to that end, were brought thither that day. With his bowe and arrowes he would kill birds flying in the aire, and did ſuch other actiue exerciſes, as in truth were very ſtraunge: whereby it appeareth that this man wanted not witte and abilitie to haue applied himſelfe to goodnes, aſwell as to ſinne and wickednes. And as crueltie was the thing wherein he did principally delight, ſo it pleaſed the moſt mercifull King of heauen, that the ſame was the cauſe of his death. For it happened thus, that hauing determined to put a great number of principall people to death, and wrote a memoriall of thoſe which he purpoſed ſhould die, amongſt which was his louing friend MARCIA, and AELIVS LETVS Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts: it happened that this his beloued MARCIA vpon ſome occaſion came to the ſight of this memoriall; who ſeeing herſelfe condemned to death, determined with her ſelfe to aſſure her life by the death of COMMODVS. And taking counſell with AELIVS LETVS, and with another whoſe name was ALECTVS, who was alſo condemned, concerning the contents in the memoriall; they agreed among themſelues to poiſon him, which ſo ſpeedily as might be was giuen him by the ſame MARCIA in a cuppe of mingled wine which he did vſe to drinke: and being preſently taken with a heauie ſlumber, MARCIA commaunded all the companie to goe forth of the chamber, vnder colour to ſuffer him to take his reſt. This being done, within a little while after he awoke extremely vomiting; and MARCIA and the reſt fearing that he would againe haue caſt vp the poiſon, in all haſte called in a valiant young man named NARCISSVS, ſhewing him the memoriall, and how the Emperour would haue put him to death alſo; and making him large promiſes, they concluded that he ſhould goe in and kill him, and ſo he did: And ſo this vn-

Commodus attired like an Amazon.

Commodus poiſoned by his friend Marcia.

happie

happie COMMODVS vomiting and ſtrangely tormented with the poiſon, was by this NARCISSVS ſtabd and ſlaine, to the good liking of the Romane people, and generallie of all the world. When his death was knowne, there was no man but did commend and approue the fact. He died, being of the age of 32. yeeres, and in the yeere of our Lord 194. hauing raigned twelue yeeres and eight moneths. The ioy which afterwards was conceiued in *Rome* when his death was publiſhed, was incredible: and although that at the preſent it was not certainely knowne, but that he died ſodainly of an Apoplexie, which EVTROPIVS affirmeth in his life: They ran vp and downe the ſtreetes that night, crying and calling one to another for ioy, and went to the Temples to render thanks to the gods for ſo great a benefit: and others went to the Palace with their eies to behold his dead carcaſſe. The Senate and Romane Nobilitie conceiued no leſſe ioy then did the people, which may ſufficiently appeare by the number of curſings which the Senate gaue him, when PERTINAX was choſen Emperour and his ſucceſſor, which M. MAXIMVS writeth, and AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS maketh relation thereof, which is a pleaſing thing to reade.

Commodus ſlaine by Narciſſus.

Ann. Dom. 194.

Ioy conceiued by the Romanes for the death of Commodus.

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS PERTINAX, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND NINETEENTH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

After Commodus, Pertinax was Emperour, who being borne of baſe condition attained to the Imperiall dignitie, more by meanes of his vertues, then the Nobilitie of his bloud, or the glory of his anncestors; being the ſonne but of a Libertine. He was firſt a Doctor of the Lawe; and afterwards leauing that profeſſion, he gaue himſelfe to the exerciſe of armes; wherein he behaued himſelfe ſo excellentlie, that he deſerued to be made Emperour, to which dignitie thoſe which conſpired againſt Commodus aduanced him; which went to him, he lying in his bed, expecting death rather then the Empire. And notwithſtanding that he caried himſelfe excellentlie well in the gouernment of the Empire, and neuer ſought to be reuenged on thoſe which had offended him, yet there failed not ſome which enuied his goodnes,

and

and desired his death, which was giuen him with many wounds, when he had raigned the space of three moneths, being of the age of 67. yeeres, for whose goodnes sake the Senate resolued to place him in the number of their gods.

THE good and valorous PVBLIVS AELIVS PERTINAX, succeeded the wicked and tyrannous Emperour COMMODVS in the Empire, being almost threescore and ten yeeres old; and held the same but three moneths. The manner how he attained thereto, I will presently shew you, when we shall briefely haue declared the warres, the offices and troubles which he first passed: for they were such and so diuers, that he was therefore called the wheele of FORTVNE. Truly this Emperour was a notable example of mundane mutabilitie. To the first, he was the sonne of a libertine which had been a slaue and made free, called AELIVS; and being a child was taught to write, and reade, and cast account, which his father did, to the end that he should help him in his poore Mercery shop. Afterwards he came to learne the Greeke and Latine Grammar, so as he came to be a Maister, and to keepe a Schoole in *Rome*. After this he gaue himselfe to the studie of the Lawes, and by the intercession of LOLIANVS AVITVS, who had bin Consul, and his fathers maister, he obteined libertie to pleade, and to defend mens causes, which he did for some space. But being naturally a man of strength and courage, and more enclined to armes then letters, he gaue ouer that exercise and went to the warres, wherein he proued so well, that within few dayes he was made Captaine of a cohort in *Syria* against the Parthians, and increasing in credit and estimation, he was sent to the warres in *Britanny*, and afterwards to the warres of *Missia*, and was made a Captaine of horsemen in the warres which MARCVS AVRELIVS waged against the Germanes; and afterwards was Captaine of a Fleete in the Flemish Seas: and that charge being ended, he continued in the warres of *Dacia*, where through euill informations he was depriued of the charge which he held, by MARCVS AVRELIVS: although that afterwards he returned into grace by the intercession of POMPEIANVS the Emperours sonne in lawe, and was made a Senatour, although that then he vsed it not: and in recompense of the disgrace past, the Emperour made him Captaine of a legion, wherein in the warres which were in the time of MARCVS AVRELIVS he performed many notable feates of armes, as well against strange and barbarous nations, as against AVIDIVS CASSIVS, who (as we said) then rebelled against MARCVS AVRELIVS. His valiant acts were so many and such, that he was by him many times publikely praised, and made Consul of *Rome*. He had also after that the gouernment of both the *Missias*, and of *Dacia*, in all which charges he caried him so valorously, and with such equitie, that the same Emperour gaue him the gouernment of all *Syria* in *Asia*, which was the greatest charge that the Emperours gaue. And MARCVS AVRELIVS being dead, and the time of his office expired, he came to *Rome*, after that he had gouerned foure consularie prouinces, and had himselfe bin Consul, besides other Captaineships, gouernments, and charges of greater qualitie, with great renowme and fame of bountie and valour. But comming to *Rome* in the time of the raigne of the wicked Emperour COMMODVS, by the instigation of a certaine seruant of his, he was banished from *Rome*: but he being dead which was the causer of his banishment, the same COMMODVS sent him into the Ile of *Britanny*, to redresse the abuses of an army and certaine legions which were therein; whither he went, and put all in good order,

Pertinax called the wheele of Fortune.

Pertinax deposed from his charge by Marcus Aurelius.

Pertinax made Consul by Marcus Aurelius.

Pertinax banished frō Rome by Commodus.

order; but he was first in great danger, and hardly escaped with his life: for a legion being in a mutinie, killed some of his people and vsed him in such manner, that he was left for dead in the field amongst the dead: and hauing escaped this danger, he valorously punished the offenders, and pacified the legions. And vpō his especiall request there was one sent to succeede him, and he was sent Proconsul into the prouince of *Africa*: wherein he likewise passed many dangers in mutinies, in seditions of the people, and of the ordinarie legions; for so long as COMMODVS was Emperour, there was no such order in any place as was conuenient. And writers affirme, that had it not bin for PERTINAX and such other Captains, as remained since the time of his father MARCVS AVRELIVS, the Romane Empire had bin exposed to great danger. But hauing perfourmed his charge in *Africa* with honor, although not without much trouble and difficultie, being now old and spent, he came to *Rome*, and COMMODVS made him Prefect thereof, and he being in this estate, death seised vpon COMMODVS by reason of his cruelties, PERTINAX dayly expecting when COMMODVS would haue bereaued him of life. And this valiant man lying one night careleslie sleeping in his bed when COMMODVS was dead, MARTIA his friend which had plotted his death, and AELIVS LETVS Captaine of the pretorian cohorts, and those which conspired with them, agreed together to procure & cause PERTINAX to be chosen Emperour. And to this effect about midnight, before that the death of COMMODVS was published, the said Captaine AELIVS LETVS, with some of his souldiers of the cohorts, came to the house of PERTINAX, who (as I said) lay secure in his bed, and in great haste causing the dore to be opened, went vp into his chamber: whom so soone as he saw, yea and before, when he but vnderstood that he was comming vp, he assured himselfe that by COMMODVS his commaundement he came to kill him, not knowing him to be dead, and determining to suffer his death with courage and patience, he lay still in his bed, without any shew to be moued thereat, & said vnto AELIVS LETVS: I haue for some space expected to end my life in this manner, and I marueile that COMMODVS hath deferred it so long: and seeing it is so, why stand you still? Make an end with me, and do that which you are commanded. Whereto AELIVS LETVS answered, perswading him to put away all such feare, and not to thinke that he came to kill him, but to desire safetie of his owne life, for that the tyrannous Emperour COMMODVS was dead, and that they came to offer the Empire vnto him, who was onely worthie thereof. PERTINAX could hardlie belieue what he heard with his eares, but in the end the matter being declared vnto him more at large, and the occasion which induced them to kill the Emperour, he accepted of their offer; and was caried by them to the cohorts camp: where the souldiers being assembled, their Captaine made a speech vnto them, conteining the wickednes and vices of the Emperour COMMODVS; and how that he by meanes of his excesse was dead of an Apoplexy; and reciting the vertues and excellencies of PERTINAX, counselled them to make him Emperour. Which they presently perfourmed ioyfullie, and calling him AVGVSTVS, sware to him as the custome was; yet PERTINAX remained still doubtfull, and accepted thereof with feare, and against his will. This being ended, and the day comming on, they came with him into the citie, and assembling the Senate, this old new Emperour came thither, not consenting that they should beare before him the Imperiall Ensignes, neither the fire, as the custome was; vntill such time as the Senate had agreed and giuen their consent. But so soone as he came into the Senate house, all the Senators called him Em-

Pertinax Proconsul in Africa.

Pertinax made Prefect of Rome by Commodus.

The speeches and great courage of Pertinax.

Pertinax after many chaunges of fortune is made Emperor.

perour CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, and with great acclamations and bleſſings ſware and yeelded to him obedience, which hee ſtill withſtood, ſaying, that he deſerued it not, alleaging his old age, and nominating and appointing others, which hee ſaid were more worthie that dignitie. But in the end being ouercome and forced by them, hee ſate downe in the Imperiall chaire, and made vnto them a ſolemne oration (which HERODIANVS writeth). His oration being ended, he went forth of the Senate houſe, accompanied with all the Senatours and Romane Nobilitie, with an infinite number of others, to the exceeding ioy of all; and went to the Temples, as the cuſtome was, and from thence to the Imperiall palace. And ſo he began his raigne and obtained the Empire, to the generall good liking and contentment of all men, and was obeyed in like manner in all the prouinces of the Empire. In all which he was well knowne: and truly they had not been deceiued in their opinion, and great hope which they had of him, if the wickednes of the Pretorian ſouldiers had not hindred his good determinations.

The firſt thing that he began in the gouernment of the Empire, was to bridle the licentiouſnes of the Pretorian cohorts, and the inſolencies and wrongs which they vſed towards the citizens and people of *Rome*; by meanes of the fauour and looſe life of COMMODVS. The like he alſo performed in all other diſorders and abuſes which in his time were allowed; ſeeking to reduce all things to that forme and manner of gouernment, which was vſed in the time of his father MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. He vſed and entertained al men honourably and louingly, which had occaſion to ſpeake and negotiate with him, and gaue and diuided the fields of *Rome*, and of the prouinces which lay vntilled and waſte, granting that for tenne yeeres ſpace no rent or tribute ſhould be paid for the ſame. With theſe and ſuch other things, this excellent and gracious Emperour ſo wanne the hearts and loue of the common people, that all men held themſelues happie in hauing ſuch an Emperour: for which occaſion, beſides the honourable titles which were giuen him by the conſent of the Senate, the ſame Senate appointed and intituled his ſon, CÆSAR; and to his wife LICINIA was added the name of AVGVSTA: the good Emperor ſaid, That his wiues name he did accept, becauſe her vertue was worthie thereof: but for his ſonnes name, he would that it ſhould reſt vntill that he had better deſerued it. Perſeuering in his good workes, all the goods and moueables, which COMMODVS had eſcheated and taken, he made to be reſtored to their owners, for which they ſhould pay ſome ſmall matter in exchaunge.

The Senate made Pertinax his ſonne Ceſar, and his wife Auguſta.

Euery day when the Senate did ordinarily ſit, he went thither; and in his houſe he neuer refuſed to giue audience to any perſon at what time ſoeuer. So ſoone as the barbarous Nations and enemies to the Romane Empire had intelligence, and did certainly know that hee was Emperour, they laid downe their weapons and ceaſed to make warre againſt the Empire; and many ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him (if they had found him liuing) to treate of peace and friendſhip: ſo as the ſmall time which he raigned, was to the generall good liking and contentment of al the world, excepting the men of warre, principally of the Pretorian Cohorts which lay about *Rome*, which preſently began to abhorre him, becauſe that he kept them in quiet, bridling them with iuſtice, not ſuffring them to commit ſuch riots, abuſes and outrages as they did in the time of COMMODVS: and in like manner he was not beloued by the officers and miniſters of the Imperiall palace, for the like reaſons. The ſhameleſſe audaciouſnes of the ſouldiers grew to this height, that one day they would haue taken a Senatour of a very noble and ancient houſe, named

Pertinax hated by the Pretorian Cohorts.

med TRIARIVS MATERNVS, and haue carried him to the Camp to haue made him Emperour, to the end that he ſhould haue riſen againſt PERTINAX: but this MATERNVS (as a good and loyall ſeruant) eſcaping out of their hands, came to PERTINAX, and thence fled from *Rome*: which put the Emperour in great feare and anguiſh. And to content and pacifie them, hee made payes and diſtributions amongſt them. But that little auailed, for they eſteemed it not, but ſought meanes to liue diſſolutely at their libertie. PERTINAX raigned about three moneths, in which ſmall time he had ſet matters in ſo good order, that the ſtate of the Empire ſeemed to be chaunged, and not the ſame as before. And notwithſtanding that he was ſo good, yet was there one whoſe name was FALCO, which practiſed his death, with a conceit to haue been Emperour: which being diſcouered to him, he came to the Senate, and would not permit that they ſhould proceed againſt him as againſt a tyran. And notwithſtanding that the euidences and proofes were ſo plaine and manifeſt, that the offence was apparant; yet he pardoned him: but iuſtice was done vpon certaine ſouldiers which had procured and practiſed this treaſon; which the ſouldiers tooke ſo ill (their hatred and preſumption daily encreaſing) that they determined to kill him; and being ſo reſolued, they cared not to conſpire, or to vſe any cunning or deceit: But openly a great troupe of them went from their lodgings in a tumult with their ſwords drawne, and with halberds and other weapons, and came into *Rome*, and without reſiſtance (as the matter was ſudden) they entred the palace. The Emperour being aduertiſed hereof, ſent ÆLIVS LETVS to ſtay and pacifie them; who forgetting that he had made PERTINAX Emperour, cared not to performe his commaundement, but rather approouing the fact, being (as ſome ſay) a partaker in the action, went foorth by another way to his owne lodging, at ſuch time as the ſouldiers came into the palace, where there was no meanes to make any reſiſtance, being taken at vnawares and diſarmed. Wherefore the greateſt part abandoned the Emperour and fled, and thoſe which remained counſelled him to flie alſo: which he might eaſily haue done, & the people would haue defended him. But notwithſtanding that he knew their counſell to be good and profitable, and that they ſaid the truth; yet would he not follow the ſame, alleaging it to be a matter vnworthie the maieſtie of an Emperour, and his acts and life paſt, to ſaue his life by flight, or by hiding himſelf: and ſo reſolued to goe foorth vnto them; imagining that with his preſence they would be aſhamed, and ſo returne. And truly this conceit was at the point to haue taken effect: for comming foorth of his chamber, and meeting with a multitude of them in the Court, they made a ſtand, and gaue him place to ſpeake vnto them; which he did with great courage, without any ſhew of alteration. Firſt asking them what might be the occaſion of their comming in ſuch a tumult, and without any reſpect? and afterward (without ſhew of any humilitie or fearefulnes, but with as great grauitie and authoritie, as beſt fitted the dignitie of his perſon) hee began to ſay to them: Souldiers and companions, if you come to kill me, and doe put in execution what you haue determined, you ſhall performe no valorous act, great, nor commendable; neither very grieuous vnto me, which am now ſo old, and haue gotten ſo much honour and fame, that I regard not my life: for euery mans life hath his end and limits. But you to whom appertaineth the guard and defence of my perſon, ſeeing your office and charge is to free and deliuer the Emperour from perils and treaſon, and ſhall be the firſt to lay your hands vpon him; conſider that for the preſent it will be ſhamefull and odious, and hereafter in time to come daungerous and hurtfull: For I haue done you neither diſpleaſure nor a-

Triarius Maternus for not to yeeld to the will of the ſouldiers which would haue made him Emperour, fled to Pertinax, and ſo from Rome.

The wickednes of Elius Letus.

The high minde of Pertinax being aſſailed by the ſouldiers

Speeches vſed by Pertinax to the ſouldiers.

ny iniurie. If the death of COMMODVS offend you, it was no new matter to die, seeing that hee was a man: if you suspect that hee was murthered, I am guiltlesse thereof: and you know that I am free from all suspition in this case: what then passed you knew before me; if there be any suspition of his death, it concerneth others and not me. But I say this, and assure you, that by reason of his death there shall nothing be taken from you that you shall require, or that shall seeme necessarie for you; requiring such things as are honest and possible, and not by force and violence. PERTINAX herewith ending his speech, some of them began to alter their mindes and to depart, moued thereto by his words and grauitie: but the furie of those which came behinde them was so great, that they could not doe it, so as one of them called TRVSIVS set vpon him, and smote him in the breast with a launce: And hee seeing their determination, couered his head with his robe, suffering himselfe to be wounded by them all; and so they slew in that place the poore and innocent Emperour. And ELIVS LETVS, who had been one of the chiefest in making him Emperour, going about to helpe to defend him, was also slaine; hauing first with great courage and hardines slaine two souldiers: and so they also slew some others which were his chamberlaines and other officers. A sonne and a daughter of his escaped, for that they were not lodged in the palace. This Prince had a good gesture, and an honourable and maiesticall personage: his stature and constitution did well represent his state and dignitie. Hee ware his beard long, and his haire curled, his breast was large and full of flesh, and he was indifferently eloquent, vsing smooth and louing speeches. This accident was so sudden, that hee was slaine before that the people knew of any mutinie, or the comming of the souldiers: and the souldiers fearing the people, which they knew would take it grieuously, returned with as much or greater haste, then they came: and fortifying their Campe, they set out sentinels, and held guards in the bulwarkes and towers, fearing to be assaulted. So soone as the death of the Emperour was knowne in the citie, the sorrow and lamentation which was made for him was extreme, the people running vp and downe the streetes with incredible wrath and furie, seeking the murtherers to be reuenged of his death. Thus they went vnaduisedly without any certaine knowledge of what passed, doing nothing but weepe and complaine one to another. But when they vnderstood what happened, they saw that they neither could or durst proceede any further. This Emperour died in the yeere of our Lord 195. some say lesse. He gouerned the Empire (according to EVSEBIVS) sixe moneths: IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS in his life saith, 85. daies and no more; with whom agreeth SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR: all which write, that his successor IVLIANVS was of counsell and accessarie to his death.

The miserable death of Pertinax.

THE

THE LIFE OF DIDIVS IVLIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

DIdius Iulianus tooke the Empire, being a man proud, rich, and ambitious: and seeing that the Empire was set to sale by the souldiers which murthered Pertinax, was so presumptuous as to goe to buy it, with one other which would haue had the same for money, who was the sonne in law to the dead Emperour. But the souldiers doubting that making Pertinax his sonne in law, Emperour, he would reuenge his death: wherefore they agreed to sell it to Iulianus, who was confirmed contrarie to the will of the Senate; and in worse manner accepted by the people. Neuertheleſſe, as though he had obtained that dignitie by his vertue, or that it came to him by inheritance, he gaue himselfe to pleasure, respecting no mans ennie. But Septimius Seuerus, a man of much wisedome and great power, being Captaine of the Legions in Germanie, hoping to be able to get the Empire by force of armes, came to Rome with his armie; of whom Iulianus standing in feare, would haue sent the Vestall virgins for ambassadours vnto him: but the Senate refusing to yeeld thereto, depriued him of the Empire, and proclaimed Septimius Seuerus Emperour, and sending to Iulianus palace, being abandoned, and retired to weepe, made him to be slaine, hauing bin 7 moneths Emperor.

AFter the good old PERTINAX, IVLIANVS succeeded in the Empire: hauing obtained the same for money from those souldiers, which slew the Emperour PERTINAX. This IVLIANVS was natiue of *Mi-*

The line of Didius Iulianus.

lan by his fathers linage, who was called PETRONIVS DIDIVS SEVERVS: his mothers name was CLARA EMILIA: his grandfathers name was SALVIVS IVLIANVS, who had bin Prefect of *Rome* and twise Conſul, which enobled his linage. This IVLIANVS was brought vp in the houſe and ſeruice of DOMICIA LVCILLA, mother of MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS the Philoſopher, by whoſe fauour he attained to offices, and was made Queſtor, Edil and Pretor, in *Rome*. Afterwards he followed the warres, and proued a good Captaine, performing many notable exploits in thoſe, which in the time of MARCVS AVRELIVS were waged in *Germanie* and in other parts. He was in the beginning Captaine of a legion, and afterwards with an armie he had the charge and gouernment of *Dalmatia*, and then of lowe *Germanie*; and after that, he was made gouernor of *Bithynia* in *Aſia*, although that in this gouernment he did not beare himſelfe with ſo good fame as in the reſt. He was ioyntly Conſul together with PERTINAX, and afterwards Proconſul in *Africa*: and hauing executed theſe charges and offices was now growne old, and very rich, by meanes of his poſſeſſions and money which he had in *Rome*. When PERTINAX was dead, he obtained the Empire in ſuch manner, as truely was ſhamefull and ſtrange. For after that the ſouldiers had murthered the Emperour PERTINAX (as is ſaid) they fortified their campe and lodgings for feare of the people; and the people durſt not aſſaile them, for that they were too ſtrongly defended with great bulwarkes and turrets. And the Senators and nobilitie knew not what to doe in this ſo troubleſome a time, but retired themſelues to their houſes wherein they fortified themſelues, and many of them went to their Caſtles and poſſeſſions in the countrie, holding themſelues not for ſafe in *Rome*, and ſo they paſſed that day, and the next wherein PERTINAX died. The Pretorian ſouldiers (as writeth HERODIANVS) ſeeing that no man attempted to offend them, became yet more audacious: for ſome of them ſtanding vpon the ramparts of their Campe, cried out with lowd exclamations, that they would giue the Empire to whoſoeuer would buy the ſame, and pay beſt for it. This ſale was preſently publiſhed in the citie, and this proclamation was ſo loathſome, and the caſe ſo doubtfull, and alſo there were ſo few rich men left in *Rome*, by reaſon of COMMODVS his crueltie and tyrannie, that there were but two merchants to bee found to buy the Empire that was to be ſold. The one was SVLPITIANVS at that time Prefect of *Rome*, a man who had been Conſul, and was ſonne in law to the late Emperour PERTINAX; the other was DIDIVS IVLIANVS, of whom we now ſpeake. Truely it is a matter worthie of great conſideration, and a notable example for princes: whereby it plainely appeareth, how little ſtabilitie there is in their greatnes, and generally, in all things in this life: and how little they ought to eſteeme the power, the kingdomes and dominions of this world, and all thoſe other things called goods which are gotten in this world. For conſidering that a Romane Emperour, being a wiſe old man, redoubted, beloued, and knowen to be good and valorous by long experience, and (as we may ſay) was Lord of all the world; for he peaceably ruled (in a manner) all that which all the Kings in Chriſtiandome hold in *Europe*, and the Infidels in *Africa*, and aſmuch as the great Turke poſſeſſeth in *Aſia*, *Græcia*, and *Egypt*, and many other Princes and Lords beſides; onely three hundred, or few more ſouldiers ſufficed to bereaue him of his life and dominion, being in *Rome* it ſelfe; which was the head and ſtrength of all the Empire: and that they ſhould eſcape away free and cleere withall, without any puniſhment; no man then ſeeking any reuenge of his death.

Who

Who would regard or greatly esteeme the riches and dominions of this world; or account the dignities, estates, and riches thereof to be great, and confound and empawne his soule to get them; seeing that a throne, and so great a power and maiestie as was the Romane Empire, was set to sale at an outcry; and there were but onely two that came to buy it, and it was sold for a little money? Truely in my iudgement, it was handled as it deserued. And this may suffice for a warning and example vnto vs, that there is nothing in this world that is ought worth, and to be held of price; nor ought to be gotten and held with the daunger of the soule: and therefore men ought lightly to regard the losing or winning of the goods of this world, so as they may encrease the riches of the soule, and liue vertuously as christians ought to doe: he that can attaine hereto, is rich, and mightie: and all the rest without this are miserable, beggarly and vnhappie, although they commaund, and raigne ouer the whole world.

To returne to our Historie, (HERODIANVS writeth) that the fame of the souldiers proclamation came to the house of DIDIVS IVLIANVS, being accounted the richest man in *Rome*, who with his wife and daughter sitting at dinner, very merrie and pleasant in the middest of his fauorites and pleasant companie, was by them all counselled, that seeing that he had more money then any other man in *Rome*, he should not let slippe so good a bargaine, and so precious a Iewell as was the Romane Empire: but that he should goe to the Campe to conferre with the souldiers, and to procure himselfe to be chosen and sworne Emperour: and he presently arising from the table, went thither accompanied with his friends and seruants. ELIVS SPARCIANVS (who wrote his life) saith, that the first which perswaded him hereto, were PVBLIVS FLORIANVS, and VECTIVS APER Tribunes. But whosoeuer were his counsellers, they all agree, that when he came thither he found SVLPICIANVS the Prefect of *Rome* there before him, solliciting the souldiers to make him Emperour; promising them a great summe of money with other fauours and rewards: And the reason why his offers were not accepted, was, for that he was father in lawe to PERTINAX, whom they had slaine, and therefore they suspected him. Whereof DIDIVS IVLIANVS put them also in minde; willing them to take heede that they made not choise of one, who another day would reuenge the death of PERTINAX. He promising to giue them an infinit summe of money which he had in a readines; and that he would restore all things to that order and forme wherein COMMODVS had left the same, and would presently bring them a great summe of money to be deuided among them: His offer at last was accepted by the souldiers, and hee with ladders was receiued into the fort, where they sware obedience vnto him, and there hauing done certaine ordinarie ceremonies and sacrifices, he went into the citie accompanied with the Pretorian Cohorts in armes, ranged in so good order, as if they had been going to a battaile: for they were in great feare of the people. And so IVLIANVS entred the citie, all the souldiours proclaming his name, calling him Emperour: and the citizens durst not make any resistance, neither did they approue his election, as they vsed to do by other Emperours, but cursed him and threw stones at him.

Didius Iulianus went to buy the Empire.

Iulianus being made Emperor came into Rome.

IVLIANVS then went to the Senate, where assembling such Senators as were present, by their decree he was proclaimed Emperour, and they presently made his sonne in law CORNELIVS REPENTINVS Prefect of *Rome*, putting SVLPITIANVS out of that office: and from thence was he caried to the Imperiall Pallace, and was held for Emperour, more through force, then the good will of

any honeſt men. And he as though that the Empire had deſcended to him by inheritance from his father, and that he had peaceably obteined the ſame with the good will of all men, gaue himſelfe to diſports and pleaſures, ſhewing himſelfe negligent and retchleſſe in matters of gouernment: And notwithſtanding that he was mild and gentle, and did no harme to any man in all the time of his raigne; yet he preſently began to be hated of the ſouldiers, for that he did not accompliſh that which he had promiſed them. And the people of *Rome* hated him, becauſe he was choſen and made Emperour by thoſe which murthered PERTINAX, whom all the world loued; and they were of opinion that he was guiltie and acceſſorie to his death. So that euery time that he went abroad out of his Palace, the people openly powred out their curſes againſt him, which he patiently endured, ſometimes with laughter, beckening with his hand that they ſhould come to him, making ſhew of loue and good will vnto them: but it little auailed him, and rather increaſed their hatred in ſuch manner, that ſtanding one day to behold certaine games and ſports, the people of *Rome* proclaimed PESCENIVS NIGER who was Proconſul, and Gouernor of *Syria*, which was the greateſt charge and gouernment of the Empire, calling to him that he ſhould come to their reſcue and to procure their libertie; of all which inſolencies, IVLIANVS made little reckoning. And it hapned that ſo ſoone as the armies which were in the frontiers of *Germany* and in *Syria*, knew how ill IVLIANVS was beloued in *Rome*, and how careleſſie he gouerned; each of theſe armies preſumed to make their Captaine Emperour. In *Syria* PESCENIVS NIGER was Gouernor, who was a man of good yeeres, and which had had great commaunds and gouernments, and had done very many notable feates of armes: and it was reported of him that he was mild and wiſe, and ſeemed to imitate the life and gouernment of the Emperour PERTINAX. This man knowing the good will which was borne him in *Rome*, and that his army and ſouldiers loued him, determined to proclaime himſelfe Emperour, and preſently tooke the enſignes thereof: and all thoſe nations, Kings, and potentates of *Aſia*, yeelding obedience, came or ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him. The army in *Germany* held for their Captaine SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, borne in *Africa*, a man of great courage and counſell, and aboue all, very double and ſubtile, and of great experience, and had had many gouernments, magiſtracies, and captaineſhips, and had been Conſul in *Rome*, and Proconſul in the gouernments of *Sicilia*, *Africa*, and the *Pannonies*, and was alſo very well beloued of his ſouldiers, by which he was importuned, and ſeeing the occaſion and oportunitie, he reſolued alſo to proclaime himſelfe Emperour, taking vpon him the ſtate and enſignes thereof: and publiſhing that he would reuenge the death of the Emperour PERTINAX, he made himſelfe beloued by the men of warre in *Germany*, and of the Romane people alſo: ſo as there were at one time three Emperours, or to ſay more properly, three tyrants. IVLIANVS, who was Emperour in *Rome*, notwithſtanding that he knew what paſſed in *Syria*, when it began made no great account thereof, holding it ſufficient to ſend to kill him: but knowing what SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS did in *Germany*, it moued and troubled him very much; and he dealt with the Senate to proclaime him rebell, and that they ſhould ſend certaine principall men Ambaſſadors to procure the army to abandon SEVERVS, and to hold him for Emperour whom the Senat had approued, which was himſelfe: and he ſent VALERIVS CATVLINVS to further the buſines, and to ſucceede SEVERVS in his gouernment. But SEVERVS had taken ſo good order, that this did little profit him: for he had alreadie obteined their obedience, and had aſſured vnto himſelfe

Septimius Severus a valiant Captaine of great experience, pretended title to the Empire.

himſelfe the good will of all that countrey and the marches thereof; and reſolued with his army to march towards *Rome*, where he knew that IVLIANVS was not beloued. Now PESCENIVS NIGER who in *Aſia* was called Emperour alſo, was not ſo circumſpect herein as he might haue been: for he ſeeing himſelfe ſerued by Kings, rich in gold and ſiluer, mightie in armies and men of warre, confidentlie truſting in the loue of the people of *Rome*; gaue himſelfe to feaſting and banquetting in *Antioch*. When it was knowne in *Rome* that SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS came thitherwards, IVLIANVS awakened, and began to put himſelfe in armes, and applied himſelfe wholie to make prouiſion for the warres; and muſtring his troupes tooke the fields with the Pretorian army which had made him Emperour, which he found very feeble, as well for want of experience and exerciſe in armes, as for that they were ill paid by him: and the people of *Rome* repaired alſo vnto him with a very ill will, for that he was made Emperour againſt their will: and the cities of *Italy* had a long time liued in quiet and in peace, and were not vſed to the warres and to fight. In this manner all went ill with IVLIANVS, and well with his enemie: and IVLIANVS was generally ill ſerued and obeyed, whom his friends counſelled, that with the beſt forces he ſhould be able to leuie, he ſhould meete SEVERVS vpon the way, and ſtop his paſſage ouer the alpes: but either he would not, or durſt not do ſo, but made the beſt prouiſion in *Rome* that he could, and before he was aware thereof, he vnderſtoode that SEVERVS was alreadie entred *Italy*, and that the moſt part of the cities had receiued him, and yeelded him their obedience. The people of *Rome* ſeeing this, and that PESCENIVS NIGER whom they deſired remained in *Aſia*, began to like of SEVERVS his comming.

IVLIANVS ſeeing himſelfe driuen to this ſtreight, obteined of the Senat to write, and to ſend Ambaſſadours to SEVERVS, wherein they made him equall and companion with IVLIANVS. But SEVERVS not contented with part, but with the whole, would not accept thereof, holding himſelfe to be of greater power then IVLIANVS was; notwithſtanding that vntill then, the Senat held with him; but they ſeeing the little counſell, and leſſe abilitie of IVLIANVS, began to abandon him. And although that he deſired that the Veſtall virgins (which was the moſt precious and highly eſteemed thing in their vaine religion) ſhould be ſent to pacifie SEVERVS, and to worke ſome meanes of peace: yet the Senate would not yeeld thereto; alleaging, that he was vnworthie to rule, that durſt not defend the Empire by force of armes. And the matter came to this paſſe, that diſguiſed perſons daily came into *Rome* from SEVERVS, and others went from thence to him; and IVLIANVS void of all reliefe and ſuccours, remained in his Palace generally abandoned, ſauing of a very few ſouldiers.

The Senate was aſſembled, and by the common conſent of all the Senators it was decreed, that IVLIANVS ſhould be depriued of the Empire, and SEVERVS proclaimed Emperour; and there were of the moſt principall of the Senators ſent to SEVERVS in ambaſſade, to yeeld to him their obedience, with the enſignes of Emperour, CÆSAR, AVGVSTVS, and ſpreading a rumor abroad that IVLIANVS had poiſoned himſelfe, they commaunded him to be ſlaine in his Palace, where the infortunate Emperour was found diſarmed, and with ſome few of his friends weeping like a child. And ſo was IVLIANVS ſlaine at the age of 57. yeeres, hauing raigned only ſeauen moneths, in the yeere of our Lord 195.

THE

THE LIFE OF SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THE ONE AND TWENTETH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Septimius Seuerus hauing taken the Empire more by force, and by feare, wherein he did put the Senators and people of Rome, then for any right he had thereto: the first thing that hee did was to reuenge the death of Pertinax, by depriuing all those which had slaine him and sold the Empire, of all militarie dignitie. Afterwards entring Rome with great pompe, hee perswaded the Senators and people to hope well of him, and to bend their weapons against Pescenius Niger, who was called Emperour: Whom finally after many changes of fortune, hee ouercame. He likewise ouerthrew Artabanus King of Persia, and tooke the citie of Tisiphonte, wherein was all that Kings treasure, and ouercame Albinus, who was made Cæsar. This Seuerus was a man addicted to the warres, ambiguous, ambitious, constant in his resolution to bring any thing to passe that he had once vndertaken, and therewith very wise and circumspect in all matters appertainning to the preseruation of his estate, and the gouernment of the Empire. Finally, oppressed with a long infirmitie, and particularly with an intolerable

intolerable paine in his feete, he died, hauing ruled the Empire eighteene yeeres; vsing no lesse wisedome in preseruing it, then he had shewed boldnes and audacitie in getting it.

AFter IVLIANVS, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS succeeded in the Empire, who onely among all the Emperours was borne in *Africa*, in a citie called *Leptis*. His fathers name was GETA, and his mothers FVLVIA PIA. He had two Vncles by his mothers side, which were Consuls in *Rome*; his grandfathers name by his mother was MACER, and by his fathers side, FVLVIVS APIVS. IVLIANVS being dead in such manner as we haue declared, and SEVERVS marching with his armie towards *Rome*, as against his enemies; vpon the way certaine Ambassadours met him, which in the name of the Senate and people of *Rome* yeelded to him their obedience, and gaue him the title and ensignes of Emperour, certifying him of the death of IVLIANVS. He receiued this Ambassade in presence of the armie, being marshalled and in armes; and gaue gifts to the Ambassadours, and entertaining them with great honour, continued his iourney towards *Rome*, where aswell the Pretorian souldiers stoode in feare of him, for that they had slaine the Emperour PERTINAX whom they knew he loued, as also all the Romane people, for the desire they had that PESCENIVS NIGER should haue been Emperour; who in the East (as is said) was called so. SEVERVS when he came neere to *Rome*, sent commaundement that all the Pretorian souldiers should come forth to receiue him, clad in shew of peace, leauing their armes in their campe; and they did so, hoping thereby to haue pleased and pacified him by ioyfully obeying his commaundement. And he concealing what he purposed to doe, hauing onely acquainted some of his fauorites and captaines therewith, attended their comming in the field, in a place which he had chosen for that purpose; and they comming to doe him reuerence, were compassed about by his armie: and making a short speech vnto them, he reproched them with the crueltie and treason which they had vsed in killing the Emperour PERTINAX: Which being ended, he made them to put off the clothes and apparell which they ware, and to put away their daggers and poiniards from them (for other weapons they had none) and then he pronounced sentence against them; wherein he depriued them of the honour of souldiers, and banished them from *Rome* and a hundred miles about. And he presently sent to their campe to take their armes from them, and t[illegible] imperiall ensignes; and so they were punished and disgraced, although not so much as they deserued, for the cruell murther which they had committed, and the selling of the Empire.

The linage of Seuerus.

The punishment of the Pretorian souldiers which slew Pertinax.

This being done, SEVERVS entred into *Rome*, with his whole armie, with their Ensignes displaied, and his souldiers in arme[illegible] apparelled in the best and most solemne manner that they could. The number of people was so great and such, that it was a most faire and stately spectacle to behold. The Senate went to the gates of the citie to receiue him, and there saluted him after the accustomed manner; and the people receiued him with blessings and applauses: notwithstanding that it was odious vnto them to see him come armed, and in warlike manner. And hauing performed the solemnities, and visited the Temples, as the manner then was, he went to his lodging in the Imperiall palace: and the next day he commanded the Senate to be assembled, whither he also went accompanied with armed men, wherein (as he was a wise man and well aduised) hee made a very smooth speech, giuing them great hope of good gouernment, and excusing himselfe for taking vpon

Seuerus entred Rome with ensignes displaied.

vpon him the name and authoritie of Emperor, without their consent and good-will first obtained; alleaging that hee did it, to the end to come to reuenge the death of PERTINAX, and to free them from the tyrannie of IVLIANVS: for that it was a thing vnworthie the Romane Empire, that he should liue therein which had bought it with money. In conclusion, he spake so faire, and vsed them in such manner, that they went thence satisfied and well content: yet some of the old Senators which better knew his condition, gaue little credit to his words; for they held him for a man that was very double, subtill, and a great dissembler: and notwithstanding that he was so, yet in truth he was a most sufficient man in any thing, very valiant in armes, and before that he was Emperour had gouerned great prouinces and attained to be Questor, Tribune, Pretor, Proconsul, and Consul; and had held Captainships and charges, wherein he purchased the name and renowne of a valiant, wise, and excellent Captaine. And if a man well consider how the Empire was then diuided betweene three Lords, and with what valour he subdued the whole, with the other warres and dangers which happened in his time; he may very wel be esteemed for a very valorous Emperor & excellent Captain, and may be compared with any of those in ancient time. Besides all which, hee was very learned, and a great Mathematician, a good Orator and Philospher. But his proweesse in armes was so great, that it may not be written by me (considering the breuitie which I vse) sauing running, and so to expresse such things as are most cleere and resplendent, and although in haste, yet will they glister in their sight which shall behold the same.

The valour and learning of Seuerus.

After that hee had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, hee tooke speedie order for the reformation of abuses in the citie, by reason of the dissensions and tumults passed. He also presently honoured and buried the Emperour PERTINAX, and in remembrance of that good old man, he tooke to himselfe his surname, calling himselfe SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PERTINAX. He paid and gaue gifts and rewards to his men of warre, and also to the people of *Rome*; and as the custome of the new Emperours was, he made distributions and gaue large gifts. He also married two daughters which he had, with two principall men, one called PROBVS, and the other ECIVS; and after that he had giuen great dowries with them, he vsed such meanes that they were chosen both Consuls. And whereas at that time there was great scarsitie of corne in *Rome*, he tooke such order, and that with such expedition, that the citie was sufficiently prouided for and furnished: which course he held euer during all the time of his raigne, in such sort that therein was neuer any want. All these things and other, concerning the gouernment of the Empire, he performed with such expedition, that hee remained there but thirtie daies: for from the first day that he was Emperour, he determined to addresse his iourney towards the East with his armie against PESCEINVS NIGER, who (as is said) was called Emperour, and was very mightie and an excellent Captaine. And hauing made preparation for his iourney, he sent a Captaine and new legions into the prouince of *Africa*, to guard the same; to the end that by the way of *Egypt* and *Libya*, PESCENIVS NIGER should not make any profit of that prouince. And the better to leaue all things in safetie behinde him in the West (for hee was in feare of CLODIVS ALBINVS a Nobleman and a Senator of *Rome*, who was Captaine of the Legions in *Britannie*, and was a man of a great parentage, rich, and well beloued) he bethought himselfe how he might compasse him and make him his friend, by giuing him the name and title of CÆSAR and his successor, whereof he aduertised him with very louing and gracious speeches;

ches: by which meanes for that time he remained in quiet and in peace. This being done, leauing the best order in *Rome* that he could, and such as was most expedient (nominating and choosing companies and Pretorian Cohorts to remaine in the citie, in place of those which hee had cassiered and degraded from the honour of the militarie Art and profession) he departed thence, continuing his iourney with the best and greatest force that he was able to leuie on euery side. And PESCENIVS NIGER being aduertised of the comming of his enemie, as vntill then he had liued idle and careless; so now with great diligence and expedition he leuied souldiers: and besides the ordinarie armie which he had, with all speede he sent some Captaines to stop the passages out of *Europe* into *Asia* the lesse; and also sent to craue aide of the Kings of the Parthians, and of *Armenia*, and other Kings and Tetrarches of the East; from which, and from the prouinces which were vnder his obedience, there came great power and relefe vnto him: And so the world was diuided into two factions and heads; and there began one of the most cruell warres that euer had been therein, as well for the force and valour of the Captaines, as for the power and multitude of souldiers; which warre was waged in many parts, both by sea and by land. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS passed out of *Europe* into *Asia* the lesse, although with great trouble and difficultie, hauing many skirmishes, and being often assailed by PESCENIVS his troupes, who sent against him an excellent Romane Captaine called EMILIANVS, who was Generall of all his forces: and this EMILIANVS hauing drawne together all the power which PESCENIVS sent him, and all the rest that he was able to leuie out of *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, and other prouinces of *Asia* the lesse, tooke the field, in the way whereby SEVERVS was to passe: wherein followed many great skirmishes and encounters, and in the end a most cruell and terrible battaile, wherein EMILIANVS was ouerthrowne. After this battaile, the conquered troupes which escaped, went to PESCENIVS NIGER, who with all his power was in the citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*; from whence he departed to meete with SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS vpon the way as he was comming: and marching towards him (after some matters of lesser importance which passed) the two Armies drew neere the one to the other in a great plaine by the Sea side in the countrey of *Cilicia* (as HERODIANVS reporteth, yet SPARCIANVS and EVTROPIVS differ therein) in the same place where DARIVS was the first time ouerthrowne by ALEXANDER the Great; where (by the consent of both the Generals) they came to a battaile with the most and best souldiers that then were in the world; which by reason of the experience, valour, and wisedome of the Captaines, was most cruell: For fighting the greatest part of the day without any apparant aduantage, the number of the slaine and wounded was so great, that the streames of water which ranne through the fields, were so full, and died with the bloud of men and horses, that there seemed to bee no water therein: A great number of disarmed people of the inhabitants thereabouts, standing vpon the tops of the hils to behold the battaile, and to see whether partie should haue the victorie. Which when either partie by all meanes possible had endeuoured to obtaine, in the latter end of the day PESCENIVS NIGER was ouerthrowne, without failing in any point in what hee ought, and was most expedient for a good Captaine to haue done: for in truth SEVERVS his souldiers were more expert and better trained in the warres then his were; and seeing there was no other remedie hee fled, but was followed and afterwards found by SEVERVS his souldiers, which smote off his head, and carried it through the Campe vpon the point of a launce.

Seuerus against Niger.

Emilianus ouerthrowne by Seuerus.

A battaile betweene Septimius Seuerus and Pescenius Niger.

Pescenius Niger ouerthrowne and slaine.

The linage of Pescenius Niger.

This PESCENIVS NIGER was a man of meane parentage; yet some say that he was noble and ancient: his fathers name was ANIVS FVSCVS, and his mother was called LAMPRIDIA. He was a man indifferently well learned, and obtained great riches. He was sharpe and quicke of condition, and euer followed the wars, and was an excellent souldier; and afterwards performed the charge committed to him, with great discretion and courage: for they write of him, that hee was a valiant and much commended Tribune; a very singular and excellent Captaine; a most seuere and vpright Lieutenant Generall; a most wise and prudent Consul; and in all things happie and fortunate, sauing that he was onely infortunate in being Emperour, not knowing how to gouerne himselfe therein. So as it plainly appeareth, that men doe oftentimes desire and purchase to themselues shame and perdition, by presuming to attaine to honour and rest.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS hauing obtained so notable a victorie, with all speed aduertised the Romane Senate thereof, and as a conqueror did his will vpon the conquered, cruelly killing many of those which had taken part with NIGER: and principally he destroied the citie of *Antioch*, by reason that it (more then any other) had aided and assisted his aduersarie, whose wife and children he commanded to be banished from *Rome*. And to the contrary hereof, hee gaue gifts and rewards to those which had done him seruice and assisted him; and repaired the harmes and dammages which some cities, which held with him, had receiued by NIGERS souldiers. For in truth this man was very cruell in punishing offences, and in persecuting his enemies; and very liberall and gratefull to his friends, and most bountifull in rewarding those which had done him any seruice. In all the prouinces of the East, after this victorie, he found no resistance, sauing among the Parthians, the Persians, and the Adiabenians, very mightie Nations, which for the loue which they bore vnto NIGER, and the ancient hatred to the name, Romane, presently tooke armes against SEVERVS; and hee in person went against them, and had many battailes and incounters, and obtained great victories, which I haue no time to relate: so as hee inlarged the Empire and the Romane name, and pacified the prouinces.

The fift persecution of the Primitiue Church.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS hauing brought all his purposes to so good and prosperous estate, being seduced by the diuell, so persecuted the Catholike Christian Church, that an infinite number of the faithfull were put to death; and this was the fift persecution of the Church. For which occasion (as PAVLVS OROSIVS noteth) God would not permit that he should long enioy the Empire in peace: for he was aduertised from *Rome* how that ALBINVS, who (as we said) was Captaine in great *Britannie*, and whom he made CÆSAR when he went for the East, was risen in armes, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour; and that hee was of very great power, and much beloued of the Romane Nobilitie: for hee was natiue of *Rome*, and of a great and noble familie. But he being of a hautie minde little regarded those difficulties: and setting all things in order in the East, with his armie tooke his way towards *Rome*, to the end from thence to goe against ALBINVS, as against a tyrant and a rebell. And passing from *Asia* into *Europe* ouer the streight at *Byzantium*, which is now called *Constantinople*, hee wholy destroied that citie; because that when he passed by it towards *Asia*, that citie would not receiue him; and so he left it leuell with the ground (which was one of the most famous cities in the whole world) and remained so desolate vntill the time of CONSTANTINE the Great; as in his time we will declare.

Albinus in armes against Severus.

SEVERVS trauailing thus towards *Rome*, his aduersarie ALBINVS being aduertised

uertiſed thereof, came out of *Britannie* into *France*, where hee raiſed a mightie armie; part whereof he ſent to keepe the paſſages in the Alpes, thereby to hinder him in his way, who was alreadie arriued at *Rome*, and was vpon his way comming to meete him: before which time he put PESCENIVS NIGERS children to death, to the end thereby wholy to extinguiſh all remembrance of him. And he going to the warres, appointed his ſonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS for his ſucceſſor, and intituled him CÆSAR; and chaunging his name, he commaunded him to bee called AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. And drawing neere to his enemies, the warres began in a moſt cruell manner betweene them; wherein in the beginning in ſome encounters, SEVERVS his captaines were ouerthrowne by thoſe of ALBINVS his partie. But after that hee had paſſed the Alpes, and was entred into *France*, the warre was kindled in many parts; and in many conflicts and skirmiſhes fortune ſhewed her ſelfe variable, the victorie inclining ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometime to the other; vntill at laſt neere vnto the citie of *Lions*, (wherein ALBINVS was) either partie drawing together his whole power, they fought one of the moſt bloudie battailes that euer was written of: which continued the greateſt part of the day without any apparance of aduantage. Firſt the victorie ſeemed to bee of ALBINVS his ſide: for his battalion was of ſuch force, that it made SEVERVS to retire, in ſuch ſort that his ſouldiers began to flie; and it ſo happened that SEVERVS his horſe fell with him, and euery man held him for dead: and ALBINVS his ſouldiers began to crie victorie, victorie; taking no care but to follow the execution. Then LETVS one of SEVERVS his Captains, which vntill then had neuer charged; with a very great troupe of armed men which he brought with him, renued the fight, in ſuch ſort, that SEVERVS was reſcued: and being remounted vpon another horſe, charged with ſo great force and rigor, that he tooke the victorie out of ALBINVS his ſouldiers hands, which accounting themſelues victorious, obſerued no order: and the matter was ſo handled, that ALBINVS his troupes were driuen to turne their backes; and SEVERVS followed the execution, killing them euen to the gates of the citie of *Lions*. The number of thoſe which were ſlaine and wounded, was infinite; and the citie was preſently entred, and ALBINVS taken; and his head being ſtriken off, was brought to SEVERVS. A man may well beleeue that hee was not a little ioyfull when hee ſaw it, conſidering that a little before hee was wounded and caſt to the ground, and by all men accounted for dead, and his enemies victorious; and eſcaping all this, he now ſaw himſelfe an abſolute Lord, victorious, and his enemies confounded. Wherefore let euery Chriſtian reader conſider how inconſtant all things are in this life; and that a man neither can, or ought to repoſe his aſſured confidence in any thing in this world. Great were the cruelties which SEVERVS committed after that he had obtained this victorie: for truly if this Prince had not been ſo cruell and greedie of ſhedding of bloud, and in matters of gouernment as hee was, I am of opinion that no man either before or after him, had excelled him; conſidering the actions and enterpriſes which hee brought to an end, whereof I write but the ſumme.

Seuerus put to death Nigers children.

A great battaile betweene Seuerus and Albinus.

The cruelties of Seuerus.

Theſe things being paſt, SEVERVS preſently wrote to the Senate and people of *Rome*, aduertiſing them of his victorie, and ſending them ALBINVS his head, commaunded that it ſhould be ſet vpon the end of a pole in the publick place, and all thoſe Senators which of ALBINVS his partie were ſlaine in this battaile, he commaunded to be quartered; and thoſe which were taken aliue, he commaunded to be ſlaine. He was ſo cruell and vindicatiue (that ſome write) that he

mounted vpon a very fierce great horſe, and vpon him rode many times ouer the dead bodie of ALBINVS: which is not much to be maruelled at, conſidering from how cruell and barbarous a nation he was deſcended. Some write, that he firſt cauſed his bodie to be torne in many pieces, and to be throwne into the riuer *Rhodanus*. And SPARCIANVS ſaith, that he commanded his wife and children to be ſlaine, and did by them as he had done by ALBINVS, and ſo he made a number of his kinſemen and friends which with him were found in *Lions* to be ſlaine, and with them other principall noble men of *France* and *Spaine*. He concluded the victorie which he gat neere *Lions* only in *Rome*, there to make an end of the warre, and after this victorie he preſentlie aſſaulted certaine cities and holds which continued friends to ALBINVS, which he ſubdued, not without great trouble and danger. And as he was buſie in theſe matters, newes was brought him that one of thoſe legions which he had left in *Arabia*, did mutine, and tooke part with ALBINVS before this battaile: and ſo he leauing *France* and *Germany* in peace and quiet, and ſending into *Britanny* the ordinarie captaines, to keepe the inhabitants in ſubiection and in peace, he came victorious and triumphing to *Rome*, bringing his armie with him, where he was moſt ſolemnely receiued, with great ſhew of ioy and contentment, although that in truth they ſtood in great feare of him: whither when he came, he paid his ſouldiers with larger allowance, then euer theretofore had been ſeene; and the firſt day that he went to the Senate, in diſgrace and deſpite thereof, he renewed the titles and memorie of the wicked Emperour COMMODVS, and made him to be canonized, and adored as a God. He alſo condemned to death, & confiſcated the goods of a great number of noble perſonages of *Rome* which had been Pretors, Conſuls, and Senators, for that he found that they had been friends to ALBINVS, and of his faction, ſhewing letters which he ſaid were written by them, wherein they had offered their perſons and goods to ALBINVS ſeruice; alleaging other reaſons & proofes, which peraduenture were forged. Finally, he vſed great crueltie, and put many to death, whereby he extremely enriched himſelfe both in goods and treaſure, whereof ſome he diſtributed and gaue to others: but principallie, he enriched and aduanced to honor in the higheſt degree, one whoſe name was PLANCIVS, a great fauourite of his, who alſo was an *Africane*, and his countrieman, whom he made Prefect of the Pretorian cohorts, and afterwards he married his ſonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, with his daughter, whoſe name was PLAVTINA; and then he made him his companion and equall, and made the Senat to giue him the enſignes and prerogatiue of the Empire; by reaſon whereof PLANCIVS grew yet more [illegible] and inſolent. Matters ſtanding in the ſtate as I haue ſaid, [illegible] made C[illegible]EVERVS ſtayed but a ſmall time in *Rome*, in whic[illegible] ſpace [illegible] Roma[illegible] uelties vpon thoſe which had been friends to NIGER and ALBINVS [illegible]ie. But he [illegible] death a great number of noble perſonages moſt cruellie and horribl[illegible] with many matrones, and Romane Ladies: and to the contrar[illegible] all things [illegible]nſelfe very liberall and bountifull, and beſtowed many fauours vp[illegible] to the end[illegible], and became alſo very popular, and ſought to be pleaſing and acceptable to all men, and to that end made the greateſt and moſt coſtlie feaſts and games that euer were made in *Rome*, and deuided money amongſt the people. But he ſtayed but a little while there (as I ſaid) for knowing that matters were in no ſecuritie in *Aſia*, principallie that the Parthians infeſted the bounds and frontiers of the Empire, and deſirous to be reuenged of certaine Kings, which had aſſiſted his enemie NIGER, as he was moſt valorous and deſi-

rous

Seuerus came triumphing into Rome.

Plancius a great fauourite of Seuerus.

rous of honor and warres, although old and gowtie: yet with his accustomed celeritie he departed towards the East, and being come into *Asia* sooner then any man would haue beleeued, he presently began the warre in *Armenia*, marching against BARZEMIVS King of the Atrenores, who had been PESCENIVS NIGERS friend: The King of *Armenia* durst not make any resistance, but sent him presents, suing for peace, and gaue him such hostages as he required. Whereupon finding no resistance, this valiant Emperour returned against *Arabia fœlix*, wherein there was a mutinie, and there tooke and sacked some cities: and from thence returned to the frontiers of the Atrenores, and besieged the citie of *Atras*, or *Atramas*. But being vnable to take it, for that it was very strong and well furnished, in great furie he went against the Parthians, and the Persians, and besieged the famous citie of *Tesiphonte*, wherein King ARTABANVS lay with all his power and houshold: and after many assaults, encounters, and slaughters of men of either side, he entred the citie by force of armes, and the King escaping by flight, his children and treasure fell into the hands of SEVERVS, which was held for a very great victorie: for the Romanes stood in greater feare of the Parthians, then of any other nation of the world.

Seuerus his enterprises.

SEVERVS presentlie wrote to *Rome*, aduertising them of his victories and good successe, and sent them the description of the countries, cities, riuers, battailes, and assaults which he past, drawne and painted in tables.

When he had here ended all things at his pleasure, he bountifully and liberally paid his Souldiers: and comming into *Palestina*, and from thence into *Egypt*: he was desirous to see the Pyramides, and other great and auncient monuments in that Countrey: And from thence he returned to *Rome* in great triumph, loden with the spoyles and riches gotten by his victories in the East. And at this his comming, hee married his eldest sonne to PLAVTINA, daughter of his great fauourite PLANCIVS, which marriage BASSIANVS ANTONINVS solemnized much against his will; and so would not conuerse or keepe companie with her. Whereupon there began great disliking and dissension betweene PLANCIVS and BASSIANVS. And PLANCIVS knowing himselfe to be the richest and mightiest man in all the Empire, and seeing that SEVERVS was now old, with whom he was in great fauour; and fearing that if BASSIANVS should succeede him and inherite the Empire, he should be ill intreated at his hands: he resolued to kil both the father and the sonne, and to make himselfe Emperour, making choice (to doe this exploite) of a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whereof hee himselfe was Pretor. But it pleased God that this his treason was discouered by the same Tribune: and the same day that he thought to haue put the Emperours to death, hee by them was commaunded to be slaine. Here were the cruelties excellent historie, as hee may well perceiue which will reade victories and so according to his deserts with his life, he ended his pri[illegible] bloud, and that SEVERVS had escaped this danger, he spent his time in visiting sometimes before, in hearing complaints and doing iustice, and in most sumptuous [illegible] buildings in *Rome*, and other cities: and seeking to bring vp his sonnes vertuously, and by abating their pride, to reconcile them and make vnitie betweene them; for they did ill agree, and were very vnquiet and ill affected the one to the other: He desired to establish peace and amitie betweene them, for that hee had determined that after his death the Empire should be diuided betweene them, and to that end inuested them both therein: And so this poore old Emperour laboured in vaine to reforme the euill inclination of his sonnes. And liuing in rest from warre, although not without

domeſticall care, he receiued letters importing, that the inhabitants of great *Britannie* were in armes, and rebelled in ſuch ſort, that his Legions there were in ſuch daunger, that they were at the point either to bee ouercome and loſt, or at leaſt to flie and abandon the countrie; which he tooke very diſpleaſantly. And to the end that the Empire in his daies ſhould not be diminiſhed by the loſſe of that Iland (it being of ſuch importance) hee determined to goe thither himſelfe in perſon to pacifie the ſame. And without any delaying of time, went thitherwards with all his forces: and being arriued in *Britannie*, the inhabitants conceiued ſuch feare, by reaſon of his ſudden comming vpon them, that as hee was a warriour, if he had been inclined to peace, they would haue come to any reaſonable compoſition: but hee rather deſiring to puniſh them, made cruell warre againſt them, which was both very tedious and daungerous, by reaſon of the lakes and many euill paſſages for his men in ſeuerall places in that countrie; ſo as he was conſtrained to make many bridges and other deuices, with wood and timber, for his ſouldiers to paſſe: And ſo hee obtained many victories, and pacified and ſubdued the inhabitants. And to the end that his Legions from thencefoorth might liue in greater ſafety, and that the Picts and Scots ſhould not ſo freely paſſe their bounds, (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and EVTROPIVS report) he commanded a moſt ſtrong wall to be made, which did croſſe the Ile from ſea to ſea, which wall was two and thirtie miles in length, wherein (as I conceiue) hee did but either finiſh, or repaire that wall which the Emperour ADRIAN had made before: which truly was a worke worthie the greatnes of SEVERVS his minde, and the mightie wealth of *Rome*. Which when he at his pleaſure had ended, in like manner as hee had done all his other enterpriſes, his old griefe did ſo much torment him, that he deſired and ſought meanes to end his owne life: and hauing raigned eighteene yeeres and tenne moneths, he died in the ſame Ile of *Britannie*.

The Britaines ſubdued by Seuerus.

The death of Seuerus.

This Emperour was one of thoſe which fought more battailes, and obtained more victories, then any other that euer ruled the Romane Empire before him. For he ouerthrew and brought to confuſion three mightie Romane Emperours, and many other Kings, and ſubdued an infinite number of prouinces and cities. He tooke ſo good order for the preſeruation of his treaſure, and was ſo couetous and greedie in gathering the ſame together, that notwithſtanding his great expences, and the infinite great gifts and rewards which he beſtowed: yet hee left more readie money and treaſure in his treaſurie and Exchequer, then any other Emperour of his predeceſſors. He paid and maintained, and left in the Empire ſo many legions of ſouldiers, that there was no cauſe to feare any King or Nation in the world. Hee left in *Rome* ſo great abundance of wheate, wine and oile, as was ſufficient (as SPARCIANVS writeth) to maintaine and victuall the ſame for fiue yeeres. He erected wonderfull workes and buildings in *Rome*, and in other parts, and in many things perfourmed the part of a good gouernour, and of a wiſe and prudent Prince: So as the Romanes vſed to ſay of him (noting his cruelties and couetouſnes; and afterwards his prouiſions and victories) That it had been good that this Emperour had neuer bin borne, or that he ſhould neuer haue died: and ſo after his death he was highly extolled and commended. He left for his equall ſucceſſors in the Empire his two ſonnes, the one called BASSIANVS, and the other GETA: and when he lay a dying, the laſt words that he ſpake to thoſe which were with him were theſe: When I tooke vpon me the gouernment of the Empire and of the Romane Common-wealth, I found it tyrannized and out of order; and now being old and gowtie, leaue it in peace and ſubiection to my ſonnes (if they

The words of Seuerus at his death.

they prooue good)a firme and ſetled Empire; but if they prooue euill,feeble,and without force,and readie to fall. This good Prince was ſo temperate and ſpare in his diet,that hee did ſeldome eate any fleſh: for his common foode was ſalades, pulſe,and fruites of his countrie;but he vſed to drinke ſomewhat deeper; yet neuer ſo that he was at any time diſtempered therewith. He was of a very comely perſonage, repreſenting authoritie and maieſtie,and was tall of ſtature, and vſed to weare a long white beard; his haire was curled and gray, and he ſpake with a deepe ſounding voice.Finally,his perſonage and minde were fitting for an Emperour of *Rome*.He liued(as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and others do teſtifie) *Anno Dom.* 203. ſeuentie yeeres,and died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and three.

THE LIFE OF BASSIANVS ANTONINVS CARACALLA, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND fourth of thoſe which were called ANTONINI,and of his brother GETA,being the two and twentith Emperour of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the deceaſe of Seuerus,his two ſonnes, Baſſianus Antoninus Caracalla, and Geta,tooke the Empire; which two being borne of ſeuerall mothers (as brothers oftentimes vſe to doe)the one deadly hating the other,ſought one anothers death and deſtruction. But Caracalla which was a warlike man and bloudie, vnable to endure the companie of his brother, which led the life of a Philoſopher rather then of an Emperour: and vnable to endure that his brother for his good parts ſhould be ſo much beloued by the Romane people as he was,failing to kill him ſecretly with poiſon,in the end ſlew him openly in the lap of his mother in law, which was Geta his mother; remaining ſole in the Empire. And knowing himſelfe to be generally hated,he diſpoſed of himſelfe to viſit the Empire: and whereſoeuer he came he

he ſought to imitate the faſhions of the countrie wherein he was; ſometimes attiring himſelfe after the Germane faſhion; then after the Greeke: beſides that he would be called Alexander, and be reputed another Achilles, for that he had trauailed the countries of thoſe Princes. He was very inhumane and cruell, and ſo diſhoneſt in his life that hee ſhamed not to marrie his ſtepmother Iulia, which was mother to his brother Geta, who alſo was ſo ſhameleſſe as to conſent to ſo wicked a mariage. But they both ended accordingly as they deſerued: for the Emperour was ſlaine by the practiſe of Macrinus, at ſuch time as he went to eaſe his bodie; and ſhe hearing the newes, falling into deſpaire killed her ſelfe, he hauing held the Empire ſixe yeeres.

SEVERVS being dead, his two ſonnes, which he had by ſeuerall women, accordingly as he had ordained remained Emperours. One of them he had by MARTIA which was his firſt wife; and the other by IVLIA, as is alreadie ſaid. The eldeſt had to name BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, and the other GETA; both very young men, and in vertue farre vnlike to their father, chiefly BASSIANVS CARACALLA which was the eldeſt: Although that in his youth being but a childe, hee ſeemed to make better ſhew of himſelfe, to be of a gentle condition, and of a good wit; and profited very much in learning (as SPARCIANVS writeth) and therefore was much beloued and greatly accounted of: but afterwards, with his yeeres, and the Empire, he altred his condition, and in crueltie not onely ſurpaſſed his father, but any other cruell Prince of all that euer were; as though he had been borne at one birth together with NERO.

So ſoone as he was ſworne Emperour in *England*, where hee then was (for his father carried both his ſonnes with him, and his wife IVLIA alſo, which was mother to the ſecond ſonne) ANTONINVS CARACALLA practiſed with the armie to chuſe him onely for Emperour, and to diſinherite his brother GETA. But the men of warre would not conſent thereto, becauſe that GETA was choſen CÆSAR and ſucceſſor to his father by them; and BASSIANVS ANTONINVS was nominated by his father SEVERVS. Whereupon being out of hope to bring his purpoſe to effect, accompanied with his brother and mother in law, they agreed to come to *Rome*, and brought with them the bodie or aſhes of their father SEVERVS. But there preſently began ſo many ielouſies and ſuſpitions betweene the two brothers, that it was daily feared that the one would kill the other; notwithſtanding that IVLIA (as though ſhe had been mother to them both) vſed all poſſible meanes to haue pacified them, and to haue brought them to liue louingly and like brothers together: which ſhe could neuer bring to paſſe, and ſo vpon the way either of them did lodge and eate apart; and either of them ſtood vpon his guard, for feare of the other. And being come to *Rome*, were receiued with great ſolemnitie, triumph and ioy; but in their palaces they tooke their lodgings apart, and each of them had his guard and particular officers from the other: and they neuer viſited, ſaw, or ſpake the one to the other, except when they went to the Senate: ſo great was the hatred and enuie which the one bare to the other.

Enmitie betweene Baſſianus and his brother Geta.

The firſt thing they did after their comming to *Rome*, was to burie their father, whom they canonized for a Saint, placing him among the Gods, as the cuſtome was to doe, by thoſe which were good Emperours. And ſeeing that occaſion will often be giuen to reade of ſome Emperours which haue been deified; in my opinion it ſhall not be amiſſe, in this place to recite the ceremonies which were then vſed therein. The order which they held (the Emperour being dead) was to aſſemble the Senate, to conſider whether ſuch an Emperour had deſerued or were worthie to be placed among the Gods or no: and finding him to haue been wicked,

In what manner the Romanes deified their Emperors

wicked, the Senate would not be present at the ceremonies vsed at his funerall: but if he had been a good Prince, they all went in mourning attire to doe him honour at his consecration. The manner to consecrate him, was first to burie him without any ceremonies; then they made his image of wood, which resembled a pale sickly weake man, which they placed vpon a high scaffold ouer the entring into the Pallace; which image was clothed in faire rich attire, and on the one side thereof sate the Senate, and on the other side the Romane Matrons, where they sate from the Sunne rising vntill the comming in of the euening, doing nothing but groane and sigh. This order they obserued the space of seuen dayes, in which the Phisitions came and felt the pulses of this Statue, saying, that the Emperour would surely die: at which words, they lamented and scriched out. The sixt day the Phisitions said that he was dead, then the most auncient men carried the image on horseback in a beere to a place, which was called the old place; passing thorough that way which was called *Via Sacra*. In this place was erected an edifice after the fashion of a throne, with staires round about it, and vpon this throne they placed this Image; on the one side of the staires were many children, which were gentlemens sonnes of *Rome*; and on the other side, a number of young Romane damsels which sung some heauie and sorrowfull songs and ditties; and the boyes sung hymnes in praise of the dead Emperour. From thence they carried the Image with the beere to the field of *Mars*, where was another scaffold made of most drie wood, vpon which they placed this Image. Vpon that day people came from all parts of *Italy* to *Rome* to see the solemnitie: and euery one there present, was bound to cast vpon the staires, certaine precious odours of sundrie sorts. After this the Senators made shew of a skirmish on horseback; and after them the two Consuls gaue a turne vpon their chariots richly adorned, being followed by all the most ancient old men in *Rome*, and those which had bin Captaines in the warres on foote: all which after that they had gone round about this scaffold, making sundrie shoutes and exclamations, fell to the ground. Then came he which did inherite and succeed in the Empire, and with a burning torch gaue fire to this throne or scaffold; which, for that it was made of most drie wood, in short space was set all on fire.

But before any of these ceremonies were performed, the Senate prouided a great Eagle, which being set on that side where the image of the dead Emperour was, while as this image did burne, the Eagle was very finely let loose; which, according to her nature, mounting aloft into the aire, the people said that it was the Emperors soule which flew to heauen there to inhabite amongst the gods: which HERODIANVS doth write at large in the historie of these two Emperours. GETA the younger brother was of a more gentle nature: for shewing himselfe milde and courteous, he began to be generally well beloued of all men. ANTONINVS CARACALLA was sharpe, and would be obeied for feare; and enuying the loue which he saw al men beare to his brother GETA, & the reputation wherin he was held, he deuised with himself how he might secretly kil him with poison, or otherwise howsoeuer: he also sought to get the goodwill of the Pretorian souldiers, giuing them many gifts, doing them many fauours, & giuing them leaue to do what they listed. So as it was easily to be perceiued, what manner of gouernment there would be in the Empire, wherein were two Emperours with equall power and authoritie, and so contrarie in condition each to other, that being brothers they practised and desired each others death; and in matters of iustice and gouernment were euer contrarie in opinion, and for Captaines and gouernours which

Bassianus sought meanes to put his brother Geta to death.

were

were to be made, each sought to preferre his friends and fauourites, and did the like in chusing of Consuls and other Magistrates: And so all things went by fauours and in contention. And there were committed intolerable disorders, and iniuries, either of them persecuting the contrarie faction, without daring to punish those which were of their own partie, for feare to make them their enemies: whereof grew an vniuersall preiudiciall detriment to all the prouinces, and generally to the whole Empire. Wherefore to auoide these troubles and inconueniences, some practised to make a diuision of the Empire; and that ANTONINVS BASSIANVS should remaine in *Rome* and gouerne the West; and that GETA should gouerne *Asia* and all the East. But this tooke as little effect: for IVLIA, mother to GETA, hindred it, thinking to bring them to some composition, and to make them friends: and when she thought that she was in the right way to haue brought them to concord and agreement, BASSIANVS CARACALLA, which was more proud and presumptuous, and who in truth did scorne his brother, as well for that he was his younger, as for that he gaue himselfe more to his booke and to ciuill discipline, then to armes and chiualrie; hauing alwaies about him honest and learned men: hee determined to kill him in what manner soeuer; which hee had till then assaied to doe by secret and coloured meanes, thinking with himselfe that he was and ought to be sole and onely Emperour, and could not endure any riuall or companion in commaund. And with this cruell determination, as they were lodged both in one palace, GETA being one day with his mother, nothing suspecting any open violence, although hee mistrusted secret practises: BASSIANVS iust at the time wherein euery bodie was at dinner, suddenly entred his brothers lodging, and with the aide of those which came with him, slew his brother in his mothers armes, before he was able to put himselfe in defence, or could be rescued: and hauing committed this detestable murder, with the like furie and hast, as he had done this fact, he sallied forth at his pallace gates, compassed about with his friends and seruants, and shewing great amazement, cried out, that his brother would haue killed him, and said to those which saw him, that he had escaped an extreame danger of death, but his innocencie had preserued him. And calling to his guard, commaunded them to conuay him to his Pretorian Cohorts, where he might remaine in safetie, for so long as he continued within the citie he stood in feare of his life.

Bassianus slew his brother Geta in his mothers armes.

Those which heard him, not knowing what had passed, beleeued what he said, and both those which heard him, and heard him not, followed him; and the people began to be much troubled to see their Emperour so out of season, and in such haste in such maner to go to the camp. When he came to his camp, where in truth by reason of his former practises, he was better beloued then his brother, the first thing that he did was to go to a place apart, where their ensignes and banners were, which they held for religious and sacred; and then he began with great exclamation to say, That he gaue infinite thanks to the gods for deliuering him from such, and so imminent a danger. And the souldiers flocking about him, marueling at his so vnseasonable comming, he put himselfe in the middest of them, and with a huge voice began to implore their aid and succour, telling them that his brother would haue slaine him, and being assailed by him, was rescued, and had fought, and God had giuen him the victorie, although with great difficultie; and that he now fled vnto them from the furie of those which would haue slaine him. He spake and fained the matter with such efficacie, that the souldiers beleeued him, and notwithstanding that he expressed not so much, yet they plainely

percei-

perceiued that he had ſlaine his brother, as he gaue them to vnderſtand: and incontinentlie he promiſed them, ſeeing that he remained ſole Emperour, that he would beſtow vpon them the accuſtomed fauours, gifts and rewards; and preſentlie ſending for a great ſumme of money which remained of his fathers treaſure, he diuided it amongſt them: wherewith hauing gotten their good wils, although that ſome were hard to be perſwaded thereto, and did contradict it, yet in the end they proclaimed him ſole Emperour, and approued the death of his brother GETA, pronouncing him a rebell, and an enemie to the Romane commonwealth. BASSIANVS remaining all that night in the camp amongſt the ſouldiers, the next day compaſſed with men of warre, returned into *Rome*; and aſſembling the Senate, he went thither, and brought in his guard with him, wherein he made a ſet Oration (which HERODIANVS writeth at large) excuſing himſelfe, and grieuouſlie accuſing his brother, affirming that he was openlie aſſailed by him, but being reſcued, in defending himſelfe, he had ſlaine his brother. The Senators, ſome for that they were his fauourits, and others for feare, approoued his death: and he to iuſtifie his wickednes with greater crueltie, began to proceede againſt men of all eſtates, as though that they all had been guiltie, and had practiſed his death, committing infinite murthers and cruelties. Firſt, he commaunded all his brothers ſeruants to be ſlaine, together with many Senators and Romane Knights, which had taken his brothers part. He alſo made PLAVTINA, the daughter of PLANCIVS which had been his wife, to be put to death. He ſlew POMPEIANVS nephew to the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS the Philoſopher, and ſonne of LVCILLA and of POMPEIANVS. He cauſed alſo all the Gouernours and Captaines to be ſlaine, which his brother had placed in the Prouinces. To conclude, he murthered an infinite number of principall men, and men of eſtate: ſo as in all parts of *Rome* moſt horrible murthers and cruelties were committed, for which he is accounted one of the worſt and moſt cruell Emperours that euer ruled the Romane Empire, and was generallie hated and abhorred of all men, ſauing of the Pretorian ſouldiers only, whoſe loue and good will he bought with his money, and therewith did continue them for his friends (by ſuffring and induring them, and giuing them libertie in all things) permitting them to commit whatſoeuer outrage or inſolencie they would. Hauing exerciſed himſelfe in theſe abhominable cruelties, his owne conſcience accuſing him, and knowing how much he was abhorred in *Rome*, he determined to depart from thence, and to go to viſit all the prouinces of the Empire, which he did, and in his iourney plaid many mad pranks, ſome of which in truth were very ridiculous. And purpoſing to go into *Germany*, where *Rome* euer held great armies in garriſon againſt the northerly nations, which could neuer be brought to any perfect ſubiection: he gaue it out in ſpeeches that he went to reforme the legions, and to viſit the prouinces: and taking his way towards the riuer *Danubius*, where (to win the harts of that countrey people) he followed the faſhions vſed in that countrey, hunting and killing fierce wild beaſts, and apparelled himſelfe as a Germane, praiſing and eſteeming their faſhions better, then the faſhions of the Romanes, and choſe ſuch of the Germane ſouldiers as ſeemed to be moſt ſtrong and actiue for his guard. He ſought alſo to win the good will of other men of warre, ſhewing himſelfe very affable and ſociable, helping them in perſon in their bodily exerciſes, eating and drinking with them ſuch things as they did, and doing many other things like a ſouldier, and a man of warre: whereby he made himſelfe beloued both of the one and the other, although that he forbare not to commit ſundrie

Crueltie vſed by Baſſianus, in putting many great men to death.

Baſſianus his trauailes and faſhions.

drie cruelties, killing certaine principall men amongſt them.

And hauing ſet all matters in ſuch order as he thought good in *Germany*, taking his way towards *Thracia*, he paſſed through *Macedonia*, where a notable folly poſſeſſed him: for heere he made ſhew to be much affected to ALEXANDER the Great, and to publiſh his noble acts; and ſent commaundement to erect his ſtatue in many parts of *Rome*; among which he ſet vp one with two faces, the one reſembling ALEXANDER, and the other himſelfe, deſiring to make others to beleeue (himſelfe being ſo perſwaded) that he did very much reſemble him: and for that he had read that ALEXANDERS neck ſtood alittle awry towards one ſhoulder, he counterfeited the like; and ſo within few dayes, of an *Almaine*, he was become a *Macedonian* in apparell, behauiour and faſhion; and one ſquadron of his army he commaunded to be called a Phalanx, for ſo were they called in that kingdome; and ſome of his Captaines he cauſed to be called by the names of ſome of ALEXANDERS Captaines. Hauing made this ſhew in *Græcia*, he tooke his way towards *Aſia*, where he deſired to ſee the ruines and relicks of *Troy*; and ſeeing the Sepulchre of ACHILLES, another humour tooke him, which was to reſemble ACHILLES; ſo as he ſeemed to trauell the countries like a Player, with Comedies and making ſhewes; at which his lightnes and mutabilitie, the Romanes which were with him were much diſcontented and aſhamed.

Extreame crueltie executed by Baſſianus vpon the citizens of Alexandria.

Trauelling through *Aſia* the leſſe, and thence into *Soria*, he went into *Egypt* (as he ſaid) to ſee the citie of *Alexandria*, becauſe that ALEXANDER the great was founder thereof, where he was moſt ſolemnely receiued, and with great ioy, for which he ill requited them: for although that he ſhewed them a pleaſant countenance, yet ſecretly he was very angry with them: for he vnderſtood that they had vſed quips and ieſts of him behind his back, and gaue him nicknames conformable to his vices, and the cruelties which he committed. Matters, in truth, not ſo hainous as could deſerue ſo cruell puniſhment, as that which he inflicted, which was: that the people being vpon a day aſſembled together to ſee certaine publike paſtimes, he made them to be compaſſed about by his ſouldiers, and an infinite number of them of all ages, conditions, and degrees to be ſlaine, to the great feare, griefe, and terror of the whole citie.

After this his ſo great inhumanitie done in *Egypt*, he returned towards *Paleſtina*, and trauelling towards the Eaſt with a very mightie armie, of his fathers excellent old ſouldiers: he inuaded the land of the Parthians, which ſuſpected no ſuch matters, and did great ſpoile in their conuntries (as SPARCIANVS, SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR, and HERODIANVS doe write) for vpon ſafe conduit and aſſurance of peace which he made to the Parthians, he obtained ſome victories, deceiuing their King ARTABANVS, giuing him to vnderſtand that he came of purpoſe to marrie with his daughter, and the other comming to receiue him in peaceable manner, was ſodainly ſet vpon. But the King (by great hap) eſcaped by flight. And although that this his victorie were of ſmall importance, yet he made great boaſt, writing to *Rome* long and proud letters thereof; and in all theſe actions he forbare not to be cruell: but to gouerne vprightly and to doe iuſtice, as he ought to haue done, he tooke no care. He was very gluttonous, and

Gluttonie and incontinencie of Baſſianus.

vnmeaſurably giuen to wine, luxurie and diſhoneſtie of life, ſo as he married with his own mother in law, IVLIA: yet HERODIANVS maketh no mention thereof, but ſeemeth to be of a contrarie opinion; for he euer ſpeaketh of IVLIA, as though ſhe had been mother both to BASSIANVS and GETA: But SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth it, and alſo EVSEBIVS, EVTROPIVS and SPARCIANVS ſay, that

it

it passed in this manner. IVLIA was a most faire woman, and vpon a day, the mother and the sonne in law standing talking together, she carelesly or dishonestly, as it afterwards appeared, letting fall a vaile which she ware, discouered part of her brest: which when BASSIANVS saw, he said, if it were lawfull, I would haue that which I see: she forgetting all honestie, and that she was mother to GETA whom BESSIANVS had slaine, answered, to thee any thing that thou desirest is lawfull: dost thou not know, that the Emperour maketh lawes and is subiect to none. When he heard her say so, setting aside all dutie and loyaltie which he ought to his dead father, and his liuing mother in law, he resolued to marrie her, and celebrated his nuptials with the mother of his brother whom he had bereaued of life. But to returne to the Historie of his life, it passed in this manner, that comming from his inuasion against the Parthians, he staied some daies in the countrie of *Mesopotamia:* for that countrie was excellent good and commodious for hunting & other sports, wherein within few daies, hauing raigned full sixe yeeres, he was slaine by treason. The manner whereof HERODIANVS writeth, and saith, that he was much addicted to Mathematicians and Astrologians, and gaue great credit vnto them; and in all matters vsed their opinions and iudgements, and had in *Rome* and with him all the Astrologers that he could get; wherein he resembled his father SEVERVS, who did the like. And being fearefull of conspiracies, knowing what he had deserued; he sent to MATERNVS who was the greatest and most priuate friend that he had, whom he left gouernour of *Rome*, commaunding him secretly to assemble all the best Astrologers that he could get, and demaund of them what death he should die; and procure them to giue their opinions, whether that any conspired or practized his death or no. MATERNVS did that which the Emperour commaunded in the foote of his letter, and with great haste answered him (either faining it, or being so aduertised by the Astrologers) that MACRINVS which was his Prefect, and with him in *Mesopotamia*, went about to kill him, and that therefore he should in any case presently dispatch him out of the way; for so did the Astrologers aduise him. Which letter he sent sealed, and made it vp amongst other letters, to be the more secretly conueyed. The whole packet was giuing to the Emperour as he was going into his chariot, to runne for a wager with other chariots; which was a kinde of sport, wherein he tooke much pleasure, and was greatly vsed in those daies. And he for that he would not giue ouer that which hee had pretended, gaue his letters to the said MACRINVS to reade, and afterwards to make relation to him of the contents thereof. MACRINVS reading all these letters, met with that wherein BASSIANVS was counselled to put him to death, whereat he was much astonished, and concealing that letter, made relation to the Emperour of the contents of all the rest. And considering with himselfe that he which wrote that letter would doubtlesse write another, and that at length he should surely die; he resolued first to dispatch the Emperour out of the way: and ruminating vpon the matter, he bethought himselfe of a lustie strong fellow, a Centurion of the Emperours guard, called MARTIALL, who being discontented, murmured against the Emperour and secretly hated him, for that he had caused a brother of his to be slaine, and he himselfe was ill entreated and disgraced. MACRINVS conceiuing this man to be fit for his purpose, after some other discourse told him, that seeing that he had oportunitie to kill the Emperour being euer neere vnto him, hauing charge of his person, hee ought to reuenge the death of his brother, and then flie to him: which with others of his faction would protect and defend him against al such as should

A monstrous fact.

ſeeke to offend him. Some daies after that MACRINVS had laid this plot, it happened that the Emperour comming from a temple wherein hee had been neere to a citie called *Carras*; and riding ſmally accompanied towards the citie, he withdrew himſelfe out of the way behinde a buſh, to doe ſuch things as nature required; with one Page with him to hold his horſe, the reſt for manners ſake being withdrawne: which when MARTIALL perceiued, being one of them, faining that the Emperour had called him vpon ſome neceſſarie occaſion, he ranne haſtily vnto him; and before that he was perceiued, ſtabbed him in behinde; whereof he preſently fell downe dead. SPARCIANVS ſaith, that comming to helpe the Emperour to horſe, he ſtabd him in with his poiniard, and that MARTIALL returning to take horſe, from which he was alighted, he by little and little withdrew himſelfe from the company: but the Page bringing newes of the Emperours death, he began to flie ſo faſt as his horſe could runne; but could not make ſuch ſpeede, but that he was ouertaken by the *Germaine* horſemen of the Emperours guarde: which preſently killed him. The death of BASSIANVS being vnderſtoode by thoſe which accompanied him, there grew a great tumult among them, without knowing with whom to be angrie; for as then it was vnknowne by whoſe order hee was ſlaine, and comming to the dead body of the Emperour the firſt that came to his aide was MACRINVS, who weeping and lamenting, ſeemed to be very ſorrowfull, and no man ſuſpecting him or any other, all men imagining that MARTIALL had murthered BASSIANVS vpon paſſion; and for ſome priuate reuenge. And taking the Emperours dead body they burnt it, according to the cuſtome then: and putting his aſhes into a potte, they ſent them to his wife, and mother-in law IVLIA, which was in *Antioche*, who being in deſpaire poiſoned her ſelfe: and ſo they both had ſuch ends as they deſerued. BASSIANVS at the time of his death was fully three and fortie yeeres old, hauing raigned ſixe yeeres Emperour. He left one ſonne which was very yong, whoſe name was ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, which he had by his wife whoſe name was SEMIRA, as SPARCIANVS writeth, AVRELIVS VICTOR calleth her SEMEA, a very diſhoneſt woman and his coſen Germane; which liued like a ſtrumpet. ANTONINVS BASSIANVS was by his ſurname called CARACALLA, for a certaine kind of apparrell which he gaue to the people of *Rome*: he died in the yeere of our Lord 219.

The death of Baſſianus Caracalla.

THE

THE LIFE OF OPILIVS MACRINVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND THE THREE AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ONe Andentius hauing refuſed the Empire; for his excuſe, alleadged his olde age to bee vnfit for the troubles of ſo important a gouernment: but Macrinus without any ſuch conſideration accepted thereof, it being offered him by the ſouldiers, notwithſtanding that hee was the author of the death of Caracalla. He tooke the Empire, made head againſt Artabanus King of Perſia, who roſe in armes againſt the Romanes in reueng of the iniuries done by Caracalla; and being come to a fight which continued two daies, in the end they came to an agreement: Artabanus vnderſtanding of the opprobrious death of his enemie. But that fortune which had prepared a troubleſome raigne for Macrinus, ſaw him no ſooner out of one daunger, but it caſt him into another farre greater, which was this; that Heliogabalus a youth of fifteene yeeres old, being by the meanes of an old woman made Emperour, it behooued him to fight with him; and being ouerthrowne, fled vnknowne through Aſia the leſſe, with intent to come to Rome; but being ouertaken by the ſouldiers which purſued him, in a citie wherein he fell ſicke, he was ſlaine, together with his ſonne Diadumenus; whom he had made his companion in the Empire: Hauing raigned onely fourteene mouethes.

BAssianvs being dead, a councell was held in the armie concerning the election of a new Emperour: for there was little account made of his ſonne Antoninvs Hellogabalvs; aſwell for that he was but a child, as alſo for that his mother led ſuch a life, that it was doubted whether

he were the ſonne of BASSIANVS or no. In the army beſides MACRINVS which was Pretorian Prefect, was AVDENTIVS, a man of good ſort and of yeeres, very expert in the warres, and an excellent Captaine: of theſe two they were in great doubt, whether they ſhould chooſe, and in this doubt they remained two daies, and in the end they determined to chooſe AVDENTIVS, who was a diſcreet old man, little regarded the Empire, and conſidering the perils and diſorders, would not accept thereof, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his great age, alleaging, that he was not able to gouerne the Empire as it ought to be, a thing ſeldome ſeene that any man would refuſe the Empire of the world. The men of warre perceiuing that AVDENTIVS would not accept of the Empire, preſentlie made choiſe of MACRINVS, who was the author of the murther and death of BASSIANVS, and ſo was he choſen, and gladly accepted of their election. This MACRINVS was of a very baſe ſtock & parentage, and which with ſmall deſerts, and by way of fauour attained to the office of Pretorian Prefect. So ſoone as he was choſen Emperour, he made a notable flattering Oration to the army, and payed the ſouldiers, and diſtributed much money among them, thereby throughly to win their loue and good will, and addreſſed himſelfe with all haſte againſt ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, who came with great power againſt the Romanes, to be reuenged of the iniurie which BASSIANVS had done them, knowing nothing of his death. He alſo preſentlie nominated and choſe a ſonne of his for his companion in the Empire, whoſe name was DIADVMENVS, whom he made to be called ANTONINVS, aſwell to take away the ſuſpicion of the death of ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, as for that the name of ANTONINVS was very acceptable to the Romanes, in remembrance of the good Emperours ANTONINVS PIVS, and MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS: for all theſe Emperours did leaue their owne names, or together with them did take the name of ANTONINI, vntill that for the abominable and execrable life of ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, they left it, as we will preſentlie declare. He alſo wrote long letters to the Senate and people of *Rome*, reciting the manner of his election, and deſiring them to approue the ſame, with many ſolemne oathes that he was not guiltie of the death of BASSIANVS. The Senate being certified of the death of BASSIANVS, approued the election of MACRINVS, and the election and companie of his ſonne in the Empire.

Audentius refuſed the Empire.

Opilius Macrinus choſen Emperour.

This new Emperour MACRINVS, and his ſonne DIADVMENVS going againſt ARTABANVS and the Parthians, which came very ſtrong both in footemen, in horſemen, and alſo brought many camels with them, and the two armies came to a moſt cruell battaile which laſted two daies together, wherein both the Romanes and the Parthians fought ſo valiantlie, that in both daies the darke night parted the fray, and either partie cried victorie, victorie, although that in truth there was none: for the ſlaughter and number of the dead and wounded was equall.

A cruell battell betweene Macrinus and Artabanus.

MACRINVS knowing that ARTABANVS came greatly enraged by reaſon of the iniurie done him by BASSIANVS, ſent him Heraulds and Ambaſſadors, certifying him of the death of BASSIANVS: and moreouer that if he deſired the friendſhip of the Romanes, that he would graunt it. ARTABANVS being aduertiſed of the death of his enemie BASSIANVS, was very ioyfull of the newes: for vntill then he had no intelligence thereof, and was alſo glad of the peace offred him, which he accepted vpon condition that all ſuch priſoners as were taken by BASSIANVS through treacherie in time of truce, ſhould be reſtored; which was accordinglie performed, and they concluded a peace; and the King of the Parthians returned

Peace betweene Macrinus and Artabanus vpon conditions.

returned home to his countrey; and MACRINVS to *Antioch* in *Soria*. Where he gaue himselfe ouer to lust and sensualitie, forgetting the gouernment of the Empire, delaying his going to *Rome*, whither by letters from thence he was dayly sollicited to come, wherein he committed a very great errour: for if he had left his army, and had gone to *Rome*, and there setled himselfe in the gouernment of the Empire, without all doubt both his raigne and life had lasted longer; but he taking no care of that which he ought to haue done, and which most concerned him, gaue himselfe in *Antioch* to pastimes, pleasures, and banketting: whereat the Romane souldiers began much to murmure, and to make little account of him, moued thereto through their desire to returne into their countrey. They also much abhorred him for that he did most cruellie punish them: for in those times loyaltie was so out of vse, and men of warre had such libertie, were so audacious, and had taken such a custome to make Emperours, that they presentlie began to repine and murmure, yea and boldlie to speake ill of MACRINVS, and to wish his death, within a little more then one yeare after that they had giuen him the Empire, and within few dayes after plotted the same in this manner. In a citie of *Phœnicia* called *Emesa*, was yong ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, who had there a Grandmother, sister to IVLIA wife of SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, which afterwards married with her sonne in law BASSIANVS, sonne of the same SEVERVS. This his Grandmother whose name was MESA, had there another nephew called ALEXIANVS, of whom more shall be said hereafter, and she also had in her companie SIMIAMIRA, mother of the said ANTONINVS, and another which was sister to ALEXIANVS.

The causes of the death of Macrinus.

This MESA was a very rich woman both in iewels and money: for she had been mother in lawe to two Emperours, the father and the sonne, and it is to be beleeued that in their life time there were infinit bribes and gifts bestowed vpon her, and so she remained there after the death of BASSIANVS with her daughters and nephewes. These two cosins her nephewes, MESA made Priests in a most sumptuous Temple which she builded and consecrated to the Sunne, from whence it grew that this ANTONINVS was called HELIOGABALVS, which is as much to say, as a Priest of the Sunne: for the Phœnicians did call the Sun HELIOGABALVS, to which Temple for their vaine deuotions sake came many Romane souldiers of the legions which lay there in garrison, and many from MACRINVS his camp also; which this MESA Grandmother to these youths entertained very courteouslie, bestowing many gifts vpon them; and she shewing them her nephew HELIOGABALVS, vsed to tell them that this her nephew was sonne to their Emperour BASSIANVS, whom MACRINVS had slaine by treason. With these and such like effectuall speeches, she brought the matter so to such passe, that what with the courtesie which she vsed towards them, and also for that the boy was a most fine child, they generallie began to affect him, some by seeing him, and others by report of him; so as the whole armie loued him, and desired that he might be their Lord and Emperour. And to the contrarie, MACRINVS being generallie hated of all men, some Coronels and Captaines moued by the gifts and large promises made by this MESA vnto them, the greatest part agreed that she should send ANTONINVS to their Camp, and then they would proclaime him Emperour. The good old woman which had bin vsed to Emperours courts, setting all other matters apart, tooke her nephew by the hand and went with him to the Camp, and he presentlie was receiued for Emperour, and they sware obedience vnto him (as writeth HERODIANVS.) But IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS saith,

The policie of Mesa to make Heliogabalus Emperour.

Heliogabalus made Emperour.

ſaith, that certaine of MACRINVS his legions being in a mutinie came to ſeeke HELIOGABALVS. But howſoeuer, as both the one and the other might be, HELIOGABALVS accepted of the Empire, being but fifteene yeeres old: and the matter being publiſhed abroad, the newes thereof cauſed great alteration in mens minds, and all men began to affect him, for that he was both ſonne and nephew to Emperours, and for the names ſake of ANTONINVS, which they held for bleſſed and ſacred. MACRINVS preſently vnderſtood theſe newes in *Antioch*, where hee then was, and made leſſe account therof then he ought to haue done, ieſting at HELIOGABALVS, for that he was but a childe, and at his mother and grandmother, deeming it ſufficient to ſend a Captaine of his whoſe name was IVLIANVS, with certaine legions to beſiege, and ſo to ruinate him: which (as it was thought) hee might eaſily haue accompliſhed, if hee had himſelfe gone preſently thither in perſon. When IVLIANVS with his troupes came, HELIOGABALVS forces were not of ſufficient power to giue him battaile; but being in their camp, which was well fortified and victualled, they ſuffered themſelues to bee beſieged: but ſouldiers of the one ſide conferring with thoſe of the other; and thoſe of the Campe ſhewing young HELIOGABALVS to IVLIANVS his ſouldiers, putting them in minde of his father, perſwaded them to follow him. Whereof it inſued, that they not onely did ſo, but apprehending their Captaine IVLIANVS, ſmote off his head, and went ouer to HELIOGABALVS; and the one and the other made ſuch an armie, that MACRINVS determined, with his whole power to come and make head againſt HELIOGABALVS: and doing ſo, they ioyned battell in the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnitia*; wherein conſcience and feare made HELIOGABALVS ſouldiers to fight valiantly; and of MACRINVS ſide only the Pretorian ſouldiers fought well, but all the reſt of his armie fought retchleſly, and great part thereof abandoning him went ouer to HELIOGABALVS: wherefore he accounting himſelfe loſt and forlorne, fled from the battaile; and ſo HELIOGABALVS had the victorie. MACRINVS and his ſonne, with certaine of their friends which would not forſake him, trauailed with the greateſt ſpeed that they could make, ſecretly, through the cities of *Aſia* the leſſe, and came into *Bithynia*, with determination to get to *Rome*; where MACRINVS knew that his comming was much deſired. But falling grieuouſly ſick in the city of *Chalcedonia*, thoſe which HELIOGABALVS ſent to purſue him, found him there; and bringing letters and commaundement to the citie, through the fame of HELIOGABALVS his victorie they were obeyed; and MACRINVS lying ſicke, voide of all fauour and friendſhip, together with his ſonne, was there put to death, within one yeere and two moneths after that hee was choſen Emperour. And being dead, all men fixed their eyes and thought vpon HELIOGABALVS.

Iulianus a captaine ſent by Macrinus ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

A battaile vvhere Heliogabalus had the victorie, and Macrinus fled.

Macrinus falling ſicke in Calcedonia, being ouertaken by ſuch as Heliogabalus ſent after him, was by them ſlaine.

Surely it is a wonderfull and pitifull matter to conſider of the infelicitie and miſerie of thoſe times, to ſee how many Emperours were murthered, and how wicked and vitious the moſt part of them were, and how ſmall time they raigned; and that which maketh me moſt to wonder, is to thinke how lightly they were ſlaine, notwithſtanding that they were Lords of the whole world. And how eaſie a matter it was for a Captaine, hauing the fauour and friendſhip of fiue or ſixe Legions, to make himſelfe to be obeyed. So as it ſeemeth that he which firſt had intelligence of the Emperors death, and was any thing friended, and therewith durſt to aduenture, was commonly choſen for his ſucceſſor, as wee ſaid of IVLIANVS: And that which is worſe, that he which murdered the laſt Emperour commonly became his heire; as wee ſee in MACRINVS and others. And touching him, of whom

whom wee now diſcourſe, one feeble old woman, and a childe of fourteene or fifteene yeeres old were ſufficient to ouerthrow and ruinate him, being an ancient, wiſe and mightie Emperour, and to bereaue him both of his life and Empire, and quietly and in peace to enioy the ſame (if the contentment and rule of the wicked may be called peace and quietnes:) whereby it appeareth more cleere then the light, how variable and inconſtant all things are in this world; and that there is no other firme and ſtable dominion or kingdome, but in the ſeruice of God: whereof the faithfull Chriſtians in thoſe daies had eſpecial care, and ſought no worldly dominion, Magiſtracies, nor Empire, but to liue holie and vprightly: and ſo contemning the world, attained the euerlaſting kingdome of heauen. And theſe vnhappie Infidels forbare not to commit and execute any crueltie or treaſon whatſoeuer, ſo as they might thereby get the ſupreme gouernment and commaund, although it were but for three daies. And God for their ſinnes permitted (for the example of others) that by the ſame meanes whereby they obtained it, by the ſelfe ſame they commonly loſt it; being either put to death by the ſword, or elſe by treaſon, as they had done by others. And that which is worſt of all, together with their bodies, they loſt their miſerable ſoules; in ſuch ſort, as is ſaid, it happened to the Emperour MACRINVS, who died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and twentie.

THE LIFE OF HELIOGABALVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, FIFT OF THOSE WHICH were called ANTONINI, and foure and twentith Emperor of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

HEliogabalus being a Prieſt of the Sunne, attaining to the Empire of Rome, ſo ſoone as he had taken the Imperiall dignitie became ſo wicked, that in filthines he farre ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors.

deceſſors. He was moſt diſhoneſt in his life, more then beſitted a laſciuious and intemperate man, and was ſo addicted to women, that he graunted them to hold a Senate by themſelues. When he was neere to the ſea, he would eate no meates but ſuch as were bred farre within the land: and when he was farre from it, he would eate nothing but ſea-fiſh; neither would he eate of any thing that was not of an exceſſiue price. He was inclined to no kind of vertue, neither regarded any but paraſites, ruffians, bawds, and ſuch like perſons, and all his actions were ſo abominable, and his riotouſnes ſo great, that to write the ſame, were to amaſſe an heape of villanie. He made one which was his coſin germaine, Ceſar, a very honeſt and vertuous young man, whoſe name was Alexianus. He was ſlaine by his ſouldiers, who for that they could not caſt him into a moſt filthie ditch, trailed him through the citie, and threw him into the riuer Tiber, he hauing held the Empire for a certaine time, the truth whereof is incertaine; writers doe ſo much differ therein. And had ſuch a death as his moſt filthie life had deſerued.

MACRINVS dying as he deſerued, ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, without any contradiction, was made Emperour: who in truth proued to be ſuch, that in hiſtories there ought no memoriall to be held of him, nor mention to be made of his life; to the end that if it were poſſible, no man ſhould know that ſuch a monſter as he was, had euer attained to the maieſtie of the Romane Empire, if wee had not alreadie written the liues of CALIGVLA, NERO, VITELLIVS, COMMODVS, and ſuch others. But as one ground commonly produceth vnholeſome hearbes full of poiſon, and which kill; and likewiſe good and holeſome, which heale, and alſo feedeth both ſheepe and ſerpents: ſo in our hiſtorie in recompence of theſe wicked Princes, we will oppoſe OCTAVIAN, VESPASIAN, TITVS, TRAIANE, ADRIAN, ANTONINVS PIVS, MARCVS AVRELIVS, and in part SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, which were ſingular Emperours, and gouerned the Empire with ſuch wiſedome and equitie as was requiſite. And ſo the vices of the one are to be manifeſted, as well as the vertues of the other, to the end, that if any Princes of our time ſhall reade their liues, hee may ſee how abominable and deteſtable their doings were: and ſo eſchewing the euill, and making choiſe of the good, may follow the ſame: and may conſider how little a while thoſe cruell vicious Emperours raigned, and what ſhamefull and vnluckie ends they made: and how that the good liued and gouerned longer time, and ended their daies in peace and quiet, dying of their naturall death, except ſome, which were murthered by traitors, to vſurpe the Empire.

But comming to HELIOGABALVS, after that he had obtained the victory, and that MACRINVS was ſlaine, & he choſen for Emperor, he wrote the moſt louing and kind letters to *Rome* that could be imagined: but the Senate and people of *Rome* did hardly digeſt the newes, for they would rather haue had MACRINVS: but daring to doe nothing to the contrarie, they yeelded obedience to HELIOGABALVS; of whom they preſently conceiued a good hope, for that which they heard of his gallant feature, and of the good conſtitution of his bodie, and for the names ſake of ANTONIVNS, which in *Rome* was exceedingly much beloued and reſpected. In the beginning of his raigne (by reaſon of his ſmall age) all things were ordered by the counſell and direction of his grandmother MESA, and her fauourits; who taking order for all matters in the Eaſt, determined to come ſpeedily to *Rome* with the young Emperour, which ſhe put in execution: but was driuen to ſtay longer then ſhe purpoſed, by reaſon of the winter which was very tempeſtuous: wherefore ſhe wintred in *Bithynia*, where hee began to diſcouer his wicked inclination, giuing himſelfe to moſt odible luxurie, and apparelling himſelfe

Meſa grandmother and gouerneſſe of Heliogabalus.

ſelfe in ſuch attire as was farre vnfit for an Emperour, and feeding on moſt delicious fare, gaue himſelfe ouer to al ſenſualitie: which faults his prudent old grandmother endeuoured by ſpeech and good admoniſhment to reforme and amend: but ſhe nothing profited therein. Being come to *Rome*, he was moſt ſolemnely receiued, where he ſpent the whole time of his raigne in ſuch manner, that we haue nothing elſe to write of this Emperour, but of his abominable vices; which were ſuch, that I neither can nor will deſcribe them for the filthines thereof. The firſt thing that he tooke in hand after his comming to *Rome*, was to build a Temple to his god the Sunne, or HELIOGABALVS, whoſe Prieſt he had bin in *Phœnicia*; he would and procured that the Chriſtians (whoſe number at that time was infinite) ſhould alſo hold that for a Temple, and therein ſhould vſe their ceremonies, make their prayers and doe their deuotion. But it pleaſed not God to permit that the Sunne being a creature, ſhould, in Temples and worſhip, be made equall to the Creator. He ſhewed himſelfe ſo effeminate and ſo addicted to the feminine ſex, that the firſt time that he went to the Senate, he carried his mother SYMIAMIRA with him, and tooke order that her opinion ſhould be demaunded in all cauſes; and that from thencefoorth ſhe ſhould be preſent when any matters of importance were determined: a thing neuer ſeene that any woman vntill then, had any voice in the Senate of *Rome*. After this he made a Chapter-houſe or Senate apart, where women ſhould meete and conſult of, what apparell and attire the Romane Matrones ſhould weare: And proceeding to a farre more ſhamefull practiſe, hee commaunded certaine Stewes to be made in his Palaces of common women, for his friends and his fauourits. And delighting himſelfe ſo much in the companie of ſuch, he commaunded vpon a day all the women that could bee found of that name and life, to be aſſembled together; and he clad in womans attire came into the place where they were, and made a very ſet and ſtudied oration vnto them, calling them *Commilitones*, a word vſed by Captains to their ſouldiers when they would doe them honour; by calling them their fellowes and companions in armes. And the matters which therein were treated of, were inuentions and meanes how to vſe their filthines and abomination: and thither he brought with him, ruffians and bawdes, which were his brokers in thoſe deteſtable actions and meetings. In truth this HELIOGABALVS was ſo deteſtable in all manner of vices, that it cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed. He was ſo great a ſpender and ſo prodigall in his attire, and in the furniture of his houſe, in his fare and diet, and his other follies, that that which is written of him ſeemeth incredible. HERODIANVS and ÆLIVS LAMPRIDIVS write his life, wherein they recount moſt ſtraunge matters, beſides what other authors report of him. All his ſtudie and care was, to deuiſe how hee might ſpend exceſſiuely, and to finde out ſuch dainties and delicates, as neuer had been thought of. Hee neuer ſate but amongſt ſweete ſmelling flowers, mixed with Amber, Muske, and other moſt exquiſite ſweete odours; neither would he eate any thing that ſhould not be of an exceſſiue price, and ſought meanes to make all thoſe things which he did eate to be moſt coſtly; and vſed to ſay, that that meate had no taſte, which was not deare bought. He attired himſelf in cloath of gold and purple, ſet with pearles and moſt precious ſtones: and euen in his ſhooes he wore ſtones of ineſtimable value. The chamber wherein he lay and all his palace, was furniſhed with cloath of gold, of ſiluer, and of ſilke; and his beds were of cloath of gold, of ſiluer, and of ſilke, couered with Roſes and ſweete flowers; among which were ſtrawed many iewels and pearles: And all the way whereupon hee ſhould ſet his feete, betweene his chamber and the place where he

Heliogabalus built a temple in Rome, and dedicated the ſame to the Sunne.

A Senate of women made in Rome by Heliogabalus.

The prodigalitie of Heliogabalus.

he tooke horſe or coach, when he would ride abroad, he made to be couered with the powder of gold and ſiluer: for hee diſdained to tread vpon the earth, as other men did. All his tables, cheſts, chaires, and veſſels of ſeruice for his chamber, euen to the baſeſt offices, as cloſe ſtooles, chamber-pots, and ſuch like, were all of fine gold. He made no account of wax light, but had in his hall and chambers great lampes, which in ſteed of oile burned moſt excellent Balſame, brought from *Iudea* and *Arabia*: and euen his very vrinals were made of Onyx and other moſt precious ſtones. His expences were ſo infinite and ſo exceſſiue, that no Kings reuenewes in the world were ſufficient to defray the charge thereof, but his onely: for he did eate and deuoure all the reuenewes and rents of *Spaine*, *France*, *Africa*, part of *Germanie*, *Italie*, *England*, *Sicilia*, *Graecia*, *Aſia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and of all the Ilands and prouinces of the world; and yet all this was not ſufficient but that he endured want, by reaſon of his prodigious expences: for hee neuer ware any one ſute of apparell twice, being ſuch as wee haue ſaid. His fingers were euer full of rings, and thoſe which he had once put off, he neuer ware any more: and ſo in plate of gold or ſiluer, he would neuer drinke twice of one cup, which hee gaue to him that ſerued and attended on him that day. And the very Bathes wherein hee did vſe to bathe himſelfe, muſt be new builded and furniſhed with perfumes, and moſt precious odours; and after once bathing they were to be throwne downe: ſo as they builded new Bathes continually. His mattreſſes and beds were neither of wooll, flox, nor feathers; but of the fine flaxe of Hares, and of the downe growing vnder the wings of Partridges. He made certaine feaſts in *Rome*, which were the greateſt and moſt coſtly that euer were made: and hee made to the citizens and to the ſouldiers a doale and diſtribution of money and corne, to an indicible value. After the feaſts and ſacrifices were ended, he gaue to the people (as HERODIANVS reporteth) a great abundance of plate, of gold, ſiluer, and other iewels; which truly was the cauſe why they endured this deteſtable man the ſmall time that he liued in the Empire: for the deſire of thoſe gifts and benefits which they enioyed by him, as alſo for that his grandmother, being a moſt wiſe and diſcreete woman, ſought by all meanes to reforme his voluptuous ſenſualitie and rioting, and to procure a good order in the gouernment. But there were great oppreſſions in the prouinces; and the barbarous nations inuaded the frontiers of the Empire. For he gaue all offices and places of charge vnto wicked men, which did accompanie him in his abominations, and by their counſell hee was gouerned: for depriuing all good and vertuous men from all charge, he ſent them into exile.

Zoticus a fauourite of Heliogabalus.

Among which his fauourites, one whoſe name was ZOTICVS was ſo priuate, and in ſuch fauour with him, that hee was held as a Lord ouer all the reſt. This mans counſell was as a law vnto him, and by his direction all offices and Magiſtracies were ſold; and he made Conſuls ſuch as were the ſonnes of ſlaues and men of moſt baſe condition. The like order he obſerued in the chuſing of Captaines and Lieutenants, giuing thoſe charges vnto baſe and ſimple men: for which and his other vices, notwithſtanding that they made benefit of his prodigalitie, yet both the people and ſouldiers began to wiſh his death, ſo as he was oftentimes in great daunger thereof. Which when his mother and grandmother perceiued, they perſwaded him to adopt his coſin germane ALEXIANVS, and to make him his companion in the Empire, who was the ſon of MAMEA his mothers ſiſter, which he performed accordingly, and ALEXIANVS was called ALEXANDER SEVERVS; ALEXANDER after the name of the great ALEXANDER K. of *Macedonia*; and SEVERVS after SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, grandfather to HELIOGABALVS.

Alexander Seuerus choſen by Heliogabalus for his companion in the Empire.

This

This young man was ſo well inclined, and ſo well bred vp, that while as his coſen led a wicked and diſhoneſt life; he ſpent his time in learning, conuerſing with learned men, and ſuch as were good and honeſt, and exerciſing himſelfe in armes and in ſuch other practiſes, as were fit for a Knight and a vertuous gentleman, and ſought excellent maiſters to inſtruct him in all thoſe faculities. Wherefore all men conceiuing good hope of him, began to loue and affect him; and the hatred which they bare againſt HELIOGABALVS daily encreaſed. Which he perceiuing ſought meanes to kill ALEXIANVS, or at the leaſt to bereaue him of the name of CÆSAR, and his ſucceſſor: But he could not bring it to paſſe by reaſon of the diligence vſed by his grandmother in protecting him: and alſo for that the men of warre deerely loued him; but vpon a time they would haue ſlaine HELIOGABALVS for that cauſe, as he was walking in a garden, where he eſcaped, by hiding himſelfe in a corner, ſo as he was not ſeene; and through the entreatie of ANTIOCHIANVS who was his Pretorian Prefect, the ſouldiers returned to their campe, where remaining in a tumult and mutining, they highly threatned him; and vpon compoſition, they required that HELIOGABALVS ſhould put from about him, certaine vicious and wicked perſons which were very priuate with him, and which ſold and gaue offices for bribes; and in ſuch manner diſpatched the buſines which men had with the Emperour. They alſo required that certaine of their companies might haue the particular guard of ALEXANDER SEVERVS, to the end that HELIOGABALVS ſhould not kill him; and that his fauorites and familiars ſhould not conuerſe with him, for corrupting him with their euill conditions: all which demaunds were preſently put in execution. But after that the furie of the Cohorts was pacified, HELIOGABALVS returned to his former abominable vices, gluttonies, and incredible expenſes. Firſt when he went forth of *Rome* (as ſometimes hee did) he had with him ſixe hundred chariots and horſelitters, the principall lading whereof was moſt diſhoneſt yong boies and wenches, with bawdes and their interpretors, and all was little enough, conſidering his inſatiable beaſtlines: for as he was moſt luxurious, ſo did he account it for a greatnes, to haue the companie of one woman but once; except her to whom he was maried, and that one he neither loued nor regarded. *Heliogabalus his progreſſe.*

For as HERODIANVS reporteth, he firſt married a Romane ladie of a noble houſe, to whom he gaue the name of AVGVSTA, and other titles; and within a while after he forſooke her and depriued her both of her name and honour: and married himſelfe to a Veſtall virgin; which in the vanitie of the Gentiles was held for a matter ſo religious, that ſhe which had carnall knowledge of a man, was buried aliue. And ſo he alſo left her and tooke another; behauing himſelfe as a moſt beaſtly barbarous man. And amongſt other matters, he did one thing which the diuell himſelfe would neuer haue imagined, which was, that he commaunded that all buſineſſes to be done by day, ſhould be diſpatched by night; and that all ſuch things as were to be done by night, ſhould be done by day; and ſo he aroſe from his bed at the ſunne ſetting, and was then ſaluted as other Emperours were in the morning: and he laid him to ſleepe about day breaking, ſo as it ſeemed that the world went backwards. All his ſtudie was to finde meanes to ſpend exceſſiuely, in his diet, and in all other things. That ſupper which was of leaſt price did commonly coſt thirtie pound waight of gold, which after our computation, might amount to the value of aboue a thouſand pounds ſtarling; and there were ſome which did coſt threeſcore thouſand crownes. And ſometimes he promiſed to giue his gueſts a Phenix to eate, whereof (they ſay) there is but one

Heliogabalus his wiues.

Heliogabalus turned the day into night, and the night into day.

Heliogabalus his diet.

one in the world, or elſe he would giue them a great quantitie of gold for it: which he afterwards performed. When he was neere to the ſea, he would neuer eate any fiſh, but land fowle, and other fleſh which ſhould be brought from farre. And when he was farre from the ſea, he would eate nothing but fiſh, which by Poſts was brought freſh and aliue, to the end that it ſhould be deere and coſtly. And for the ſame reaſon he would eate ſuch things as were neuer thought of, and had a great quantitie of euery thing: as of the combes of Cockes, the tongues of Pecockes and of Nightingales. To all his whole court (which was without number) he made ordinarily to be giuen to eate, certaine great beaſts, ſtuffed or farced with puddings, made of the liuers and lights of Peacockes, of ſmall birds braines, Partridges egges, Parrots, and Pheſants heads. He alſo kept certaine dogs and hounds, which did eate nothing but the ſoules of Geeſe: and his Lions (which were many) were fed with Pheſants and other coſtly birds, for this was all his ſtudie. Truly who ſo ſhall well conſider of this mans expences, may coniecture what theſe things aforeſaid might coſt; and how hard they were to be gotten. He alſo ſpent infinit ſummes of money in keeping in *Rome*, ſome of all kinds of the moſt fierce wild beaſts in the world, which were brought from ſtraunge farre countries, as Lions, Panthers, Ounces, Tigres, Hippotames, Crocodiles and many other ſuch like. And if hee were by the ſea ſide, hee accounted it a ſpeciall greatnes of minde to ſinke ſuch ſhipping, as he ſhould finde there loden with merchandiſe, paying afterwards the worth of both ſhippe and goods. And being vpon a time reproued thereof by a friend, who asked him what he ment to waſt and conſume ſo much; warning him to take heede that he ſtood not in neede thereof hereafter, whereto he anſwered ſaying, what better thing can there be, then, for a man to be heire to himſelfe? And ſaid moreouer, that he deſired not to haue any childrē, for that they peraduenture through deſire to rule would conſpire againſt him. Finally, the vices and filthie conditions of this wicked Emperour were ſuch; that in that kinde, none either before or after him was to be compared with him: wherefore I will not ſpend any longer time in ſo bad a ſubiect; for the reſt of his doings were ſo filthie and abominable, that they neither may well be written, neither ought to be publiſhed; and ſo could not long be endured: neither were the meanes vſed by his grandmother MESA ſufficient to protect him; nor to aſſwage the wrath and rage of the people, conceiued againſt him. Hauing (according to HERODIANVS) raigned ſixe yeeres: yet AVRELIVS VICTOR, and EVTROPIVS ſaith, that he raigned but two yeeres and eight monthes, the Pretorian ſouldiers conſpired againſt him. And as AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS reporteth, they came one day armed from their lodging and campe, and after that they had ſlaine the moſt part of his ſeruants, and ſuch as were his companions in his beaſtly actions, they killed him in this manner. Firſt they haled him out of a priuie, wherein he (flying from them) had hidden himſelfe; and then drawing him from thence, they threw him into a moſt filthie ſincke: from whence (for that therein was not roome enough for him) they trailed him like a dogge through the principall places of *Rome*, and threw him into the riuer *Tiber*, and tied great ſtones and waights about him, to the end that his body ſhould neuer be found againe, and ſo want buriall. All this was done to the good liking and contentment of the people; and the Senate alſo approoued the ſame, and commaunded that hee ſhould no more be called ANTONINVS; and that in deteſtation of him, no other Emperour ſhould euer afterwards be called by that name; and that he ſhould

The vituperable death of Heliogabalus.

be

be called TIBERINVS, according to the manner of his death. HERODIANVS writeth, that he was put to death in the Campe out of *Rome*, whither hee went with his coſen ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and that they killed his mother alſo, which went thither with them. Whereſoeuer it was, it was in this manner, and he died according to his deſerts, and conformable to the life which he had led: for it is the will of God, that wicked princes make euill ends. For being by his diuine prouidence made lords to gouerne and giue good example to their people, to miniſter iuſtice and equitie, and to correct and puniſh the wicked and malefactors, theſe by their owne euill example hurt and corrupt others; and protect and ſupport the wicked. Let Kings and great Lords and Princes know, that as they haue greater power then others, ſo haue they leſſer libertie to ſinne and commit wickednes; and ſo God inflicteth greater ſhame and puniſhment vpon them, then vpon other men. HELIOGABALVS after the opinion of HERODIANVS, died at the age of twentie yeeres: for he ſaith that he raigned ſixe yeeres; and all agree that at the age of fourteene yeeres, he came to the Empire. AVRELIVS VICTOR ſaith, that he died in the ſeuenteenth yeere of his age, and is of opinion that he raigned not fully three yeeres, which (according to EVSEBIVS) was in the yeere of our Lord 224. whereby it appeareth that this Emperour raigned not aboue foure yeeres, and ſo the ſame EVSEBIVS affirmeth in his eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie. *Ann. dom. 224.*

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER SEVERVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, SECOND OF THE SEVERI, AND FIVE AND TWENTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the death of Heliogabalus, his coſen Alexander Seuerus tooke the Empire, vnder whom it ſeemed that the Romane common-wealth had a breathing: for he retaining in the imperiall

dignitie, those good conditions which before he seemed to haue, would that all causes should be ordred and gouerned by wise and learned men. He was very seuere to Iudges, sharply punishing those which for bribes or other meanes had swarued from the right line of reason and equitie. In the warres he was most fortunate, as a man which gouerned with wisedome, and returned to Rome triumphing from the East, to the great contentment of the Romane people. He was no enemy to the Christians, but gaue libertie to such as would, to become Christian, setting vp the image of Christ in his Temples, and was of the mind to haue erected a particular Temple to his name, but was diuerted by his Priests. Finally, the Germane souldiers vnable to indure the seueritie of his militarie discipline, slue him, together with his mother Mammea, instigated thereto by one Maximinus. His death was much deplored in Rome; for it was hoped, that seeing that in his youth he gouerned so well, he would do much better when he should come to riper yeeres.

AFter the darke clowdes of the forepassed miseries and sorrowes which miserable *Rome* had indured, it pleased God to graunt light, ioy, and contentment: for when this accursed HELIOGABALVS was dead, by the common consent of the Senate, and of the Romane people, and of all the men of warre, his cosen german ALEXANDER SEVERVS aforenamed, was sworne and obeyed for Emperour, who was the sonne of HELIOGABALVS mothers sister called MAMMEA; and his fathers name was VARIVS, borne in *Syria*, in a citie called *Aucrsa*. He came to the Empire being of the age of 16. yeeres, and gouerned the same little more then 13. yeeres, with such wisedome and goodnes, that he is accounted for one of the best Emperours that euer hath bin in the world: whereto was a great help the discretion and wise counsell of his mother, who was a singular good and wise woman, vnto whom her sonne was most obedient. AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS, and HERODIANVS report so many excellencies of this Emperour, that of necessitie I must needes make some little stay, as in a pleasing place. First, he was much affected to literature, and hauing excellent and singular men for his maisters and tutors, he was very skilfull in all the liberall sciences, and was excellent in euery thing: for he was a good Mathematician, and did perfectlie vnderstand the rules of Geometric. He was much delighted with Musick, and could paint and carue very well; and also had good skill in Song, but he neuer sung except in secret, in the hearing of some of his chamber. He was a very good Poet, and wrote some works in verse, and could play on the viols, the organes, and the flute, more then indifferentlie well, but after that he was Emperour no man euer saw him do it. Vnspeakeable was the ioy which was made in *Rome* vpon the day of his election, and comming to the Empire; and infinite were the blessings which by the Senat & people of *Rome* were powred vpō him that day. Beginning his raigne with the loue and good will of all men, he gouerned the same with such discretion, as made him to seeme rather a wise old man then a youth, and by the aduise and counsell of his wise mother, he chose the wisest, best, and most experienced men that could be found for his counsellers: and he neither did, nor decreed any thing without their opinion and aduise; notwithstanding that of himselfe he was of singular iudgement, and so wise, that no man could deceiue him. Principallie he had euer neere vnto him DOMICIVS VLPIANVS a most wise and excellent Lawyer, a man of a good and holie life, by whose counsell he did chiefely dispose of all matters in his gouernment: although that at that time there met to be of his counsell FABIVS SABINVS a iust and vpright man, who was called the CATO of his time; and with these POMPONIVS and ALEPHENVS, AFRICANVS, VENVLEIVS, MODESTINVS, IVLIVS PAVLVS, MECIANVS,

Mammea was Seuerus his mother.

Wise and learned men Alexander Seuerus his counsellers.

NVS, CELSVS, PROCVLVS, MARTIANVS, CALISTRATVS FLORENTINVS, all noble, vertuous and moſt learned men in the lawes, and which had bin ſchollers of the great PAPINIANVS, vnto which he conioined other moſt noble men both in bloud and life, as was his kinſeman CATILIVS SEVERVS, CAIVS MARCELLVS, AELIVS SERENIANVS, which were good and vpright men, and others, which he found out to the end, that he might in all things follow their directions and aduiſe as he euer did, by reaſon whereof his gouernment was preſentlie highlie extolled and praiſed, and there was a ſodaine alteration and amendment in all things: for in the time of HELIOGABALVS, and of his father BASSIANVS many abuſes & diſorders were committed and permitted. Wherefore the firſt thing that ALEXANDER SEVERVS did, was to reforme all the eſtates, offices, and magiſtracies in his owne houſe, and imperiall pallace, diſplacing and diſcharging all thoſe vicious and diſhoneſt perſons which HELIOGABALVS had eſtabliſhed therein; and would not admit any man to his ſeruice, or to any office in his houſe, that was not an honeſt man, and of good fame and behauiour. The like he did by all the Iudges which HELIOGABALVS had made; and alſo in the Senate and in the order of Knighthood, he reſtored to their offices and dignities thoſe which vniuſtlie had been depriued thereof. He obſerued ſo good a rule and order in his gouernment, that all matters of iuſtice were to be determined by men learned in the lawes: and matters concerning the warres were handled by wiſe men, and ſuch as had experience therein; and by ſuch wiſe old men as were well read in antiquities, and in auncient hiſtories. Finally, he neuer gaue any charge to any man either for fauour or reward, but for deſert and ſufficiencie only, being thereto choſen by him and the Senate. He held another cuſtome which in my opinion was very profitable; that when he purpoſed to ſend to any citie or prouince any new gouernour, he gaue them to vnderſtand thereof, making his name knowne to them before hand, to the end that if any man could alleadge any cauſe againſt him, why he ought not to be preferred, another might be prouided: but the allegation muſt be iuſt and true, otherwiſe they were grieuouſlie puniſhed which did falſely ſlander or defame him. This cuſtome he ſaid, he learned of the Chriſtians of that time, which choſe their Prieſts and Biſhops by voices, for their vertues and excellencies ſake, and in no caſe he would permit nor diſſemble that any office of iuſtice of what kind ſoeuer it were, ſhould be bought or ſold; and made diligent enquirie thereof, and did rigorouſlie puniſh the offenders: for ſaid he, who buieth his office, muſt ſell iuſtice: and I cannot endure Merchants of charges and offices: for if I tolerate them, I cannot afterward condemne their doings; for I ſhall be aſhamed to puniſh him that bought, ſeeing that I permitted him to buy. Beſides all this, he was a moſt ſeuere puniſher of ſuch Iudges as tooke bribes, and vſed to ſay, that he alwayes had his finger in a readines to pull out that Iudges eyes which was partiall, or a receiuer of bribes and rewards. And he was herein ſo extreme, that amongſt other Senators one comming to him to do him reuerence which had been accuſed thereof, he cryed out alowd, and ſaid, that ARABINVS (for ſo was his name) did not only liue, but did alſo hold him for ſenceleſſe, and of no worth, ſeeing that he did dare to preſume to appeare in his preſence: and ſo they write of him, that he ſeeing an vniuſt corrupt Iudge, was ſo troubled therewith, and choler did ſo much abound and ouercome him, that it made him to vomit. To the contrarie, he did greatlie honor thoſe Gouernours and Iudges which were good, and when he paſſed through their prouinces, he tooke them into his litter or chariot with him, and beſtowed

Alexander firſt reformed his owne houſe.

The ſayings of Alexander.

beſtowed many fauours and rewards vpon them, and throughlie to vnderſtand the truth concerning theſe men, he vſed ſingular diligence and care, the manner whereof was this: He had certaine ſecret and vnknowne choſen honeſt men, which diligentlie looked into the dealings of Magiſtrates, and ſought to know the truth of all that paſſed in all places and prouinces in the Empire. Which care, I would to God that the Princes of our time had: for beſides that iuſtice ſhould then be duly executed, they ſhould know the good from the bad; and then they ſhould alſo know of many iniuries done in ſecret, which for feare are concealed by thoſe which endure them; ſo as the truth neuer commeth to light, and the errors and abuſes are ſeldome puniſhed. SEVERVS would alſo that good Iudges, Gouernors and Magiſtrates ſhould remaine long in their offices and charges, and did vſe to ſay, that it was not a ſufficient puniſhment to depriue an euill Gouernor of his charge, but to giue him moſt ſeuere puniſhment, yea euen ſo far forth as to bereaue him of life. When he ſent any one to ſucceede in the place where had bin a good Iudge, he ſent to him to giue him thanks in the name and behalfe of the whole commonwealth, and beſtowed rewards vpon him, as poſſeſſions, heards of cattell, and corne, with many other things. As for money he gaue but little; for this Prince although he was very liberall, yet was he nothing prodigall; and the gifts which he gaue were for the moſt part ſuch goods as fell to him by confiſcation, and by order of law and iuſtice, and ſuch things as became void by ſome mens death, which died without iſſue and heires, and ſo fell to him. But of his money he was euer very ſparing: for he vſed to ſay, that the publike rents and reuenues ought not to be ſpent, but in publike buildings, in the warres, and in publike matters, and not vpō the Princes fauorits & familiars: and ſo both within & without *Rome* he builded moſt ſumptuous & proud edifices of Palaces, Bathes, Theatres, courts of Audience, and many other. He alſo diminiſhed the ordinarie charges of his houſe, and reduced it to a conuenient order, aboliſhing the ſuperfluous expences of his predeceſſors. He apparelled himſelfe decentlie, but not coſtlie, and neuer ware any precious ſtones or iewels, neither would he haue any in his chamber, holding it for a vanitie, that a thing of ſo ſmall a quantitie ſhould be of ſo great a price. His diet was ordinarie, neither delicious nor coſtlie. He was a great feeder, for he had a good and a ſtrong ſtomach, not that he tooke any delight therein. In drinking he was very temperate, and neuer exceeded mediocritie. And although he were very carefull in his publick rents, and the incommings of his Exchequer, yet he neuer increaſed the ſame, neither inuented any new impoſitions, but rather mitigated and limited thoſe which HELIOGABALVS had impoſed: ſo as in his time the third part of the tribute was not paid, as was in the time of his predeceſſors. He alſo reformed the coines of gold and ſiluer, and the courſe thereof; ſo as although it cannot be denied, but that he was moſt carefull in augmenting his treaſure, and in preſeruing the ſame, yet he cannot be charged to haue wronged or endomaged any man. He puniſhed all offences ordinarily, but without crueltie: and aboue all he was moſt ſeuere againſt theeues, vpon whom he had no mercie, but was very liberall to ſuch as he knew to be poore, to the end, they ſhould haue no occaſion to ſteale, or to couet other mens goods. In all other actions he was very mercifull, and ſhewed great clemencie, in ſuch ſort that in his time there was not any Senator put to death, neither any other man, but that his accuſation was throughlie heard, and his offence ſufficientlie proued. He neuer gaue any office or charge of gouernment for fauour, or in reward of ſeruice done him, but for deſert, and vſed to ſay, that offices

Alexander liberall, but not prodigall.

and

and places of charge, were not to be giuen to thoſe which ſought or procured to haue them, but to thoſe which refuſed them. He neuer choſe any Senatour, but by the voice and conſent of all the whole Senate: much leſſe he made any man a Knight that was the ſonne of a bondman, or of baſe condition; as other Emperours had done. Beſides all this, he was ſo affable and ſo gentle in condition, that he admitted any man into his preſence, and heard him gladly. He louinglie viſited the principall men in time of their ſicknes, and permitted any man to informe him in perſon of his affaires; and hauing heard and vnderſtood the demaunds to be reaſonable, he perfourmed their requeſts: if otherwiſe, he debated the matter with them, and made them to ſee their errour. Being ſometimes reproued by his mother and his wife, which was the daughter of SVLPITIVS (a man worthie to haue bin, or elſe had bin Conſul) alleaging that he being ſo priuate and familiar, made his raigne of leſſe authoritie and reputation: whereto he anſwered, that it was true, but yet, that it was thereby the more firme and durable. Among all his vertues, he had one which did excell, whereby it is to be beleeued, that although that he were an infidel, yet God gaue him the grace to gouerne well, which was, that he permitted all thoſe which would be Chriſtians to be ſo: ſo that in all his time there was no perſecution, neither were the Chriſtians grieued, and in his temples he had the image and picture of CHRIST, and of ABRAHAM: but as a blind man without knowledge, he accounted him amongſt his other gods, and would haue adored and acknowledged CHRIST for a God, and haue builded him a temple apart, if he had not bin diſſwaded by his Prieſts. Notwithſtanding all theſe good conditions wherewith this Prince was adorned, the people did not forbeare to murmur againſt him, complaining that he was too much ruled by his mother, who was reported to be a moſt couetous woman, although that in all other matters ſhe was held for excellentlie wiſe, and very honeſt and vertuous. ALEXANDER holding ſo good a forme and rule of gouernment in time of peace, failed not to do the like in time of warre, and in the exerciſe of militarie diſcipline, ſo as in the warres which aroſe, he throughlie performed the office and dutie of a good and moſt valiant Captaine, eſpeciallie in thoſe which were moſt dangerous, as in briefe I will declare, particularlie in thoſe which he had againſt the Perſians, wherein he obteined moſt noble victories: and although that HERODIANVS writeth otherwiſe, yet in this place he is not to be beleeued, for all other writers affirme the contrarie. And this his notable victorie againſt ARTAXERXES the mightie King of the Perſians is recited by AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS, EVTROPIVS, SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR, EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and other auncient authors: ſo as HERODIANVS only writeth this warre after another manner to the diſhonor of ALEXANDER, being deceiued by falſe information or report, or otherwiſe of malice, or vpon ſome particular occaſion.

Alexander held the image of Chriſt and of Abraham in his temples.

To the end that the reader may the better vnderſtand this warre which ALEXANDER had with the Perſians, it ſhall be requiſite that he call to memorie, that in the old time wherein the moſt mightie King *Cyrus* paſſed the Monarchie from the Medes to the Perſians, ouercomming King ASTYAGES; this their Monarchie and dominion laſted two hundred and odde yeeres, and they grew extremely rich and mightie, more then I am able to expreſſe; vntill that in the time of DARIVS, who gouerned infinite Nations and prouinces, ALEXANDER the Great aroſe againſt him and entred *Aſia*, and comming to a battaile with him, DARIVS was ouerthrowne and died, and ALEXANDER made himſelfe Lord of

The originall ſucceſſion and continuance of the kingdome and monarchie of the Perſians.

Asia, and so the Monarchie of the Persians ended, passing to the Greekes: and the kingdomes of *Asia* remained for some space vnder the successors of ALEXANDER the Great; vntill that a most valiant man whose name was ARSACES, borne in the countrie of the Parthians, arose and made himselfe King; whereby the dominion of the descendents and linage of the Greekes, was transported to the Parthians, and became a most famous kingdome, and greatly feared during the time of his successors, which lasted aboue foure hundred yeeres; and the most of them (after his name) were called ARSACES. With this Nation of the Parthians the Romanes had often very daungerous warres, and euer stood in feare of them.

Artabanus the last King of the Persians.

ARTABANVS being King of the Parthians (of whom in the life of BASSIANVS and MACRINVS we made mention) a Persian borne, being a man of base linage, but of great courage and very politike, whose name was ARTAXERXES, tooke armes and rebelled, and by little and little grew to bee very mightie; and comming to a battaile with the said ARTABANVS, hee ouerthrew and slew him, and made himselfe a mightie King. And so hee againe restored the kingdome of the Persians, and defeated the kingdome of the Parthians; which the Romanes were neuer able to doe. And he published a fame and report, that hee would restore the kingdome of the Persians to their ancient power and greatnes: and not content herewith, he began to inuade the borders of the Romane Empire, infesting the countries of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. These newes being brought to ALEXANDER, who was then in *Rome*, and had therein raigned three yeeres in peace, exceedingly beloued of all men; and hauing intelligence of the power and forces of this King, duly considering thereof, and holding the action to be very honourable: hee presently with all expedition made preparation for this warre, and went himselfe in person into *Asia* with an infinite number of men of warre. HERODIANVS writeth that he first sent his Ambassadors vnto ARTAXERXES, requiring him to containe himselfe without the bounds of the Empire, and to liue in peace with him. Which request ARTAXERXES (seeing himselfe rich in treasure and very mightie) would not performe; perswading himselfe that it was an easie matter for him to become Lord of all *Asia*. SEVERVS being come into *Syria*, the warres began in either side to be very cruel and bloudie. In which warre he obserued so good order and discipline, that it hath not been read or heard, that any other excellent Captaine hath shewed greater iudgement, or vsed greater diligence. First he maintained such iustice and equitie in his armie, and so seuerely punished theft, robberies, violences, iniuries, and misdemeanours committed by his souldiers, that his Campe seemed to be a very well gouerned citie. He was extremely carefull concerning munition and victuals, as well to prouide them, as to preserue them; and that no man should robbe, or defraud any man: so as if any Captaine or Corronel detained neuer so small a quantitie of his souldiers allowance in any thing, he was condemned to die. And in all other things hee was very diligent and carefull, principally in curing those which were sicke or wounded in the armie. He endeuoured that all his souldiers should alwaies be in very good order, well apparelled, and well armed, and their horses very readie and well furnished, their Enfignes and Tents very neate, and very good. He behaued himselfe very familiarly with his souldiers, and while as hee was at dinner and supper, his Pauilion stood euer open, and hee sate in the view and sight of all men, hauing no other meate, but such as all the rest did eate. Besides all this, he paid his souldiers with aduantage, and bestowed many rewards vpon them: and otherwise hee was

VVarres with the Persians.

The singular good orders and prouision for the armies.

Note the martiall discipline of Alexander Seuerus.

most

most cruell and seuere in punishing offences; so as if his armie marched among gardens and orchards, they committed not any thing that might deserue to be reprehended; and he that did otherwise, was whipped with rods of iron. But if hee were a man of worth and of dignitie, he reprooued him with sharpe and reprochfull speeches; hauing these words euer in his mouth; Doe not that to another, which thou wouldest not that another should doe vnto thee: which he learned (as he said) of the Christians. Other more hainous offences or mutinies, he punished with such rigour, that sometimes hee tithed whole legions, which was to put to death the tenth man of all the legion. He did as little endure that any Captaine or Corronel should wrong any souldier, or that he should diminish the least part of a souldiers pay, or allowance. And if he saw that a souldier was poore and out of apparell, he relieued him with what he thought necessarie for him: for (quoth he) how can that souldier liue vnder due commaund, which hath not clothes on his backe, and money in his purse? for hunger and penurie will put him in despaire, and make him aduenture to doe that which he ought not. For these and such like matters, which would be long to relate, this Emperor was infinitely beloued, and feared by all his men of warre, and in his time souldiers were better ordred, gouerned and trained, then in the time of any other Emperour.

VVhat it is to tithe a legion.

Returning to the warres of the Persians, I say, that during the time that it lasted, there passed betweene the armies of the one and other partie, many great battailes and encounters; wherein were done many very notable feates of armes, vntill that at the last they came to a battaile wherein they ioyned with all their whole forces; ARTAXERXES bringing in his armie an innumerable companie of footmen, and 130000. horsemen; all very hautie proude men, for the victories which they had lately obtained against the Parthians; and had moreouer in his armie seuen hundred Elephants, and one thousand and eight hundred chariots armed with sieths, which the Persians then vsed in the warres. And the Emperour of the other side brought so many and such men, both of foote and horse, as hee who was Lord and commaunder of the Romane Empire might be able to leuie. SEVERVS in this battaile performing the office of an excellent Captaine, visiting euery squadron, incouraging the souldiers with most kind speeches, calling them by their proper names, promising them great rewards, and fighting in person a great part of the day like a valiant Knight; in the euening (for so long did the fight continue) he wanne one of the most fierce and cruell battailes that euer was fought in the world. The King ARTAXERXES escaped by flight, and there were slaine in that battaile tenne thousand horsemen, and so many footmen, that they could not be numbred: as it appeareth by the oration and speech which SEVERVS deliuered in the Senate after his returne to *Rome*, which is recited by LAMPRIDIVS. And by the same it appeareth that there were slaine by the Romanes two hundred Elephants, and that three hundred were taken, with one thousand armed chariots, and a great number of Persians; which afterwards were ransomed for a great summe of money. So as after this victorie the Emperour, without any resistance, recouered those lands and countries which the mightie ARTAXERXES had taken: and passing through *Mesopotamia* he enlarged the bounds of the Empire; and leauing therein such a guard as he thought fit, he returned to the citie of *Antioch*. And being in that citie (according to the custome of the Romane Generals) he paid his souldiers, and gaue them great rewards, diuiding the spoiles of the victorie among them; so as they remained infinitely ioyfull and well contented. And so leauing all parts of the East in peace and quiet, hee returned to

One hundred and thirtie thousand horsemen in one armie.

A most great battaile fought betweene the Romanes and the Persians.

Alexander came into Rome in triumph.

Rome, where he entred in triumph with greater ſolemnitie and preparation, then euer any had triumphed before him; his chariot being drawne (to the wonder of the beholders) by Elephants, which hee had taken: and all the people and Senate of *Rome* bleſſed him, and receiued him with inſpeakeable gladnes. And at that inſtant FVRIVS CELSVS obtained a great victorie againſt the Mauritanians and Tingitanians in *Africa*, which rebelled. And in *Germanie*, VARIVS MACRINVS had very good ſucceſſe: and from *Armenia*, IVNIVS PALMATVS returned with victorie. After that this triumph was ended, SEVERVS made the accuſtomed doale and diſtribution among the ſouldiers and people of *Rome*, with the feaſts and ordinarie huntings: remaining in *Rome* certaine yeeres in hearing cauſes and doing iuſtice. And in ſuch ſort hee diuided the houres, that there was no iot of time loſt, and the time of leaſure he ſpent in reading of excellent books; principally the bookes of PLATOES Common-wealth, and TVLLIES Offices; and he did alſo often vſe to reade the Poets, HORACE, and VIRGIL. And he liuing thus in peace and tranquillitie, deerely beloued by the Romanes, and by all the prouinces ſubiect to the Empire; it being about the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, the Germanes and other northerly nations, with ſuch furie, and ſuch infinite numbers of men (as in former time they had vſed to doe) tooke armes againſt the Empire; ſo as hauing paſt the riuers *Danuby* and the *Rhine*, they put all *Italy* in great feare. By reaſon whereof the good Emperour ALEXANDER SEVERVS with all haſte departed from *Rome*, with the beſt and greateſt forces that hee then could leuie: Which was not done without great griefe and heauines of the Romane people, ſo deerely was hee generally beloued. And then the warres began betweene his forces and the Germanes, wherein notwithſtanding that his enemies were very mightie; yet through his great diligence and valour hee repreſſed their furie, in ſuch ſort, that they were daily put to the worſt in all skirmiſhes and encounters, which paſſed betweene them. But the ordinarie legions which lay there in garriſon, accuſtomed to rapine and other diſorders, permitted in the time of HELIOGABALVS; ſo as the Emperour was neither able to endure their inſolencie, neither they his equitie: for vertue and vice cannot dwell togethers. Whereupon they conſpired amongſt themſelues to kill him, and to chuſe one MAXIMINVS a moſt valiant old ſouldier for Emperour, whom SEVERVS had made a Captaine of *Tyrones* (for ſo did they call new ſouldiers) which their deuice they afterwards put in execution. Others write that the cauſe of his death was, for that following his mothers counſell in amaſſing of treaſure, he was not ſo liberall to his men of warre and others, as he ought to haue been; and alſo for that he had determined in his counſell, to leaue the warres of *Germanie*, and to goe into the Eaſt: for which cauſe the ſouldiers conceiued great hatred againſt him. But I hold the firſt for the moſt certaine cauſe; of which opinion were LAMPRIDIVS, and IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS, writing his life, and the life of MAXIMINVS. Finally, whatſoeuer the occaſion was, the legions of *Germanie* killed him, the good Emperour being in his Tent, voide of all miſtruſt and ſuſpition, neere vnto the citie of *Maguntia*, or *Mentz*. And together with him, they ſlew his mother MAMMEA, which they did by the counſell and aduice of the accurſed MAXIMINVS, who was afterwards his ſucceſſor. HERODIANVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR write, that before that they murthered him, they made the other Emperour. SEVERVS was twentie nine yeeres, three moneths and ſeuen daies old when he was murthered, and had raigned thirteene yeeres and nine daies. His death was more lamented in *Rome*, and with greater ſorrow then euer was any Emperours before him;

The victorie of Furius Celſus in Africa.

Warres betweene Seuerus and the Germanes.

Alexander Seuerus ſlaine by his Germane ſouldiers, together with his mother Mammea.

him; and all the cities and prouinces of the Empire were extremely grieued therat. In this manner was this moſt excellent and moſt vertuous Prince ſlaine by treaſon, who neuer had commaunded any man to bee ſlaine, in the yeere of our Lord 237. And although that we reade that he was married, yet wee reade not of any children that he left behind him.

THE LIFE OF MAXIMINVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND TWENtith Emperour of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

Maximinus was a Thracian borne, of a baſe and ignoble houſe, but he attained to credit through the actiuity of his body, which brought him into fauour with many Emperours; yet Heliogabalus did not greatly pleaſe him, being riotous and laſcinious. But fortune, as it is blind, ſo doth it blindly beſtow her benefits and fauours, and aduaunced him in the end to the Imperiall dignitie: wherein he behaued himſelfe ſo cruell and tyrannouſly, that poore Rome could neuer haue had a worſe, or more wicked Prince. He firſt vpon ſundrie occaſions put to death all Alexanders friends; and being aſhamed of his owne linage, he alſo put to death all ſuch as had knowne his father. And ſhewing himſelfe very courteous in his doings, he turned againſt the Chriſtians, and vſed againſt them new and vnaccuſtomed torments. He diſcouered a conſpiracie, which he puniſhed ſeuerely; and ſought to continue the loue of his ſouldiers, being of opinion that it lay in them as well to ſupport him in the Empire, as it did to giue it him. He warred againſt the Germanes, and was of ſo hatefull a nature, and ſo cruell, that in a manner all the whole Empire rebelled againſt him. And in his life time the old Gordianus was made Emperour in Africa. But aboue all the other rebellions, that of Rome did moſt diſpleaſe him; againſt which, comming in a great rage, & hauing in a manner beſieged it, he was ſlain by ſome Romane ſouldiers, conſidering

sidering the miseries which their countrie was likely to haue endured, if Maximinus obtained the victorie. And to the end that no memoriall should remaine of so wicked and so cruell a man, they slew his sonne also; whose heads being caried to Rome, brought great contentment to the citie.

HOw great good a good Prince bringeth into the world, and how dammageable and harmefull it is to lose him; the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS did sufficiently manifest to the Romane Empire; which during his life time enioyed all the contentation that could be desired, of equitie, clemencie, and tranquillitie. And he dying, and that cruell monster MAXIMINVS succeeding him, who raigned but three yeeres; in exchaunge of these and other blessings, there ensued discord, ciuill warres, wrongs, robberies, cruelties, seditions and other calamities. Wherefore, in my opinion, men ought more earnestly and with greater instancie to pray to God to send them a good King and gouernour, then for health, wealth, or long life: for in the raigne of a wicked and vniust Prince, vices abound, which corrupt good customes and manners, and vertue is suppressed, and men liue in daunger both of life and goods. And in the time of a good Lord and gouernour, all these defects are repaired and amended: for the iust raigning, the wicked amend and become vertuous. For (as the Philosophers say) Such as is the Prince, such will be the subiects: so as hee which prayeth for a good King, may iustly be said to pray for the benefit of the whole kingdome: For it doth oftentimes plainly appeare, that more and greater benefits are reaped through the diligence and industrie of a good husbandman, then of the fertilitie of the earth. And so we see that some places which are barren, doe abound with necessaries to the vse of mans life; and to the contrarie, other places which are most fertill, through euill gouernment, become wilde and ouergrowne with weedes, yeeld little profit. And so the histories, and experience doe shew vs, that in time of good and peaceable Kings, men grow rich and mount to estates and dignities: and in time of troubles and calamities which happen when the gouernment is in the hand of tyrants, many lose their estates and liues, and sometimes their soules, by their meanes, and all things goe to confusion and out of order.

But comming to our historie, the good Emperour SEVERVS being dead, as he had neither sonne nor brother that might challenge the Empire; and MAXIMINVS being the chiefe man in the armie, and of greater might and strength then any other, they all agreed to chuse and sweare him for Emperour, willingly yeelding obedience vnto him, which they ought not to haue done: for hee prooued to be wicked, cruell, and couetous; notwithstanding that hee was old and loden with yeeres. And because that this man was of a notable stature of bodie, and came to the Empire by great aduenture, I will briefly declare the successe of his life, which I presume will be a pleasing historie.

Maximinus chosen Emperour.

Maximinus his linage.

This MAXIMINVS was the sonne of a man whose name was NICEA, borne in *Gotland*, and his mothers name was ABABA, of the nation of the Alanes, which liued in a village in *Thracia*; so as of either side he descended of most fierce nations; and he afterwards grew to be so tall of stature, that he seemed to be a Giant: for (as IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS reporteth) he was eight and a halfe geometricall feete high; which is two foote and a halfe more then we see any man ordinarilie to be in these daies. And as he had a great bodie, so had he all parts thereof proportionable to his greatnes: for he had a good face and was very faire, with great

The stature of Maximinus.

great full eies, and was ſo extremely ſtrong, that a cart heauilie loden, and which two oxen could hardlie moue, he would eaſily draw and turne at his pleaſure; and with his fiſt he brake a horſes leg: and (as IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS ſaith) ſtriking a horſe in the chap with his fiſt, he brake out all his teeth, and with a ſpurne with his foote, he ſplit him in pieces: and alſo with his fiſt he brake a ſtone, and with his hands cleft a tree, and did many other things, which were they not recorded by very true authors, would be accounted for fables. And beſides all this, he was of ſo great courage, that he was neuer knowne to ſtand in feare of any thing, and was naturallie fierce, prowd, and preſumptuous, and made no account of any man. His bringing vp when he was a boy, was in keeping of beaſts (for his parents were poore, and liued in the countrey) and afterwards his mind increaſing with the ſtrength of his bodie, he came to the Romane armie to ſeeke enterteinement to be a ſouldier, and to follow the warres: where by reaſon of his greatnes of bodie and his extreme ſtrength, he was ſoone knowne, and admired of all men, which was in the raigne of SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, who was father to BASSIANVS and GETA. CAPITOLINVS writeth, that SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS being in *Soria* with his armie, celebrating the birth day of his ſonne GETA, with many ſports and reuels (which was a thing much vſed in auncient time) and giuing the winners for reward iewels, collars, bracelets, ſouldiers girdles, and ſuch like things: MAXIMINVS, who was but newly come to the army, and could ſcarcely ſpeake the Latine toong (which was then the vulgar Romane ſpeech) came before the Emperour, and intreated him to giue him leaue to try himſelfe in thoſe exerciſes. The Emperour marueiling at the vnmeaſureable greatnes of his perſon, and ſeeing him ſo faire and well proportioned, granted his requeſt, but vpõ condition, that he ſhould not encounter & contend with any Romane ſouldier, but with ſuch as were water-bearers, and ſeruitors of the camp, among which were many very valiant ſtrong men. MAXIMINVS comming to handie gripes with them, ouercame ſixteene of them which were of greateſt ſtrength, and ſought out for that purpoſe, without reſting betweene while, or once taking any breath, and without being moued by any of them: for which victorie, the Emperour cauſed ſome iewels of ſmall price to be giuen to him, but not any ſuch as were vſuallie giuen to the ſouldiers; and commaunded alſo that he ſhould receiue pay, and be entered in the muſter roll to ſerue as a ſouldier. Vpon a day the Emperour riding to view his camp, ſaw this MAXIMINVS (who was yet but a raw ſouldier) out of order, wherefore he willed a Corronell to call him into his ranke, and to inſtruct him in the dutie which he ought to obſerue in the warres; and MAXIMINVS imagining that the Emperour ſpake of him, came before him, and kneeled downe at his feete. The Emperour deſiring for his paſtime to ſee whether he could runne well or no, ſpurred his horſe, and gaue ſundrie turnes in the field, and ſeeing that MAXIMINVS euer kept euen with him, and that his horſe was tired; and he running afoote, ſhewed no ſigne of wearines, he rained his horſe and asked of MAXIMINVS whether he could wreſtle? whereto he anſwered, that he would wreſtle ſo much and ſo long as it ſhould pleaſe his maieſtie. The Emperour marueiling at his ſtrength, made choiſe of certaine of the ſtrongeſt men in all his army to wreſtle with him, and MAXIMINVS without breathing or any reſting ouercame ſeuen of them. Whereupon SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS commaunded a collar of gold to be giuen vnto him, and certaine pieces of ſiluer, and made him one of his guard, and commaunded that he ſhould attend in the Pallace: and by this meane he came to be much eſteemed among the Corronels,

The force and bodily ſtrength of Maximinus.

Maximinus began firſt to follow the warr in the time of Septimius Seuerus.

The footemanſhip of Maximinus.

Corronels, and men of war: And he daily increased both in stature and strength; for when he came to the camp he was but a boy; and sometime in wrestling he would ouerthrow twentie or thirtie of the strongest men in the armie: And in battailes and encounters he euer bare away the price, and chiefest honor, performing strange things: wherefore SEVERVS fauoured him very much, and gaue him notable places and charges in the warres. He did eate and drinke according to the proportion of body, or rather more: for CAPITOLINVS writeth, that he did daily vse to eate fortie pound waight of flesh, and to drinke a measure of wine, which conteineth about sixe gallons of our English measure.

Maximinus his diet.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS dying in *England*, as we haue said, he serued his sonne ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, and was a Corronell, and had other offices and dignities in the warres. And after the death of BASSIANVS in *Syria*, he would not serue MACRINVS, for that he held him for guiltie of the death of his Lord; but returning to the village wherein he was borne, he there purchased certaine possessions and liued there for a space in rest, vntill that MACRINVS was dead; and that the young most vitious HELIOGABALVS came to the Empire: at which time he came to *Rome* to him, as to the sonne of BASSIANVS, and Nephew to SEVERVS, both which had been his Lords; imagining that hee should haue been as much respected by him, as he had been by them. But HELIOGABALVS more regarding lasciuious and dishonest men, then such as were of worth and valorous, he found with him no such entertainement as he expected: For when he came to kisse his hand, HELIOGABALVS said vnto him; MAXIMINVS, it is told me that in wrestling thou art too hard for twentie or thirtie men; I would gladly know whether thou darest to aduenture in amorous assaults to encounter as many women. Which speeches did so much displease MAXIMINVS, that he would presently haue abandoned the court: but that certaine of HELIOGABALVS his friends (for his honours sake) staied him. For they held it for a shame to him, that one which was held to be the most valiant and strongest man of his time (and who for that cause was by some called ACHILLES, and by others AIAX) should not be entertained in his pay to serue in his armie: and so there was giuen him by HELIOGABALVS the leading of certaine footemen. But MAXIMINVS abhorring and vnable to endure the behauiour of this effeminate Emperour, in all the time of his raigne after that time, neuer came into his presence: sometimes fayning himselfe to be sicke: and other times seeking occasion and meanes to absent himselfe, vntill that the good ALEXANDER SEVERVS was made Emperour, after the death of HELIOGABALVS; and then he returned to *Rome*, where SEVERVS receiued him very gladly, commending him highly in the Senate, and made him a Corronell and commaunder of the fourth legion, which he had raised of new souldiers. MAXIMINVS accepted the charge, and performed his dutie singularly well therein in the warres of *Germany*, where he shewed great prowesse: by meanes whereof, and of the gifts which he vsed to bestow vpon his souldiers, and of the Emperours fauour; he wanne such honor and reputation with all men, that ALEXANDER (as we haue said) being slaine by his souldiers, he was by them created Emperour: and some write that he was one of those which conspired his death. Of such force is the desire to rule, that men forgetting the dutie and loyaltie which they owe, and the benefits which they haue receiued; practise notable villanies and commit horrible treasons, to the end that they may raigne and commaund: nothing remembring that by the same meanes, that they obtaine rule and dominion, by the selfe same they commonly

The dishoneſt ſpeeches vſed by Heliogabalus to Maximinus.

Offices giuen by Seuerus to Maximinus.

commonly loſe their gouernments, and are throwne downe by the ſame meanes that they mounted.

After that MAXIMINVS ſaw himſelfe an Emperor, as he was naturally proud and fierce, and as baſe of condition as he was high of ſtature; ſo was he of opinion that his beſt courſe was to make himſelfe obeied rather for feare, then for loue; and preſently began to ſhew himſelfe moſt cruell. His election being knowne in *Rome*, (after they had lamented the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS) was generally diſpleaſing to all men. And vpon report of his crueltie, they ſtoode in great feare of him: in ſo much that both men and women made vowes and prayers to their gods, to the end that hee might neuer come to *Rome*. The firſt crueltie that this moſt fierce Barbarian committed, was to put to death all thoſe which had ſerued, and been familiar with ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and then he baniſhed an infinit number of others, and would not ſuffer that either in the armie there ſhould be any Captaine, or in the Senate any Senatour, that had been placed therein by him. And for as much as he was aſhamed of the baſeneſſe of his owne linage and parentage, he commaunded all thoſe which were neere about him and had knowne his parents, to be ſlaine: among which were many, which in time of their pouertie had relieued them, of compaſſion and in charitie. And to all theſe his cruelties he added a greater: for he perſecuted the Chriſtians, which were fauoured by ALEXANDER: and by his commaundement was the ſixt perſecution of the Church of God, principally thoſe were perſecuted which had the charge and gouernment of others; wherein he vſed ſtrange kinds of cruelties, and new deuiſes in putting people to death, repoſing ſuch confidence in his owne ſtrength and courage, that he held no man ſufficiently able to kill him. Wherefore, as CAPITOLINVS reporteth, he held himſelfe for immortall, yet one day in his preſence vpon the Theater theſe verſes were recited in the Greeke tongue.

Maximinus his election greatly diſliked in Rome.

Whom one man cannot bereaue of life,
many his bloud may eaſily ſpill,
Th' Elephant is great yet done to death,
ſtrong is the Lion and men him kill,
If through thy valour thou feare not any one,
beware what a number may doe to thee alone.

The crueltie of MAXIMINVS did principally extend it ſelfe againſt ſuch as were rich, and in high degree and authoritie, which he treated very ill: and for very ſlight occaſions did put to death, and confiſcated their goods: which the common people little regarded; for the rich are commonly odious and hatefull to the baſer ſort, and to ſuch as are poore. On the other ſide, he cunningly held himſelfe in the loue and good liking of men of warre: for beſides their ordinarie paies, he gaue them many penſions and rewards, and prouided all things neceſſarie for them, and tooke as great paines as any ordinarie ſouldier, with incredible courage and diligence: and as he was a ſtrong man, and had a very able bodie; ſo he euer went armed, and vpon all occaſions was as readie as any ſouldier in the armie, and had alwaies valiant men about him, although of baſe degree and condition. Finally, the effect of all his actions was to be feared, and to commaund like a tyrant; which was the occaſion that a noble Romane gentleman called MAXIMVS, who had been a Conſul, conſpired againſt him, and practized with the old ſouldiers which had ſerued SEVERVS, and with ſome others; to whom MAXIMINVS his behauiour and conditions were nothing

pleasing: that whereas hee with his armie was to passe a riuer vpon a wooden bridge, so soone as he should be come to the farther end thereof, the bridge behind him should be broken or drawne away, and so he abandoned to his enemies. But this was reuealed vnto him, or else (as some surmised) it was a matter fained by him, thereby to haue the better colour and cloake to shadow his cruelties, which he executed in so high degree, that hee made 3000. persons to be slaine, which he said, were guiltie of that treason.

After this a great multitude of SEVERVS his old souldiers mutined, and withdrawing themselues from the Campe, proclaimed one QVARCIANVS for Emperour (as HERODIANVS writeth) but CAPITOLINVS saith, that his name was TICVS, and it may be that he was called by both the one and the other; who for that he was a man of great account, was by MAXIMINVS deposed from the charge which he held. And the souldiors (against his will) perforce made him to accept the Empire, which he not without great reason refused: for one MACEDONIVS, who seemed to be his great friend, and was one of those which had aduanced him to that high dignitie, within few daies after murthered him, as he lay sleeping vpon his bed. And hauing striken off his head, carried the same to MAXIMINVS: who greatly reioyced to see himselfe freed from so great a daunger. And although that he then gaue him good countenaunce which brought it, yet he afterwards put him to a cruell death, accordingly as for his treacherie he had deserued. First, for murthering his soueraigne: secondly, for being a traitor to his friend.

With these two good happes, the tyrannie and crueltie of MAXIMINVS encreased. But following the warres he went out of *Hungarie* into *Germanie*, and making most cruell warre against the Germanes, hauing in his armie those souldiers which ALEXANDER SEVERVS had left, which were many and very well trained and of great experience, whose number he encreased, so as with them he wanne many battailes, putting all to fire and sword where he came, spoyling all that was in that countrie: and in all the encounters that euer happened, he euer fought with his owne hands in person, and performed more in fight then any man in the whole armie. Hauing pacified all matters in *Germanie*, so as he found no more resistance, by reason of winter which then came on, he returned into *Hungarie*, from whence he wrote to the Senate, extolling his victories; and sent vnto them all his battailes and skirmishes depainted in tables. I cannot particularly set downe the murthers and cruell slaughters of men, which he commaunded to be executed in *Rome* at this time, for the multitude of them; for he did put to death many men which had been Consuls, and confiscated their goods, vsing infinit other tyrannies against the noble and most principall men, presuming onely vpon his owne personall great strength, and the power of his armie; to which he gaue many great gifts. And yet among his men of warre he forbare not to execute notable cruelties; for he more desired to be feared then any thing else; wherefore both in *Rome* and abroade they studied how they might be ridde of him, and to finde out some other man fit to be Emperour; which began in *Africa* and passed after this manner.

Executions done in Rome by Maximinus his order.

In the Prouince of *Africa*, MAXIMINVS had a Proctor, who with great rigour and authoritie gathered his rents and reuenues, and being of his maisters conditions committed incredible extortions and outrages, robbing and pilling the countrey, doing wrong to all men, and not content therewith, but as he despoiled many of their goods, so he likewise bereaued them of their liues. And he

perseuered

perſeuered ſo in his rapine and crueltie, that the people could not any longer endure his oppreſſion: wherefore the moſt principall amongſt them concluded to kill him, and did ſo; and afterwards conſidering with themſelues how great and how dangerous a crime they had committed, they reſolued to commit yet a greater, which was to create an Emperour. Wherefore conferring with the ſouldiers of thoſe legions which lay in *Africa*, and deteſted MAXIMINVS for his crueltie, they all agreed to chooſe GORDIANVS a noble man who was Proconſul of *Africa*, and to make him Emperour, being a man welnie foureſcore yeeres old. GORDIANVS as I ſaid, was of a moſt noble linage, and by his fathers ſide deſcended from the GRACCHI, and by his mother, from the moſt excellent Emperour TRAIANE, and had bin Aedil, Queſtor, Pretor, and Conſul in *Rome*; and had held many other offices and dignities; and had been Captaine and gouernor of many countries and prouinces, which he had gouerned with great wiſedome and authoritie: and at that time was Viceconſul in *Africa*, by the appointment of ALEXANDER SEVERVS, who was MAXIMINVS his predeceſſor, by whom for his deſerts and vertues, he was greatly honored and eſteemed: for GORDIANVS was a noble and moſt temperate man in all his actions. He was a man of a tall ſtature, rather enclining to be fat then leane, and of a goodly preſence. His face was high-coloured, repreſenting great authoritie. He was in his fare and diet (as in all other matters) very temperate, and was learned, and much giuen to the ſtudie of Philoſophie. He was maried to the daughter of SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, and by her had ſonnes and daughters, and by chance had with him when he was choſen Emperour a ſonne, whoſe name was GORDIANVS (as was his) who had been Conſul, and was held in great honor and reputation, whom they alſo choſe Emperour together with his father. The ſouldiers and the countrey people being aſſembled together (whereof one MAVRICE a *Decurion*, was the chiefe and firſt motioner of the matter) they entred in a tumult into GORDIANVS his houſe and lodging, who thinking nothing of any ſuch thing, in the beginning was in great feare and trouble, thinking that they came to haue killed him, but after that he vnderſtood wherefore they came (for they told it him) he vtterlie refuſed their offer, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his old age. But they came ſo reſolute, that although he would neuer ſo faine, yet he could not otherwiſe chooſe, but muſt accept of the enſignes, and title of Emperour which they gaue to him, together with his ſonne. GORDIANVS although he were thereto compelled, and accepted thereof againſt his will, yet he preſentlie wrote with all expedition, giuing the Senate aduertiſement of his election, and how that he had conſented thereto and accepted of the Empire, to the end to deliuer the ſame from the tyranie and crueltie of MAXIMINVS. And hauing publiſhed the ſame in the citie of *Tiſdro*, where he was choſen Emperour, he tooke his way towards *Carthage*, with the magnificence, enſignes, and officers of the Empire, where he was with great ioy receiued. From thence he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Rome* with particular letters to many his friends and kinſemen, and likewiſe tooke order that VALERIANVS the Pretorian Prefect of the legions and companies which lay neere *Rome* ſhould be ſlaine, whom HERODIANVS calleth VATALIANVS (who was a moſt cruell man) a fauourite and great friend of MAXIMINVS. Theſe letters were receiued with incredible ioy and gladnes, for the great hatred which they bare againſt MAXIMINVS, and VITALIANVS or VALERIANVS was ſlaine accordinglie, by thoſe which were ſent for that purpoſe.

Maximinus his rent-gatherer ſlaine in Africa.

Gordianus choſen Emperour.

Gordianus refuſed the Empire.

The Senate and people of *Rome* approued the election of GORDIANVS and

Maximinus and his ſonne adiudged for rebels and enimies to the Romane commonwealth.

of his ſonne, and MAXIMINVS and his ſonne (who was alreadie made CÆSAR, and named for his ſucceſſor) were adiudged enemies and rebels; and the people with great furie tare in pieces many miniſters of MAXIMINVS his crueltie, among which were ſome which were not culpable. They alſo ſlue SABINVS the Prefect of the citie, for that he endeuoured to haue hindered the approbation of GORDIANVS, and the Senate choſe and made CÆSAR a yong man whoſe name was alſo GORDIANVS, who was the old GORDIANVS his nephew: and ſo there was a ſodaine great alteration in all things, for euery where was great feare and confuſion. The Senate afterwards conſidering in how great danger the citie was, and what might enſue thereof, by reaſon of the great power of MAXIMINVS, made great preparation, writing their letters into all the Prouinces, commanding that all thoſe gouernours which were therein placed by MAXIMINVS, ſhould be diſplaced, and therewith alſo they publiſhed GORDIANVS for Emperour. This order and direction (as HERODIANVS writeth) in the moſt part of all the Prouinces was obeyed, and in the moſt of them they ſlue the gouernors ſet there by MAXIMINVS. And in ſome places they did the contrarie, killing or apprehending the meſſengers, ſo as euery where was bloudſhed: for the crueltie of the Emperour had made all men cruell. So ſoone as the newes of that which happened in *Rome* and *Africa* came to MAXIMINVS (CAPITOLINVS writeth that) he tooke ſo great griefe, and was therewith ſo enraged, that he cried out like a man bereaued of his wits, and running his head againſt the wals, tumbled in the floore, rent his cloaths, and made many other ſhewes and ſignes of furie and paſſion. This fit being paſt, the next day he aſſembled his whole armie, whereto he made a ſpeech, complaining to them of the treacherie of the Africanes, and of the lightnes and inconſtancie of the Romanes, prouoking them all that he could to be reuenged, and making great promiſes, aſſured them that they ſhould poſſeſſe the goods of all thoſe which had offended: And when he had ended his oration, he preſentlie gaue them their ordinarie pay with great aduantage, ſhewing himſelfe very liberall, ſo as they all promiſed to ſerue him faithfullie, notwithſtanding that many among them hated him deadlie. In this manner vſing all poſſible diligence, MAXIMINVS directed his iourney towards *Rome*, with the beſt ſouldiers, and the greateſt prouiſion of munition that he could make, with intent to aſſwage his wrath, by the execution of his extreme crueltie, and ſo he began to march, not ſo faſt as he would, for the great number of men, of carriages, and baggage which went with him, and want of victuals: for all the cities (being riſen againſt him) had put all the victuals and fruites of the earth in ſafe keeping.

While as theſe things paſſed in *Germany* and in *Rome*, CAPELIANVS who was Gouernour and Captaine of the Prouinces of *Numidia*, and *Mauritania* in *Africa*, aroſe againſt GORDIANVS, aſwell for that they were auncient enemies, as for that CAPELIANVS was a very great friend to MAXIMINVS, and eſtabliſhed there by him, who ſo ſoone as he heard that the GORDIANS were choſen Emperours, put thoſe legions which were vnder his commaund in order, leuying thereto the greateſt force that he could, and tooke his way towards *Carthage* againſt them, againſt whom came young GORDIANVS, with all the forces that he could leuie (the old man remaining in the citie in great care and feare of that which afterwards followed) and theſe two armies ioyning battaile (which was very bloudie) CAPELIANVS in the end had the victorie, and GORDIANVS was ouerthrowne and ſlaine: for the greateſt part of his people were *Viſonies*, or raw ſouldiers, and not accuſtomed to the warres. The father hearing of the death

Young Gordianus ſlaine in a battaile.

of

of his ſonne, and of the loſſe of the battaile, ſeeing no hope of reliefe, and the victorious enemie at the gates of the citie, with the girdle which hee ware hung himſelfe: and ſo died he with reproch & diſhonorably (hauing a few daies enioyed the name of Emperour) which had liued foureſcore yeeres very honourably and in great reputation. And CAPELIANVS following his victorie entred *Carthage*, where he ſlew the moſt principall of thoſe which eſcaped from the battaile; and robbed many houſes and temples, ſhewing great crueltie both within the citie, and abroad in the countrie alſo; robbing and ſacking townes and villages, vnder colour of reuenge of the wrong done to MAXIMINVS, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to pleaſe his ſouldiers, with a deſire to make himſelfe Emperour.

And old Gordianus hung himſelfe in his girdle.

The fame of this aduenture came ſpeedily to *Rome*, wherewith the Romanes were incredibly troubled and perplexed, to ſee themſelues depriued of the fauour and ſuccour which they hoped for from GORDIANVS and his ſonne. And knowing that MAXIMINVS came like an enraged lion againſt them (for redreſſe and remedie againſt ſo great a daunger) the Senate aſſembled in the Temple of IVPITER; and after many conſultations held betweene the moſt principall and beſt experienced men of the citie, they choſe MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, and CLODIVS BALBINVS for Emperours; both which had held great offices, and had been valorous Captaines and gouernours, and liued with great fame. And to pleaſe the people which conſented not to this election, the Senate named yong GORDIANVS, nephew to that GORDIANVS who hanged himſelfe in *Carthage*, CÆSAR, who was his daughters ſonne, and of the age of eleuen yeeres. Theſe two being created and ſworne Emperours, and hauing taken the Imperiall robes and enſignes, and leuied the greateſt forces that in *Rome* and the borders thereof they were able; MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, who was the wiſer, and moſt ſufficient man of the two, departed from the citie, to make head againſt MAXIMINVS; who with great haſte and furie came towards *Italy*, and had conceiued incredible ioy, for that he was giuen to vnderſtand of the death of GORDIANVS and of his ſon, and of the victorie which CAPELIANVS had obtained againſt them: but after that he knew of the election of the new Emperours in *Rome*, his rage and wrath redoubled. And vnderſtanding that PVPIENVS came againſt him with a ſufficient armie, he put his troupes in order; and hauing paſſed the Alpes, entring into *Italy* (where hee thought to haue found great plentie of victuals) he found all cleane contrarie: for al ſuſtenance was carried away, and thoſe places and townes which were not fortified, and able to defend themſelues, were abandoned and left deſert: wherefore the ſouldiers for the hunger and want which they endured, began to murmure and to ſpeake ill of MAXIMINVS; and hee puniſhing ſome of them for it, grew hatefull to all. And drawing neere to the citie of *Aquileia*, which hee made account to enter without difficultie, hee therein found very great reſiſtance: for beſides that the citie was very populous and rich, there were therein for the defence thereof, two Romane gentlemen, which had been Conſuls; the one was called CRISPINVS, and the other MENEFILVS, which had in ſuch ſort furniſhed the citie with men and munition, that MAXIMINVS with great difficultie paſſing the riuer, and encamping himſelfe before it, gaue a very cruell aſſault, in which much people died of either ſide: but thoſe which were within, defended themſelues ſo valiantly, that he was enforced to alter his determination, to raiſe his ſiege, and to retire. And while as MAXIMINVS lay before *Aquileia*, and PVPIENVS with his armie marched towards him, *Rome* endured a great misfortune: For there aroſe contention and debate betweene the Pretorian ſouldiers

Maximus Pupienus and Claudius Balbinus choſen Emperours, and Gordianus the nephew of old Gordianus made Ceſar.

Maximinus entred Italy.

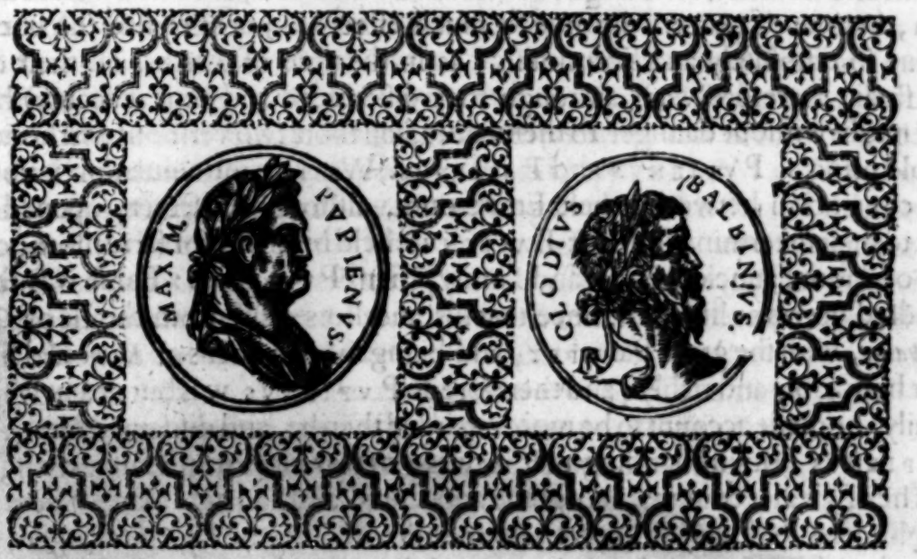
and the people of *Rome*, about two ſouldiers which were put to death by two Senatours, whoſe names were GALLICANVS and MECENAS. And both parties taking armes, there were ſlaughters and cruelties committed, the like whereof haue been ſeldome heard of: for the citie was ſet on fire, and great part thereof burnt, without that the new Emperour BALBINVS was any way able to quench or ſtay it: and ſeeing that he could not redreſſe ſo great an euill, he retired himſelfe to his palace. So as whoſoeuer ſhall well conſider hereof, ſhall finde that the three yeeres tyrannous gouernment of MAXIMINVS (for ſo long it laſted) was the cauſe that the citie of *Rome* and the whole Romane Empire were neuer free from warres, tumults, robberies, murthers, and all manner calamities. And he (as I haue ſaid) lying before *Aquileia*, getting little by the aſſaults which he gaue, by reaſon of the great reſiſtance made by the beſieged, and wanting victuals: for PVPIENVS, and the Senate had commaunded all to be carried away out of that territorie, and the borders and marches thereabouts: and ioyntly herewith his ſouldiers daily heard that all the Eaſt reuolted and rebelled againſt him, by letters from the Senate of *Rome*. With this feare and for the ſecret hatred which the old Romane ſouldiers bare againſt him, they agreed to mutine and to kill him; ſeeing that *Rome*, wherein were their parents, their wiues, children and kinsfolkes; and alſo that all *Italy* was enemie vnto them, and had proclaimed them rebels. It happened that MAXIMINVS and his ſonne one day about noone repoſing themſelues in his Tent, the ſame ſouldiers and many others with them, came very boldly to his pauilion, and without any reſiſtance ſlew him; the like they did by his ſonne, ſaying, That of an euill ſire could neuer prooue good whelpe: when he had raigned three yeeres, and was ſixtie and odde yeeres old; and his ſonne nineteene, and ſomewhat more. His death was allowed and approoued by all the armie: and ſo ſoone as it was knowne in the citie of *Aquileia*, they opened the ports and became all friends. And they ſent the heads of the tyrannous Emperors to *Rome*, where with inſpeakable ioy they were receiued, and by the way they caried them to PVPIENVS, who was in *Rauenna*. This happened in the yeere of our Lord 240.

Maximinus and his ſonne ſlaine in his Tent.

Anno Dom. 240.

THE

THE LIFE OF MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, AND CLODIVS BALBINVS, ONELY OF THOSE names, and ſeuen and twentith Romane Emperours.



AFter the death of MAXIMINVS; MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, and CLODIVS BALBINVS, without any contradiction continued Emperours; which (as I ſaid) were ſo alreadie created: and PVPIENVS who then was in *Rauenna*, with all ſpeede went to *Aquileia*, to ſatisfie and content the armie, which MAXIMINVS had left there; where, by thoſe of the citie and of the armie, he was with great ioy receiued, ſworne, and obeyed: and he paid the ſouldiers, and gaue them great rewards; and afterwards diſpatched and ſent the legions very well contented to their prouinces, and places where they vſed to remaine. And himſelfe came to *Rome* with ſome companies of Germanes for his guard; by reaſon of the diſcord betweene the Pretorian ſouldiers and the citizens, which vnderſtanding of the death of MAXIMINVS, pacified themſelues, and went with the Senate to receiue BALBINVS into the Empire, and GORDIANVS for CÆSAR, as is aforeſaid: and ſo they were moſt ſolemnely entertained. And being come into the Senate, beſides the ordinarie acclamations, bleſſings and applauſes, in remembrance that theſe Emperours were created by the Senators, they vſed ſuch like ſpeeches: The Princes wiſely choſen, rule accordingly; and thoſe which are choſen by vnwiſe men, and ſuch as know little, in ſuch like manner end their daies. *Speeches vſed by the Senate.*

daies: wherein they ſeemed to note the men of warre which made choiſe of MAXIMINVS. Which ſpeeches the Pretorian ſouldiers tooke in ſo ill part, that they preſently began to diſlike and to bee diſpleaſed with the raigne of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS; and held themſelues for ſcorned and diſgraced, in that the Senate ſhould ſeeme to triumph ouer them, and to haue taken from them the authoritie to make Emperours: ſo great was their pride and ambition, that from thence-foorth they not only wiſhed, but practiſed the death of them both; which gouerned all things moſt excellently and prudently, and made very good and profitable lawes and ordinances; and into all the prouinces where neede required, ſent ordinarie legions, doing iuſtice to all men indifferently, greatly honouring the Senate; and generally to all men ſhewed themſelues gentle and courteous. But all this ſufficed not to get the goodwill of the ſouldiers: for vertue and goodnes doe not pacifie the hatred of the wicked; and by ſo much their enuie and malice the more encreaſeth, by how much they ſee thoſe whom they hate, exerciſe themſelues in vertuous and good actions. In ſuch ſort, that as thoſe accurſed men, in time of peace were not ſo much eſteemed; neither had the libertie to liue ſo diſſolutely and licentiouſly, as in the time of warres, all their care and ſtudie therefore was (although they diſſembled and kept it ſecret) how they might without daunger to themſelues, kill thoſe two vertuous and honorable old princes, PVPIENVS and BALBINVS. Whereto the emulation, iealouſie and contention betweene theſe Emperours, although in ſecret, opened the way to their determination; for BALBINVS held himſelfe for farre more noble and of a more auncient houſe and family, then PVPIENVS: For it was three hundred yeeres or little leſſe ſince that his anceſtors came from the Ile of *Cales* in *Spaine*, with the great POMPEY; and being made citizens of *Rome* had liued euer honorably and richly; and therefore as PVPIENVS was but of a new riſen family, he made account to be more regarded then he, and diſdained him. And PVPIENVS notwithſtanding that he was a newer citizen and lately riſen; yet was he of greater courage, very graue, and ſeuere, and had held many offices and magiſtracies; which with great valour and wiſedome he had diſcharged, and therefore was of opinion that in true nobilitie, which wholy conſiſteth in the vertue of the perſon, he did farre excell BALBINVS. And thus their vaine preſumption coſt them both their liues. And notwithſtanding that they ſtood vpon theſe points; yet they no way forgat ought that might concerne the good gouernment of the Empire. Theſe two wiſe Emperours hauing agreed betweene themſelues, to goe the one into the Eaſt againſt the Parthians; or to ſay better, the Perſians, which ruled in the Eaſt, as I haue alreadie declared, and by meanes of the ciuil diſcords paſt, had entred the bounds of the Empire and taken certaine cities. And the other to the warres of *Germanie*. And as one day all the whole citie was buſie in beholding certaine games and paſtimes which were made, and with them was the greateſt part of the Emperours guarde and houſehold; ſo as they remained in their pallaces ſmally accompanied, without any miſtruſt or ſuſpition of any inſurrection. Whereof the Pretorian ſouldiers being aduertiſed; came with great fury fully armed in order of battaile, towards the Emperours pallace: which when PVPIENVS vnderſtoode, and that they came to kill him, he commaunded in great haſte the companies of Almaines which were his guard, to be called: which truely had been ſufficient to haue defended them. And he alſo gaue BALBINVS to vnderſtand thereof, deſiring him to doe the like. But BALBINVS entring into a fond ſuſpition, that PVPIENVS ſent for his guard to haue done

Emulation betweene Balbinus and Pupienus.

ſome

ſome thing againſt him, did not onely leaue that vndone which was requeſted at his hands, but letted and hindred it, ſo that the guard was not called. By which meanes the Pretorian ſouldiers had oportunitie to enter the imperiall pallace in ſafetie; and there finding none to reſiſt their furie, they tooke both the Emperours, and deſpoiling them of their imperiall robes, vſed the poore princes with all kinde of villanie, as if they had been two theeues; carrying them through the middeſt of the citie towards their lodging: but hearing that the Almaines came to reſcue them, they ſlew them vpon the way; leauing their dead bodies in the ſtreets. And the young GORDIANVS meeting them by chaunce, who (as we haue ſaid before) at the requeſt of the people was choſen CÆSAR, was by them hailed AVGVSTVS and Emperour. And they crying to the people ſaid, that ſeeing that thoſe two Emperours were dead, which in deſpite of them were choſen by the Senate; they ſhould now receiue GORDIANVS for Emperour, which they themſelues had deſired to be made CÆSAR; and ſo they went to their lodging leading the youth with them, who yet was not fully fourteene yeeres old. The Almaines after they vnderſtoode of the death of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS, ſeeing there was no hope to reſcue them, returned to their lodgings, which was in the fields neere vnto *Rome*. And ſo theſe two good Emperours ended their liues, hauing raigned two yeeres, and in reward for pacifying the Empire and deliuering the ſame from the tyrannie of MAXIMINVS, theſe baſe raſcalles put them to death by murthering them, which PVPIENVS (as ſaith IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS) did before Prognoſticate: for when they were choſen, he ſaid to BALBINVS; tell me BALBINVS, what good ſhall we reape, if we kill this accurſed cruell beaſt MAXIMINVS? BALBINVS anſwered, we ſhall win the loue of the Senate and of the people of *Rome*, and generally of all the world; it is true quoth PVPIENVS, but I feare me we ſhall incurre the hatred of the men of warre, and that it will coſt vs our liues. Which happened, as wee haue declared, in the yeere of our Lord 242.

The Emperours Balbinus and Pupienus ſlaine by the Pretorian ſouldiers.

Gordianus Nephew of the old Gordianus proclaimed Emperour.

The words of Pupienus to Balbinus when they were choſen Emperours.

Ann. dom. 242.

THE

THE LIFE OF GORDIANVS THE YOVNGER, SO CALLED FOR THAT HE WAS NEPHEW TO THE OLD GORDIANVS, BEING ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THE eight and twentith Emperour of *Rome*.

This Gordianus was Nephew of the old Gordianus which died in Africa.

AFter the death of these two good Emperours PVPIENVS and BALBINVS; GORDIANVS being chosen by the Pretorian souldiers (who in their life time was CÆSAR) the Senate and people of *Rome* seeing no other remedie willingly approoued his election; for he was generally well beloued of all men for the deserts of his Vncle and grandfather; and through this election ensued concord and agreement betweene the souldiers and the citizens; and so he began his gouernment in good order and had good successe. The first thing that he did, was to make many feasts, games and shewes, and to giue many gifts and rewards, both to the citizens and souldiers; whereby he made himselfe exceedingly well beloued. This happened by reason that this young prince tooke, and followed the counsell of wise men. Presently in the beginning of his raigne a certaine Captaine named SABINIANVS rebelled in *Africa*, and it happened so well, that the gouernour of *Mauritania* by the commaundement of GORDIANVS, comming against him; those which conspired with him, tooke him prisoner, and crauing pardon for their offence, brought him to *Carthage*; and there deliuered

deliuered him into the hands of GORDIANVS his Captains. Who being deliuered of this care, there remained yet another, which was for the warrès against the Persians, who (as we haue said) vsurped certaine lands of the Empire; against which it was concluded that the Emperour GORDIANVS should go himselfe in person: and notwithstanding that he was then very yong, hauing married the daughter of a most learned and eloquent Gentleman, whose name was MISITHEVS, whom he presentlie made Prefect, the authoritie and counsell of the father in lawe made the raigne of the young Emperour GORDIANVS verie fortunate, and much esteemed. For notwithstanding that MISITHEVS was but of a meanè parentage, yet he was a man of much vertue, and so discreet & considerate in all his actions, that notwithstanding that GORDIANVS was but a child and very young, and somewhat inclined to vice and sensualitie; yet he made him an excellent Prince and Gouernour, both in peace and warre. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that the principall and most necessarie thing that apperteineth to any King or Prince to make him good, is, to haue good and wise men for his counsellors, and that his court be replenished with honest men, and of good conuersation: Which the same GORDIANVS apparantlie manifested in a letter written by him to his father in lawe, in answere to another written by him, wherein he had counselled him what he ought to do, and had reproued him for some thing that he had done in this manner. The Emperour GORDIANVS AVGVSTVS to his Father, and Pretorian Prefect, greeting. If the Almightie Gods had not defended and protected the Romane Empire, I had truly by this time bin deceiued, and sold by these wicked and dishonest men: for I now know, and do very well comprehend, that I ought not to haue giuen the charge of the Romane Cohorts to FELIX, neither to SERAPIO of the fourth legion: and because I will not recite all my errours, I acknowledge that I haue done many things that I ought not. But thanks be giuen to the Gods, that thou guiding and instructing me, which doest nothing for couetousnes or reward, I haue perceiued and vnderstood many things, which being shut vp in my pallace with my seruants, I should neuer haue learned, neither was it possible for me to haue knowne. For consider thou alittle I pray thee what I could do, being blinded, and sold by MAVRVS, who was confederate with GVNDIANVS, REVERENDVS and MONTANVS; so as whatsoeuer they commended or reproued, trusting to their iudgement, I presentlie accepted and allowed. The truth is, Father, that that Prince is very infortunate, who hath not about him those which may plainely tell him the truth: for as the King cannot be among the people, neither can he know what passeth and what is said, of necessitie he is to vnderstand it by the relation of those with whom he is conuersant, and according to their information, good or euill, to gouerne and dispose of all matters, God giue thee health. By this letter is confirmed that which I said, and how that the good counsell of his father in law, was of great efficacie to make him a good Gouernor.

Misitheus father in lawe to Gordianus.

A Letter written by Gordianus to his father in law Misitheus.

In the beginning of the raigne of this good Emperour, there were seene certaine signes and tokens in the aire, and vpon the earth, whereby many men did prognosticate that his raigne should not long continue. The first was so great an eclipse of the Sunne, that the day seemed to be turned to night: so as euery where the people kindled lights, thereby to see to do their necessarie busines, so long as the eclipse continued. And one yeere after that, there was so great and so terrible an earth-quake in a manner through all the prouinces of the Empire, that many cities and townes were destroyed, and some cities were swallowed vp by the earth,

A great eclipse of the Sunne.

A great earth-quake.

earth, which did open in many places. This being paſt, and the loſſes repaired in the beſt manner that could be, GORDIANVS departed from *Rome* towards the warres of *Perſia*, with great prouiſion and infinite ſummes of money to pay the ſouldiers which he caried with him, which were many in number, and excellentlie well armed and trained: for he had ſo good an armie as euer had any Emperour; and marching ouer land from *Italy* to paſſe the ſtreight of *Helleſpont*, he tooke his way through *Miſsia*, to ſtay the *Gothes* and other nations which came downe with intent to haue inhabited *Thracia*, againſt which he obteined ſome victories, and left thoſe prouinces free from troubles, and in peace. And hauing paſt that ſtreight, he marched with his armie through *Soria*, and came to the citie of *Antioch* which the Perſians had taken, and fought ſome battailes with the mightie SAPOR King of *Perſia*, who ſucceeded his brother ARTAXERXES in that kingdome; where obteining ſome notable victories, he recouered the citie of *Antioch*. And from thence went further, and conquered the great cities of *Carras*, and *Niſibe*: for being terrified with the firſt battailes, SAPOR was in ſo great a feare, that notwithſtanding that he had leuied a very ſufficient army, yet he not only durſt not fight with GORDIANVS, but abandoning the ſaid cities and others, retired himſelfe into his kingdome, forſaking and leauing the limits and confines of the Romane Empire. In this warre all things were gouerned and done by the counſell and direction of MISITHEVS, GORDIANVS his father in law, who was his Prefect and captaine generall, and gouerned all things ſo well, that he failed not in any thing; and ſo by his counſell and valour GORDIANVS obteined many victories: and the Romane armie proceeded, being excellentlie well inſtructed and trained, aſwell in the diſcipline which apperteineth to ſouldiers, as in all other things which were requiſite for the warres. The like happened in all other matters, which were expedient for the good gouernment of the whole Empire: for he was ſo good and ſo wiſe a man, and therewith the good inclination and diſpoſition of the Emperour did ſo concurre, in whom wanted no ſufficiencie nor diſcretion for his age, that all the time of his raigne (which were ſixe yeeres) the Romane Empire enioyed peace, reſt, and all happines. And while as all things were in this eſtate, MISITHEVS fell ſick and died. IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS writeth, that he was ſecretlie poiſoned by PHILIP, who ſucceeded him in his charge, and was afterwards Emperour, and who alſo was the cauſe of the death and deſtruction of the Emperour GORDIANVS; who ſo ſoone as MISITHEVS was dead, made PHILIP his Prefect and Captaine generall, nothing ſuſpecting him of treaſon. This PHILIP was borne in *Arabia*, of a baſe and diſhonorable parentage, but was a very valiant man, and bred vp in the warres in the Romane Armies, and had held many offices and gouernments. So ſoone as this barbarian was aduanced by GORDIANVS to that high dignitie, he practiſed how he might obteine the Empire for himſelfe, and ſought by all meanes to win the good will of the ſouldiers, and to make them enemies to GORDIANVS. It happned that in the armie was great ſcarcitie of victuals, which was done by the ſecret practice of PHILIP, and the ſouldiers imagining the negligence of GORDIANVS to haue bin the cauſe thereof, determined to make PHILIP equall with him in the Empire, and that he ſhould be as his tutor and gouernour: which the vertuous young GORDIANVS patientlie endured. For he could not withſtand the audacious determination of the ſouldiers; and PHILIP ſeeing himſelfe equall with him, became preſentlie ſo inſolent and audacious towards GORDIANVS, (by reaſon of his young yeeres, and the fauour of the armie) that he began to commaund

Gordianus going to the warres againſt the Perſians.

Gordianus his victorie againſt Sapor King of Perſia.

The death of Miſitheus.

commaund all, as though he had bin ſole Emperour. But GORDIANVS being vnable to indure this diſgrace (for great and noble minds can hardlie ſuffer themſelues to be deſpiſed and oppreſſed) aſſembling the armie, complained openlie to the Captaines and ſouldiers of the pride and ingratitude of PHILIP, calling to mind the benefits which he had beſtowed vpon him, and ſought to perſwade them to depoſe him from the Empire. PHILIP ſeeing this, ſetting all ſhame apart, aſſembling togethers ſuch as were of his faction, and ſeeking to get the good will of all men, brought his purpoſe to ſo good iſſue, that the miſerable Emperour GORDIANVS being abandoned, was brought to ſuch extremitie, that he ſent to intreate PHILIP, that if he would not permit him to be his equall, yet at the leaſt that he would be pleaſed to allow him the dignitie of CÆSAR: which ſeeing he could not obtaine, he deſired that he might be his Pretorian Prefect: which being alſo denied, he requeſted him to do him the fauour, that he might be one of his Captaines ſo long as he ſhould liue. To this his laſt petition his cruell mind ſeemed to yeeld, but afterwards conſidering how much GORDIANVS was beloued in *Rome*, in *Africa*, and in all the other Prouinces, as well for his naturall vertues, as for the nobilitie of the houſe from which he was deſcended, he commaunded him to be ſlaine. And this was the end of the noble and worthie young Emperour GORDIANVS, who raigned ſixe yeeres, foure alone, and two in the companie of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS, in the yeere of our Lord 247. and in the twentith yeere of his age. GORDIANVS was of a pleaſant and very noble condition, of gentle behauiour, very ſtudious, and giuen to learning; ſo as they write that he had in his Librarie threeſcore and two thouſand bookes. He was infinitely beloued of the Senate and people of *Rome*, and generallie of all nations of the Empire, and no leſſe by the ſouldiers and men of warre which called him their ſonne: although in this ſhort ſodaine furie, after the maner of beaſts they killed him by the procurement, deuiſe, and treaſon of PHILIP; and their furie being paſt, they made him a ſepulchre in the confines of *Perſia*, whereupon they wrote this inſcription in the Latine, Perſian, Hebrew, and Egyptian tongues, to the end that of all men it might be read and vnderſtood:

The wickednes and ingratitude of Philip, and the miſerie of Gordianus.

The death of Gordianus.

Ann. Dom. 247.

To the ſacred Gordianus, who ouercame the Perſians, the Gothes, and the Sarmates, extinguiſhed the Romane Ciuil diſcords, and likewiſe ſubdued the Germanes, but not the Philippicks

which ſeemeth to be annexed thereto, for that in the *Philippicq.* fields he was put to the worſe by the Alanes; and alſo for that he was commaunded to be ſlaine by PHILIP.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE FIRST, AND NINE AND TWENTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

BY the ſubtiltie and wicked practiſes (which wee haue alreadie before declared) this traitor PHILIP came to the Empire, and was ſworne and obeyed by all the whole armie: and he preſently aduertiſed the Senate of his election, and of the death of GORDIANVS, concealing the manner thereof; alleaging that hee died of his naturall infirmitie. The Senate giuing credit to his letters, confirmed and approued his election, and gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS: which when he vnderſtood, hauing a great deſire to come to *Rome*, and to ſee himſelfe Lord thereof, hee made a diſhonourable peace with the Perſians; and leauing vnto them the prouince of *Meſopotamia*, and part of *Syria*, he came with his armie towards *Rome*. But firſt he deſired to viſit his countrie *Arabia*; wherein, for a memo iall of his name, he builded a citie, which he called *Philopopolis*, in the fields neere the place where he was borne; & made his ſon his companion in the Empire, whoſe name was alſo PHI-

Philip made peace with the Perſians.

LIP

LIP, a child of sixe or seuen yeeres old: who (as AVRELIVS VICTOR, and EVTROPIVS doe write) was naturally so sad and so sowre, that he was neuer seene to laugh, neither could any man by any deuice prouoke him to laughter. PHILIP being come to *Rome*, although hee was receiued as soueraigne Lord, yet was his comming nothing pleasing to the Senate nor Romane people, considering that he had left and giuen away the prouince of *Mesopotamia* to the Persians: Which when hee vnderstood, after that hee had made a great alargesse, and distributed much money and other gifts among the people, thereby to get their good wils and friendship; he sought occasion to make warre against the Persians, and proclaimed the same; with a determination therein to haue recouered the honour which he had lost. But that warre ended before it began, without any breach of peace: for the Persians promised to restore the prouinces without warre or any resistance.

PHILIP hauing now raigned two yeeres (and a thousand yeeres being expired since that *Rome* was founded) hee commaunded certaine feasts and games to bee made, which they called Secular, which was (as it were) to celebrate the birth day of *Rome*; which feasts were made in *Rome* euery hundred yeeres. Yet concerning the time there were many opinions; and some Emperors celebrated these feasts and shewes before their time, as the Emperour CLAVDIVS before remembred. But the truth is, that they were called Secular: for they could be made but once in all a mans whole life time. Finally, they were the most sumptuous and notable that euer were made in *Rome*: for so did OCTAVIVS make them, and CLAVDIVS also, as I haue said. And afterwards the Emperor DOMITIANVS, although he obserued not the iust computation of the yeeres, as did the Emperour CLAVDIVS, but followed the account of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR: and after that, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS; and now this PHILIP celebrated the same, with the greatest pompe and magnificence that euer had bin seene before this time, as EVSEBIVS recordeth, who saith, That in the place called *Circulus Maximus*, were hunted and slaine an infinit number of wilde beasts; and that there also fought two thousand Sword-players, who (as wee haue said) slew one another to giue pleasure and delight to the beholders, in as furious manner as men now adaies vse to fight vpon challenges in single combats. It is also written, that in POMPEIES Theater were such shewes and games, that they lasted three daies and three nights continually; wherein were so great lights that men might see as well at midnight as at noone daies; whereof EVTROPIVS and POMPONIVS also make mention. In these disports and about the end of them, as they were many, and there was little heed taken, POMPEIES Theater tooke fire, and the greatest part of the timber worke was burnt, with other very sumptuous buildings neere vnto it; which fire was hardly quenched. PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that this PHILIP was the first Christian Emperour that was truly baptized, and that beleeued and receiued the faith of Christ. Other authors affirme, that both hee, his mother and his sonne were christened; and that ORIGENES wrote certaine letters to him, wherein he perswaded him to beleeue and to obserue the Christian faith. Others say, that he did but faine and dissemble it, thereby to make himselfe the stronger against DECIVS, through the helpe of the Christians, which DECIVS rebelled against him: But I rather beleeue OROSIVS and EVSEBIVS.

Secular games, and why so called.

PHILIP and his sonne liuing thus in the quiet possession of the Empire, the Goths, which in the time of GORDIANVS had infested *Thracia*, came now from *Scythia* with a very great armie through *Misia* into *Thracia*, and did much hurt

therein, burning many cities and townes: against which, the Emperour sent for Captaine one MARINVS, a man very expert in the warres, and very valiant of his person; who so soone as he was established in his charge, with the aide and fauour of the men of warre, whereof he before was Captaine, and of the ordinarie legions of *Illyricum*, leauing the seruice wherein he was emploied, resolued to rebell, and to make himselfe Emperour, holding it lawfull to betray him, that had been a traitor to another: and for such was presently sworne and proclaimed by the armie. When PHILIP vnderstood hereof, hee was much troubled: and in great feare complained to the Senate of the ingratitude and presumption of MARINVS. Some write that DECIVS was there present, who being a man of great wisedome and experience, very nobly descended, and was afterwards Emperour, did recomfort and encourage him, and perswaded him not to bee grieued therewith: for (quoth he) MARINVS his presumption will shortly cost him very deere, which happened so indeed: For within few daies after, the same armie which had chosen him, being discontented with the manner of his cariage toward them, were as readie to bereaue him of his life, as they were to make him Emperor; and accordingly slew him. Which newes being brought to PHILIP, and he remembring what DECIVS had said in the Senate, gaue him the charge and commaund of the armie against the Gothes and Scythians, with a great encrease both of men and munition, and of all things necessarie for such an enterprise. DECIVS as a man of experience and discretion, and sufficiently able to discharge that office, came to the armie, where within few daies al the souldiers as well for the worthines of his person, as also for that they stood in feare of PHILIP for those matters alreadie lately passed, resolued to make him Emperor: and so indeed by force and against his will they made him to take the ensignes, name and dignitie of Emperour. When DECIVS saw himselfe aduaunced to so high estate, hee practised a cunning policie, which was thus; He priuily sent a secret messenger to tell PHILIP that he had accepted the title of Emperor, being perforce constrained thereto, as was well knowne; but held no man for Emperour but PHILIP; and that he therefore should not be offended: for hee did assure him that so soone as he could possibly get any libertie, he would renounce the Empire. This hee did to the end that PHILIP should take no care, nor make any such preparation against him, as reason required: and finally, to temporize vntill that he might encrease his power, and make himsefe able to defend his cause. But PHILIP (whether he gaue credit to his speeches or no) forslowed not his busines, but determined with himselfe to repose no trust in any other Captaine, but to goe against him himselfe in person; and to that end leuied many new troupes, and sent for the ordinarie legions out of sundrie prouinces, threatning and swearing that he would teare DECIVS and the rebellious legions which were with him in peeces. And so departed from *Rome*, commaunding his men of warre with such choler and in such hautie manner, that he became hatefull to all men. And they holding DECIVS more worthie of the Empire then him, before hee went out of *Italy* in the citie of *Verona*, proclaiming DECIVS Emperour, his owne souldiers killed him, cutting his head off, by the middest of his face, iust with the vpper row of his teeth.

Marinus rebelled against Philip.

Decius made Emperour by the souldiers against his wil.

Preparation made by Philip against Decius.

Philip slaine in Verona by his owne souldiers.

So soone as the newes hereof came to *Rome*, the Pretorian souldiers killed his sad sonne, who was neuer knowne to laugh; being (according to some writers) about the fist yeere of his and his fathers raigne; and after some other writers, the seuenth: which happened in the yeere of our Lord two hundred, fiftie and two, after EVSEBIVS his computation.

Truly

Truly it was the iuſt iudgement of God, that by the ſame meanes that he obtained the Empire, he loſt the ſame: and the ſame ſouldiers by whoſe hands he put his good liege Lord GORDIANVS to death; euen the very ſame ſouldiers killed him: ſo as, as he was a traitor and diſloyall to his ſoueraigne; ſo found he none faithfull to him being lord.

THE LIFE OF DECIVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

PHILIP and his ſonne being both dead (in ſuch manner as before is expreſſed) DECIVS without any contradiction was confirmed Emperour: for the Senate preſently choſe him in his abſence, and gaue him the title of AVGVSTVS, and ſo did all the prouinces and the armies: For all writers affirme, that morally this DECIVS was an excellent man, and was endued with many vertues and ſufficiencies, and was very wiſe and diſcreet, and of great experience, and had held many offices and dignities before he attained to the Empire; which he obtained not by fauour or any ſiniſter meanes; but for his deſerts and goodnes: and ſo executed the ſame wiſely and vprightly, with ſingular equitie and authoritie. The like he did in the Empire, during the ſmall time that he enioyed the ſame: and aboue all, he was a moſt politicke, valiant and excellent Captaine; ſo as he might iuſtly haue been numbred among the good Emperors, if he had not (as an infidell) perſecuted the Church of God and all Chriſtians, with moſt exceſſiue cruelkie, ſuch, as the like thereof had neuer been ſeene: the which

which (as ſome writers affirme) he did of malice, and for the hatred which he bare againſt his predeceſſor the Emperour PHILIP, for that he was a Chriſtian: And ſo in his time the Church of God ſuffered the ſeuenth perſecution. In ſuch ſort hee perſeuered in his crueltie, ſtaining therewith his other vertues, that he crowned many with martyrdome; leauing to vs examples of their holy and vertuous liues and endings. This emperour was borne in a citie called *Cabali* in the lower *Pannonia*, which we call *Hungarie*, and (as we haue ſaid) was of a very noble and auncient linage. So ſoone as he ſaw himſelfe an abſolute Lord through the deſire he had to come to *Rome*, he made CORNELIVS LICINIVS VALERIANVS generall of his mightie armie, who was a wiſe man and of great experience: ſo as for his good conditions, and his age, being threeſcore and ſixe yeeres old; he was of great authoritie, and to all men ſeemed moſt fitte for that charge. When DECIVS was come to *Rome* hee ſhewed himſelfe in all thing a very good gouernour, and preſerued the authoritie of the Senate; following their counſell and opinion in all matters of gouernment. And among other things, he permitted them to chuſe a cenſor at their pleaſure, which was an auncient magiſtracie of great authoritie; for his office was to correct the manners and cuſtomes, and to reforme the abuſes and diſorders of the people, and therefore had ſupreme iuriſdiction ouer all men: and this office, from the time that *Rome* came to be commaunded by one head, the Emperours vſurped, and made themſelues Cenſors. Whereupon the Senate choſe the ſaid VALERIANVS for Cenſor, notwithſtanding that hee was abſent: and moreouer, without any requeſt made by DECIVS; they nominated his ſonne (whoſe name was alſo DECIVS) CÆSAR, and his ſucceſſor. And ſo he remained in the citie about one yeere, gouerning all things with great wiſedome and equitie, by the aduiſe and conſent of the Senate, to the great contentment of all the Romane people, excepting the Chriſtian common-wealth: againſt which, he (as a blinde man) made generall edicts and decrees, whereby he commaunded them to be ſlaine, and perſecuted (as EVSEBIVS teſtifieth.) And whereas the Gothes at this time inuading *Thracia* and *Miſia*, had ſubdued the greateſt part of thoſe prouinces; DECIVS determined in perſon to make head againſt them, and carrying his ſonne with him, he left the gouernment in the hands of the Senate; and leuying new forces, he marched againſt the Gothes; and comming where his legions were, within few daies after he ioined battaile with them: wherein although it were very doubtfull; yet in the end he obtained the victorie, and ſlew 30000. of them; and conſtrained the reſt to flie to the mountaines and other places of hard acceſſe, not daring to come into the plaines; and brought them to ſuch extremitie that he had eaſily deſtroyed them, if he had not been betraied, as you ſhall heare. For the King of the Gothes ſent him word, that if he would giue him leaue quietly to depart, he would abandon that land, and returne to his countrie; but the Emperour hauing taken the paſſages, imagining that hee might eaſily kill them, or take them priſoners, and ſo puniſh their breach of peace graunted them in the time of BALBINVS, would not yeeld to the Kings requeſt; and hauing brought them to ſuch a ſtreight that they could not eſcape out of his hands, he gaue the charge to a notable Captaine of his, whoſe name was TREBONIANVS GALLVS, being a Romane gentleman and gouernour of the frontiers of *Miſia*, to keepe certaine paſſages, through which the Gothes might paſſe; and to that effect gaue him the commaund of a great number of ſouldiers. Who hauing a deſire to make himſelfe Emperour, by ſuch meanes as then were vſed, not onely diſ-

charged

The ſeuenth perſecution of the Church of God.

Valerianus made Cenſor by the Senate.

The Senate choſe young Decius, Cæſar and his fathers ſucceſſor.

A battaile betweene Decius and the Gothes.

charged his office wherein he was employed, very ill, but gaue ſecret intelligence to the King of the Gothes that hee would let him paſſe, aduiſing him therewith to diuide his armie into two parts, the one halfe whereof hee ſhould lay in ambuſh; and with the other, hee ſhould aſſault the Emperours campe, who miſtruſted no ſuch matter: and that faining feare hee ſhould flie backe and draw the Emperour into his ambuſh, where hee might in ſafetie kill him. This contract being made, the effect followed (as writeth POMPONIVS LETVS) but IORNANDES relateth it after another manner. Yet all authors agree that through the treaſon of his Captaine GALLVS, the Emperour DECIVS came to a battaile with the Gothes, to their great aduantage; wherein notwithſtanding that he, and his ſouldiers fought moſt valiantly, yet both himſelfe and his ſonne therein ended their liues. IORNANDES writeth, that before that a man could well iudge of the victorie, the young DECIVS was ſo mortally wounded with an arrow, that he fell from his horſe in ſight of his father the Emperour, who with a loud voyce called to his ſouldiers, willing them not to bee diſmaied: for the death of one Knight would be no hindrance to the common-wealth, neither to the battaile. But in the end foreſeeing his perdition, and that the Gothes apparantly had the victorie; to the end that he would not fall into his enemies hands, he clapt his ſpurres to his horſe ſides, and giuing him the head, lept into a deepe lake of water which was there by; wherein through the waight of his armour he was ſoone drowned: ſo as his body was neuer found. The Gothes following the victorie, made great ſlaughter in the Romane armie, which was put to route; and thoſe which eſcaped fled to the legions which TREBONIANVS GALLVS commaunded, who as a confederat with the Gothes, was in ſafetie; and ſought no reuenge for the death of the Emperour. And in this manner ended the life and raigne of the Emperour DECIVS, who had oftentimes deſerued the ſame for the cruelties which he commaunded to be executed vpon the Chriſtians, which happened in the yeere of our Sauiour 254. and in the fiftith yeere of his age, when hee had raigned but onely two yeeres. It is not knowne who was this Emperours wife, neither what his father and aunceſtors names were, or who they were; neither can wee ſet downe any particularities, as we haue obſerued in the liues of other Emperors, for that no author maketh any mention thereof, and all write very little of him. I ſay this to the end that the reader may vnderſtand, that I will not preſume to write at large in a matter, wherein I finde ſuch breuitie vſed by the authors: for I ſeeke rather briefly to ſet downe the naked truth, then to beautifie the Hiſtorie with leaſings, as I haue ſeene ſome men doe. My purpoſe from the beginning hath been to be briefe: for I doe not properly write an Hiſtorie, but the ſum and an abridgment of Hiſtories, containing the liues of the Emperours, whereof we will write more largely when it ſhall ſeeme more expedient, although that in the times whereof we now write, the hiſtoriographers wrote ſo negligently, and obſerued ſo little order, that a man can hardly draw that little out of their writings which we treate of.

Treboniann Gallus betrayed Decius and was the cauſe of his death.

A battaile betweene Decius and the Gothes.

The generous ſpeeches vſed by Decius ſeeing his ſonne mortally wounded fall to the ground.

The miſerable death of Decius.

Ann. dom. 254.

THE

THE LIFE OF TREBONIANVS GALLVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND ONE and thirtith Emperor of *Rome*.

THE Gothes hauing, through the occaſion aboue expreſſed, obtained this victorie, wherein both DECIVS and his ſon died, thoſe ſouldiers which thence eſcaped recouering GALLVS his campe, hailed him Emperour, knowing nothing of the treaſon which hee had committed: and hee which deſired nothing more, accepted the ſame, and tooke the Enſignes of the Empire. When the newes of the death of DECIVS and of his ſon came to *Rome*, and of the ſlaughter made in the Romane armie (before that GALLVS his treaſon was diſcouered) the Senate vnderſtanding that the armie had choſen him for Emperour, and that his companies had reſcued thoſe which eſcaped from the battaile, confirmed his election, and gaue him the name and title of AVGVSTVS. But this GALLVS, notwithſtanding that he was a gentleman, and deſcended of an high linage, was not contented with the treaſon which hee had vſed towards his Emperour and ſoueraigne Lord, but through a deſire to come to *Rome*, made peace with the Gothes; the moſt ſhamefull and vituperable, that euer was made by any Romane ſince

A diſhonorable peace made by Gallus with the Gothes.

ſince that *Rome* was firſt founded: for he agreed and promiſed to pay them yeerely a great ſumme of money; making that people which was held for Lord of the world, and ſubduer and tamer of all other Nations, tributarie to the barbarous: ſo as to the end that he might be called Emperour, hee made both himſelfe and the Empire tributarie, and ſubiect to the Gothes. Such power hath ambition and deſire to raigne, that men thereby make themſelues ſlaues and bondmen to ſome, conditionally that they may commaund and haue authoritie ouer others. And he proſpered as ill therewith as he had deſerued: for the Gothes afterwards brake the peace, and did more harme in his time then in any age before, ſacking and ſpoiling the prouinces of *Thracia*, *Miſia*, *Theſſalia*, *Macedonia*, and the confines and frontiers thereof: for all which hee tooke little care. And of the other ſide, the Perſians in *Aſia* ſeeing the good ſucceſſe of the Gothes, entred with great power into the countries of *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*; which were prouinces of the Empire: and afterwards paſſing forwards they ſubdued *Armenia*. But GALLVS taking no care for theſe things, made his ſonne BOLVSSENVS his companion in the Empire, who was a very childe. And afterwards, hee not onely permitted the perſecution inflicted by DECIVS vpon the Chriſtians, but encreaſed the ſame. There began alſo in his time a moſt cruell generall peſtilence, whereof died an infinite number of people; which began in *Ethiopia* in the confines of *Egypt*; and from thence infected all parts of the world, and continued tenne yeeres: during which time (as PAVLVS OROSIVS recounteth) there was no prouince, no citie, nor particular houſe which was not left in a manner deſolate with this vniuerſall plague, whereof he compiled a booke, as EVSEBIVS and S. *Cyprian* beare record, which liued in thoſe times. So as all the raigne of this wicked Emperour was infortunate and ſorrowfull, as well for the prouinces which hee loſt, as for the calamities before recited. Onely he had one notable victorie in the prouince of *Miſia* againſt the Gothes, vnder the leading of EMILIANVS a Captaine of his: wherein he ſlew many thouſands of them, and followed the execution for certaine daies iourney. This ouerthrow was the ruine and totall deſtruction of GALLVS: for EMILIANVS waxing proud for ſo great a victorie, and returning from it with an imagination of that which afterwards enſued, gaue great gifts among his ſouldiers; and ſo getting their loue and goodwill, was called, choſen and ſworne Emperour. Which when GALLVS vnderſtood, with al the haſte that he could make, he departed from *Rome* with a great armie, leading his ſonne with him: againſt whom EMILIANVS boldly came to a battaile and had the victorie, wherin GALLVS and his ſonne were both ſlaine, and their ſouldiers went to ſerue EMILIANVS. This happened in the yeere of our Lord 256. GALLVS being then (as teſtifieth AVRELIVS VICTOR) of the age of ſeuen and fortie yeeres, and in the ſecond yeere of his moſt vnhappie raigne.

The Gothes brake the peace made with Gallus.

The Perſians entred the prouinces of the Empire.

An vniuerſall plague in the time of Decius.

Emilianus ouerthrew the Gothes in a battaile.

Emilianus choſen Emperour.

The Emperour Gallus and his ſonne both ſlaine in battaile. Anno Dom. 256.

THE

THE LIFE OF EMILIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND TWO AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

EMILIANVS ſucceeded GALLVS in the Empire: Some authors account him not in the number of the Emperours, and ſhew a reaſon for it, conſidering the ſmall time that he held and enioyed the ſame; which was rather in name then effect: but ſeeing that hee was ſo, I haue thought good to make particular relation of him, for as much as EVTROPIVS and other authors haue done the like. I ſay then, that the Emperor GALLVS being ouerthrowne and ſlaine, and EMILIANVS remaining victorious, ioyning both armies in one, he began to vſe the name and authoritie which was giuen him. But as the time of his raigne was ſo ſhort, that it laſted not aboue foure moneths, there can no notable thing bee written of him: for as his time was very briefe, ſo doe authors briefly write. Hee was by birth an Africane, borne in the countrie of *Mauritania*, of baſe and obſcure parentage, and from his youth was bred vp in the warres: and as he encreaſed in yeeres, ſo did he in honour and offices. At length the Emperour DECIVS made him Captaine Generall, and gouernour of the frontiers and confines of *Sarmatia*; in which charge GALLVS left him, and there ſucceeded that which wee haue recited, which was to obtaine a victorie againſt the Gothes, and to rebell againſt GALLVS; and afterwards to ouerthrow and kill both him and his ſon, and to make himſelfe Emperour. So ſoone as theſe matters were ended, hee wrote with all ſpeede to the Senate, giuing it to vnderſtand of his victorie and election, putting them alſo in minde of the negligence and euill gouernment of GALLVS, and of the prouinces which the Romane Empire had loſt in his time, promiſing very confidently to recouer *Thracia* from the Gothes, and *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia* from

The originе of Emilianus.

Large promiſes made by Emilianus.

from the Perſians,and to cleere all the confines of the Empire from all their enemies: which his purpoſe as he would haue put in execution,he was hindred; for the armie which was in the Alpes,wherof VALERIANVS,a man of noble linage and of great authoritie,was Captaine, who reprooued and in no caſe would allow the election of EMILIANVS,roſe againſt him, and choſe their Captaine for Emperor. Which when EMILIANVS his ſouldiers vnderſtood,moued with the reputation of VALERIANVS, which,as we will declare in his life,was very great, and to auoide ciuill warres;they determined to approoue and confirme his election: and ſo in a manner by the common conſent of them all, EMILIANVS was ſlaine,being fortie yeeres old, when hee had raigned little more then three moneths.And all his troupes went to ſerue VALERIANVS,to whom they ſware,and obeied him for their Lord and Emperor. And this was the remnant of the raigne of EMILIANVS, becauſe his end ſhould bee ſuch as was his beginning. And in truth writing this diſcourſe, and conſidering in my minde of the eſtate and condition of things in thoſe times, I was moued with great admiration and pitie, to thinke of the miſeries which then were in the world: for where there was ſuch diſſolution and diſorder, that ſouldiers did daily murther their Emperours,and choſe others ſuch as they pleaſed, and no man ſought to puniſh them, or to reuenge the wrong; what ſhal a man think was done in the particular prouinces? what robberies,what iniuries and outrages were there vſed? What execution of iuſtice could that Emperour commaund to be done, which came to the Empire by treaſon,and by killing his ſoueraigne Lord? It is credibly to be beleeued, that he would eaſily pardon all offences, vpon condition that hee might be obeyed; eſpecially ſuch as were committed by principall and mightie men. And moreouer,oftentimes the newes of the election of an Emperor was ſcarſely publiſhed, and his election confirmed,before that the like newes came,that he was ſlaine by thoſe which had choſen him,or by ſome other more mightie perſonage. And it may be that it happened ſo vnto them, for that they tooke no other care, nor buſied themſelues about ought elſe, but how they might ſupport themſelues in the Empire. And ſo the reader ſhall finde that thirteene Emperours which preceded VALERIANVS, of which wee will treate, died violent deaths,and none of them naturally, as wee ſay,in his bed, beginning from the time of the good MARCVS AVRELIVS,vntill this man. And ſo the ſame VALERIANVS, together with his ſonne,and other Emperours alſo died by the ſword. In the time that this VALERIANVS and GALIENVS raigned, there were thirtie tyrants which vſurped the name of Emperour; which killing one another,or complotting it by ſome other meanes,none of them died of his naturall death: ſo as, ſo ſoone as one was proclaimed Emperour,he might be aſſured to come to an euill end. In ſuch ſort,that among all the miſeries of thoſe times, the greateſt was to be an Emperour; and the Emperours were ſuch, and came to that dignitie by ſuch meanes, that by the iuſt iudgement of God they made ſuch ends.And although that in al eſtates there were diſorders and confuſion,and ſo it appeareth by the hiſtories of thoſe times; yet onely the holie faith and Chriſtian doctrine encreaſed, as well in vertue and holines of life,as in number of people: but they eſcaped not free from perſecution and miſeries. This I haue thought good to note and to conſider in this place, thereby to ſhew that men ought not ſo much to blame theſe times wherein wee now liue,as ſome haue done; commending the cuſtomes of ancient times, diffaming and reproouing all that paſſeth in our time. I doe not denie but that wee now are wicked and ſinners; but let the diſcreete reader make a compariſon of the

Emilianus ſlaine by his ſouldiers,and Valerianus made Emperor.

the common order now obſerued in all things, with that manner of gouernment in thoſe daies; and he ſhall cleerely perceiue the difference, and how farre this doth excell the time then, through the mercie of God, whom we beſeech to amend what is amiſſe.

THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROVR VALERIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THREE AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

Valerianus fauoured of all men.

WE haue alreadie declared, how that VALERIANVS was choſen Emperour, by the ſouldiers whereof he was Generall, and how that EMILIANVS was afterwards ſlaine, by the hands of his owne ſouldiers; and that all reduced themſelues vnder the ſeruice of VALERIANVS; and that in this manner he was held for Emperour both in *Rome*, and abroad, with as great fauour and good liking of all nations, as euer any had bin. VALERIANVS when he was choſen Emperour, was of great age: for all authors which write of him affirme, that he was then fullie threeſcore and ten yeeres old; which time he had ſpent with great honor and fame vnder both good and euill Emperours, by meanes of his excellent conditions and ſufficiencies; and had attained to many dignities, and had held many magiſtracies and offices: among which, in the time of the Emperour DECIVS he was made Cenſor of *Rome*, and was highlie honored and extolled by the ſame DECIVS, and by all the Senate; and was alſo of a very noble and auncient houſe and familie. Finallie, in all his life time before that he was Emperour, he was honored and happie in all his doings; and ſo there was great hope that

that he ſhould haue redreſſed and ended all the calamities and miſeries of his time. All which hapned cleane contrarie: for after his ioyfull beginning, in all the reſt of his age he was miſerable and infortunate. When he came to the Empire he had two ſonnes, the one called GALIENVS, and the other (as himſelfe) VALERIANVS, which he had by ſeuerall women. TREBELLIVS POLLIO and others ſay, that VALERIANVS was but his nephew. His victorie and election being knowne in *Rome*, and with great ioy and gladnes confirmed, GALIENVS being then there, was by the Senate and people choſen CÆSAR, and his fathers ſucceſſor, as afterwards he was, as EVTROPIVS writeth: but SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR ſaith, that his father made him AVGVSTVS, which was, his equall and companion with him in the Empire, both the one and the other might well be. His ſecond ſonne VALERIANVS (as ſome ſay) was made CÆSAR; and others name him not. VALERIANVS beginning to take vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, the firſt thing that he did, was to nominate and appoint Captaines choſen among many noble men, which had ſerued in the warres againſt the Parthians, the Perſians, the Gothes, and other northerlie nations, and which were men of experience, and had ſhewed themſelues valiant in armes; and ſo he determined to go himſelfe in perſon (and did ſo) to the warres of the Eaſt, againſt the Perſians, which was the moſt dangerous: for SAPOR King of *Perſia* had inuaded and taken certaine prouinces of the Empire.

Galienus made Cæſar by the Senate.

There was alſo in thoſe times in the Eaſt one CORIALVS an audacious man, and of great account, who with the conſent of SAPOR King of *Perſia*, proclaimed himſelfe Emperour, and ſeaſed on the cities of *Cæſarea*, *Antioch*, and other cities and places in the borders; but his proſperitie ſoone ended: for his owne people of malice, and fearing the comming of VALERIANVS, ſlue him before that VALERIANVS arriued. EVSEBIVS reporteth, that this Emperour in the beginning of his raigne was ſo gentle and ſo great a friend to the Chriſtians, that he ſuffered not any wrong or violence to be done vnto them, but fauoured and honored them in ſo high degree, that his houſe and pallace was as a Church and an habitacle for them, but afterwards through the deceit and perſwaſion of a Magician or Nigromancer, who was an Egyptian borne, an arrant cooſoner, and a notable maiſter in ſorcerie and witchcraft, he not only deſiſted from fauoring them, but vſed extreme crueltie in all places whereſoeuer he found any of them: ſo as in his time was the ninth perſecution of the Catholike Church, whereof PAVLVS OROSIVS in his hiſtories maketh particular mention. For which ſinne it was beleeued, that God permitted the great misfortunes which befell him, which were: that he paſſing with a great armie into the Eaſt againſt SAPOR King of the Perſians, SAPOR which was a man of great courage and very mightie, came to meete him; betweene which it was ſuppoſed that there would haue been a very great battaile; but it happened otherwiſe: for the Emperour through the negligence (as ſome ſay) of the Generall of his armie who conducted him, but as others ſay, through the treaſon and deceit of the ſame Generall, was ſet in a place without any ſufficient guard, where being compaſſed about by SAPORS men of warre, all the paſſages were taken in ſuch ſort, that being vnable to make any reſiſtance, he was taken priſoner by SAPOR. Who as a prowd barbarian, beſides the other iniuries which he vſed to the poore old impriſoned Emperour, euery time that he tooke horſe, he made him to ſtoupe downe, and he ſetting his foote vpon his neck, mounted on horſeback. In this ſorrowfull bondage and miſerie liued this poore old man ſixe or ſeauen yeeres, and his ſonne GALIENVS tooke no care to procure

Corialus choſen Emperour by the conſent of the King of Perſia, and his death.

The ninth perſecution of the Chriſtians.

Valerianus taken priſoner by Sapor King of the Perſians, and his vſage.

procure his libertie, to the great ſhame and diſgrace of the Romane Imperiall maieſtie.

This impriſonment of the Emperour was ſo much abhorred through the world, and SAPOR was ſo much reproued for the exceſſiue crueltie which he vſed towards him, that not only thoſe which were ſubiect to the Romane Empire; but alſo the barbarous Kings which were friends to it, were greatly diſpleaſed therewith: ſo as preſentlie ſo ſoone as they vnderſtood thereof, they wrote their letters vnto him, that he ſhould freely without any ranſome ſet him at libertie; of which letters TREBELLIVS POLLIO tranſlateth one, which I will ſet downe verbatim, whereby it may appeare how much the power of the Romanes then was by them eſteemed. BELSOLVS King of Kings, to King SAPOR, greeting. If I were aſſured that the Romanes might at any time be wholie ouercome, I would reioice with thee for the victorie which thou haſt obteined againſt them, whereof thou makeſt ſuch vaunts, accounting thy particular good to be profitable for vs all. But ſeeing that through their fortune, or their force and vertue, that nation is ſo mightie, conſider and take good heed that the taking of an old Emperour (and that through treacherie) redound not to the hurt of thy ſelfe and thy ſucceſſors: and conſider how many people and nations the Romanes, of enemies, haue made ſubiects and vaſſals to their Empire, by which in former time they haue bin ouercome. We haue heard & do know, that in times paſt the Gaules ouercame them, and that the great and mightie citie of *Rome* was entred, yea and burned by them, and now it is manifeſt that the ſame Gaules are ſubiect to the Romanes. And haue not the Africanes ouerthrowne thē ſometimes? yet at this day they are their ſubiects, and do ſerue them. I will not make mention of any more auncient and farther remote examples, only I will ſay, that MITHRIDATES King of *Pontus* was Lord of all *Aſia*, and yet in the end was ouerthrowne by them, and at this day all that part of *Aſia* which he commaunded, is ſubiect to the Romanes. If thou wilt follow my counſell, make benefit of the occaſion which is offred thee, to obtaine a perfect peace with them, which thou maiſt do, by reſtoring VALERIANVS to his people: and ſo I conclude, that thou haſt had great fortune, whereof I am glad if thou know how to vſe it. This is the contents of this Letter, and of others, which he receiued from other Kings, which in effect import the ſame. And the *Bactrians*, the *Albanians*, the *Iberians*, the *Scythians* of mount *Taurus*, and other nations of the Eaſt were ſo much diſpleaſed with the taking of VALERIANVS, that they would not receiue the letters, wherein SAPOR wrote vnto them of his victorie: and ſo they ſent their Ambaſſadors to the Captaines of the Romanes, offering them their aid and aſſiſtance for the deliuerie of the Emperour. But all did not auaile to mitigate the pride and preſumption of that cruell King. For all the time that VALERIANVS liued in his power, he vſed him worſe, then if he had bin the arranteſt ſlaue in the world; and in the end (as EVSEBIVS writeth) hauing commaunded his eies to be pulled out, he died of age and ſorrow in priſon. And AGATHVS, a writer of no ſmall authoritie, writeth, that before that he died SAPOR made him to be fleyed aliue: ſuch was the pride and crueltie of this barbarous King. VALERIANVS died in the eight yeere after that he was choſen Emperour, and becauſe that the moſt of the time he liued in priſon, the reſt of his raigne they put to the account of his ſonne GALIENVS, who was choſen Emperour at the ſame time with him.

A Letter from King Belſolus to Sapor King of Perſia.

The death of Valerianus.

THE

THE LIFE OF GALIENVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND THIRTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Valerianus being taken prisoner by the King of the Persians, his sonne Galienus, in whose companie he had ruled the Empire the space of seauen yeeres; neither made any preparation to reuenge the wrong done to his father, neither tooke any care to redeeme him from imprisonment with money or any other meanes; and so seeing himselfe alone in the Empire, wholy forgetting his father, leading a life no lesse retchlesse then dishoneſt; spending his time in banketting, bathings, lasciuiousnes, and in beholding sometimes bloudie and cruell; and sometimes pleasant and ridiculous spectacles. This Emperour made so small account of his owne glorie, And was so careleſſe of the Empire which he possessed; that notwithstanding that he vnderstoode of the rebellion of many prouinces, and that many men were made Emperours, yet he seemed not to regard the same, alledging that he could liue well enough without them: In so much that a woman, the Queene Zenobia, was so bold as to make head against him, and to defend her selfe against his armes. Finally, going against Aureolus, who made himselfe prince of Slauonia and was besieged in Milane, through the conspiracie of some which aspired to the Empire, he was slaine in a battaile, when he had raigned

eight yeeres alone, and ſeuen together with his father; whoſe death although it was diſpleaſing to his ſouldiers, was not much lamented by the Romanes; which vnder his gouernment had ſeene in a manner all the whole Empire ruinated, together with his owne greatnes.

WHen VALERIANVS was taken priſoner, his ſon GALIENVS was admitted for ſole and abſolute Emperour; although that in his fathers time he was but AVGVSTVS. I haue alreadie declared how offenſiue the impriſonment of VALERIANVS was, and how that all the world ſurmiſed that GALIENVS would haue employed all his power, for the libertie of his father, and to haue been reuenged of the iniurie done vnto him: but he put no ſuch matter in execution, for it was the leaſt part of his thought; ſo as it is to be beleeued, and many were then of opinion, that he was rather glad that his father was a ſlaue to the King of *Perſia*, then otherwiſe: for by that meanes he was ſole Lord of the Empire; which he commaunded fifteene yeeres, ſeuen yeeres in the life time of his father, although in priſon; and the reſt afterwards. The Hiſtorie of which Emperours, is the moſt confuſed and hardeſt to write, of all that euer I haue read or handled in any life: for in the ſpace of theſe fifteene yeeres; there were more excellent men which tooke vpon them the name of Emperours, or were ſo, although tyrants; then in three hundred yeeres before, after that IVLIVS CÆSAR had oppreſſed the libertie of *Rome*. For in the time of GALIENVS there were thirtie Emperours choſen, and obeyed in diuers places: let the diſcreete reader then conſider, that where there happened ſo many accidents, which often came together, what order or rule there can be obſerued, but that there will be confuſion and obſcuritie in the Hiſtorie, principally conſidering the breuitie which I am to vſe; and hauing ſo little light from the authors. For I ſay, that although that many haue treated of the life of this Emperour, yet no one hath written ſo plaine and diſtinctly as he ought to haue done: and beſides this, in ſome things the one writeth cleane contrarie to the other. Therefore I will vſe my beſt endeuour to bring this obſcuritie and confuſion to light, wherewith let the reader reſt ſatisfied, ſeeing I cannot poſſibly doe otherwiſe; except I ſhould write the matter very much at large, which were to diſorder the whole, thereby to ſet one part in order. I ſay then, that in the raigne and time of GALIENVS; there were greater warres and calamities, then the Romane Empire had euer endured. For VALERIANVS (as PAVLVS OROSIVS noteth) hauing generally and particularly perſecuted the Catholicke Church in all places and parts in his ſubiection, it pleaſed God, as well in his owne perſon, as in his miniſters and officers, and in all thoſe which therein were confederates, to vſe publike and notable puniſhment in all parts, in the time of his ſonne, and the greateſt part thereof in his owne time, liuing in captiuitie. And notwithſtanding that GALIENVS ſo ſoone as hee alone ſwaied the ſcepter of the Empire (as EVSEBIVS and OROSIVS teſtifie) commanded the perſecution inflicted vpon the Chriſtians to ceaſe, ſending his letters and edicts to all parts: but as hee did it as an Infidell, and for feare onely, ſo the diuine iuſtice ceaſed not to puniſh the exceſſiue cruelties paſt, for a fained preſent amendement. So as during the whole life time of GALIENVS, the Empire was vſurped by diuers tyrants, which were called Emperours: onely *Italy* and *Rome* continued firme to him. And in that time alſo, ſtrange Nations entred and inuaded the Empire with fire and ſword; of one ſide the Germanes came downe into *Italy*, and paſſing the Alpes came as farre

In the time of Galienus were thirtie Emperours in ſundrie parts.

The authors excuſe.

Hermes done in the Empire by ſtrange nations, in the time of Galienus.

farre as *Rauenna*: The Gothes robbed and ſpoiled al *Pontus*, and a great part of *Aſia* the leſſe: and in *Europe* all *Græcia*, *Macedonia*, and their confines: The Sarmates ſubdued and robbed *Auſtrich* and *Hungary*: The Germanes paſſing through *France* entred *Spaine*, ſo farre as to the citie of *Tarragona*, which they deſtroied: The Perſians and Parthians alreadie poſſeſſing *Meſopotamia*, ſeiſed vpon the greateſt part of *Syria*. So as in concluſion all things went ſo to wracke, that all writers affirme, that the Romane Empire had then ended and come to confuſion, had not thoſe tyrants, which in many places roſe and called themſelues Emperours (ſome of which were very valiant and worthie men) holpen to defend and plucke the Empire out of the hands of thoſe ſtrange Nations, as wee will declare. And the Emperour to whom it appertained to prouide for all things, although that in the beginning he made ſome good ſhew of himſelfe, perfourming ſome things as a valiant Captaine, and ouercame and ſlew INGENVVS a wiſe and valiant Knight, which rebelled and was called Emperour, being Captaine and gouernour of *Hungary* and *Auſtrich*; and alſo fought a battaile wherein hee ouercame the Gothes, in which victories he vſed incredible crueltie, ſo as in one citie he left no man liuing, of what age ſoeuer: But yet afterwards hee gaue himſelfe ſo much to vice and ſenſualitie, that while as the world was infeſted with wars and battailes, hee remained the moſt part in *Rome*, taking his pleaſure among whores and bawdes, compaſſed about with roſes and flowers; ſeeking new delights, oftentimes bathing himſelfe; ſtudying how hee might keepe figges and other fruites greene all the yeere; and how they might laſt two or three yeeres; hauing ordinarily at his table moſt exquiſite and delicate meates, and of great coſt. And in ſuch manner he paſſed his time, that nothing troubled him, neither tooke hee any care for the loſſes which daily enſued of the lands of his Empire. It is a ſtraunge matter to conſider, that the Romane Empire at that time was not onely vexed and moleſted with warres and perſecutions by men, but euen the very heauens and elements did ſeeme to conſpire, and to plague it: for TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that the heauens were darkened in ſuch ſort, that for many daies ſpace, they neuer ſaw the Sunne; and therewithall the earth did oftentimes ſhake in *Rome*, in all *Italy*, in *Africa*, and other countries: and with thoſe Earthquakes, many great buildings fell downe, and ſlew an infinite number of people. Principally in *Aſia* many cities were deſtroied, and the earth opened in many places, and ſhewed great vautes and caues; and there ſprang out at them great ſtreames of ſalt water. And there were heard thundrings and rorings in the bowels of the earth, without any thunder in the aire, as is vſuall: whereat many were ſo amazed, that they died with feare. The Sea exceeded his limits, and ouerflowed and drowned many cities; and many prodigious and wonderfull things happened. After this followed the moſt cruell peſtilence that euer was heard or written of: ſo as in *Rome* there died in one day of that infirmitie fiue thouſand perſons. For all which accidents GALIENVS tooke ſo little care, as though there had been no ſuch matter. And when it was told him that the whole kingdome of *Egypt* rebelled againſt him, he anſwered; And what then? cannot we liue without the linnen cloth of *Egypt*? And being aduertiſed of the ſpoile and loſſe of other prouinces, he anſwered ſo ſcornefully, and ſo retchleſly, that hee ſeemed to care for nothing: which was the occaſion that ſo many tyrants made themſelues Lords and Emperours in his time. Of which it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſay ſomething, ſeeing that we haue ſhewed the courſe and conditions of GALIENVS, and of his raigne; to the end that his hiſtorie may bee the better vnderſtood. If I ſhould ſpeake of

Great harmes done in ſundrie parts of the world in the time of Galienus, by Earthquakes and other feareful things.

them all at large, and describe their parentage, and all their acts; it would bee an endlesse peece of worke: for (as I said) they were in all thirtie. But let the reader vnderstand, that all the accidents and occurrences cannot bee set downe in order as they passed: for they were so many, and happened in so many places, and many of them at one instant, that it would bee impossible to bee well vnderstood, if I should obserue the order of the time, wherein euery thing happened: for to speake of one matter I must leaue another; so as the historie would be abrupt and very confused. And therefore we will begin with those matters which happened in the East; and when we shall briefly haue giuen notice thereof, wee will passe to other parts. Wherefore let him that shall reade it vnderstand, that many of these things came to passe at one instant; and sometime before those which are treated of.

VALERIANVS then (as we said in the beginning) being taken prisoner, and his sonne vsing no industrie to set his father at libertie, the souldiers and Captaines which of his armie remained in the East, went dispersed and scattered with great sorrow for the disgrace which they had receiued; greatly offended with the carelesnes of GALIENVS. Wherefore BALISTA, who was Prefect and Generall of the Emperour VALERIANVS his armie, a very excellent man of warre, very sufficient, and diligent in making prouision for the armie, and in all other things requisite for the warres; and another singular Captaine of great experience and age, who was of greatest estimation of any man of his time, whose name was MACRINVS, assembling the Romane legions and cohorts togethers in a certaine place, with the consent and good liking of them all; they agreed to chuse an Emperour, to defend and conserue the bounds of the Empire, to recouer what was lost, and to set VALERIANVS (if possible) at libertie; seeing that GALIENVS took no care thereof. And after long consultation betweene BALISTA and MACRINVS, in the end MACRINVS was chosen and obeied for Emperour; and with him his two sonnes, the one named MACRINVS, and the other QVIETVS, were made his companions in the Empire: and he presently made BALISTA Prefect or Generall of his armie. When MACRINVS saw himselfe an Emperour and very mightie, by reason of the armies in the East, which he speedily drew togethers and put in good order; he marched with them to the confines of the Persians, and in some battailes represt their insolencies by reason of their former victories. But standing in feare of a valiant Captaine whose name was VALENS, who was Proconsul in the prouince of *Achaia* in *Græcia*; hee sent against him a great armie vnder the commaund of PISO, who had bin Consul, and was a very noble and valorous gentleman, to seise on that countrie, and thence to passe into *Italy*. When VALENS vnderstood thereof, to the end to be of greater authoritie and power, he caused himselfe to be chosen Emperour, and tooke the ornaments and ensignes of the Empire, wherewith hee drew so many men vnto him, that PISO was driuen to retire with his troupes into *Thessalia*, and there was ouerthrowne and slaine by such, as VALENS sent against him: PISO hauing first proclaimed himselfe Emperour, vsing the same policie which his enemie had done. But VALENS did not long enioy this victorie; for within few daies after he himselfe was slaine by his owne souldiers. And MACRINVS who raigned Emperor in the East, after that he knew what passed concerning VALENS and PISO, not contenting himselfe with that which he held, determined with a great armie to goe to *Rome*, to ruinate the Emperour GALIENVS (if hee were able) and other tyrants which rebelled: and left behind him QVIETVS one of his sonnes, and with him BALI-

Macrinus made Emperor in the East, together with his two sonnes.

Valens made himselfe to be chosen Emperour.

Piso slaine by Valens his souldiers.

Valens slaine by his owne souldiers.

STA,

STA, with certaine troupes of his beſt ſouldiers for feare of ODENATVS, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter. And he began his iourney with fiue and fortie thouſand good men of warre, and marching ouer land through *Aſia* the leſſe, paſſing the ſtreights of *Conſtantinople*, he entred into *Thracia*. But before all this, there aroſe another tyrant in *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, whoſe name was AVREOLVS, and was commaunder of thoſe men of warre, which for the Empire were in thoſe quarters, who (as ſome ſay) againſt his will, was conſtrained by his ſouldiers to take vpon him the ſtate and enſignes of the Empire. So as it appeareth that in that ſmall time, euery one held himſelfe ſufficient to be an Emperour; and that armie which made none, was held to be of little worth and of no reputation: but trulie the world paid them their due; for none of them died of their naturall death, and moſt of them were ſlaine by thoſe which choſe them. And MACRINVS being to paſſe with his armie through thoſe countries which were in ſubiection to AVREOLVS, as both of them ſought to be ſoueraigne Lords, they fell at variance, and MACRINVS fought a battaile with AVREOLVS his forces, whereof an excellent man called DOMICIANVS was Generall: wherein MACRINVS and his ſonne were ouercome and ſlaine, there ending their high purpoſes and great power: But before that he fought this battaile (in his way paſſing through the prouince of *Achaia*) he ouerthrew the *Gothes*, which had made great ſpoile and ſlaughter in the lands of the Empire, whereupon they retired, and a little withdrew themſelues. And of MACRINVS his ſouldiers which eſcaped from the battaile, 30000. went ouer to AVREOLVS, and ſo where AVREOLVS thought that he ſhould haue loſt, from thence aroſe his fortunate gaine. Which newes when the lawfull Emperour GALIENVS vnderſtood in *Rome*, finding himſelfe too weake to ſubdue AVREOLVS, he made with him a kind of league and peace, thereby to end the warres which he had begun againſt POSTHVMVS, another excellent Captaine who rebelled in *France*, and was called Emperour: of whom (although this be his place) we will ſpeake hereafter, to the end firſt to make an end of the troubles in the Eaſt, notwithſtanding that in all parts of the Empire there were tyrants; neither can we make an end of AVREOLVS, becauſe he outliued GALIENVS, and died in the time of his ſucceſſor CLAVDIVS. I ſay then, that in the parts of the Eaſt there was an excellent wiſe man, whoſe name was ODENATVS, who was Prince and Captaine of a certaine people called Palmerini, inhabiting a prouince in *Syria*, and he ſeeing all things out of order (as all the reſt did) ſought to make himſelfe abſolute, and in the beginning, as writeth TREBELLIVS POLLIO, he was called a King; but afterwards things happening proſperouſlie with him, he tooke vpon him the name and ſtate of an Emperour, imparting the title and dignitie with HERODE the eldeſt of three ſonnes, which he had by his firſt wife. This his tyranie was both honorable and profitable to the Romane Empire: for he perfourmed many very notable exploits againſt SAPOR King of *Perſia*, who held VALERIANVS priſoner: ſo as ſauing the ſetting of his perſon at libertie (for that could not be done) in all the reſt he gat ſufficient ſatisfaction for that which was loſt, and recouered what SAPOR had vſurped. For raiſing many troupes of excellent good ſouldiers, he gaue him many battailes, in which he gat the victorie, recouered all *Meſopotamia*, and the noble cities of *Niſibe* and *Carras*, and compelled the ſame King SAPOR to flye (hauing firſt ouerthrowne him) and taking his wiues, his treaſure and riches, he marched ſo farre as to the citie of *Teſiphonte*, and had other great aduentures and victories. But foraſmuch as his chiefeſt purpoſe was againſt MACRINVS and his ſonnes, he ſent a great preſent

Aureolus Emperour in Dalmatia.

A battaile betweene Macrinus and Aureolus, vvherein Macrinus vvas ſlaine.

A peace made by Galienus with Aureolus.

Poſthumus Emperour in France.

Odenatus taketh the name of Emperour.

The proweſſe of Odenatus.

of iewels and priſoners which he had taken from the Perſians, to the Emperour GALIENVS: and GALIENVS was ſo fickle and ſo baſe minded, that he not only accepted of the preſents, but confirmed his election, giuing him the name of AVGVSTVS and his companion in the Empire, and he triumphed in *Rome* for the victorie which the other had obtained in *Aſia*. While as ODENATVS gat theſe victories in the Eaſt, other great multitudes of Gothes (beſides thoſe which were alreadie entred *Thracia* and *Grecia* in *Europe*) came downe into *Aſia* the leſſe, and ſo into *Bithynia*, burning and ſpoiling the countries.

Odenatus accepted by Galienus for his companion in the Empire.

When ODENATVS vnderſtood of the death of MACRINVS and of his ſonne, (as I haue declared) he preſentlie reſolued to march againſt QVIETVS, who was his other ſonne, whom he had left in the Eaſt with BALISTA the Prefect of his armie, when he was proclaimed Emperour. And this iourney proouing ſo proſperous to ODENATVS as the reſt had done, with little difficultie, he gat QVIETVS into his power, and made him to be ſlaine, and afterwards did the like by BALISTA. And although that ſome ſay that BALISTA was conſenting to the death of QVIETVS, and that afterwards he attempted to make himſelfe Emperour; yet all agree that he was put to death by ODENATVS, and in this manner remained he without any contradiction Lord of all the prouinces of the Eaſt, and valiantlie warred againſt the Perſians. He had two other ſonnes, the one called HERENNIANVS, and the other TIMOLAVS by his ſecond wife ZENOBIA, the moſt manly and valorous woman that euer was in the world.

ODENATVS liuing in this proſperitie feared of all the Princes of the world, it happened that a coſen germane of his, whoſe name was MEONIVS, practiſed his death in hope to haue had the Empire of the Eaſt after him, and vſed ſuch meanes that ODENATVS and HERODE his eldeſt ſonne, who by his fathers order was alſo called Emperour, were both found dead, and MEONIVS the traitor and murtherer, as he was wickedlie moued to kill ODENATVS; ſo it pleaſed God to permit him to be ſlaine in the like manner, and was within few daies after put to death by the ſame ſouldiers which holp him to execute his treaſon, being a man which no way deſerued the Empire, except by being of kin to ODENATVS: for he was a moſt vile and a wicked man. ZENOBIA, ODENATVS his wife remaining with her two yong ſonnes a widow (ſeeming rather to haue neede of a tutor and gouernour, then to be able to rule and gouerne others) with courage and prudence more then manly began to rule, and caried herſelfe therein with ſuch wiſedome and valour, as is incredible: and to the great diſgrace of GALIENVS in his life time, and of CLAVDIVS his ſucceſſor, ſhe poſſeſſed the Empire of the Eaſt many yeeres, on the one ſide making warre againſt the Perſians, and on the other ſide defending herſelfe againſt the Romane Emperours. The vertues and noble acts of this woman were ſo many, that I would I had longer time to deſcribe them: but becauſe they require a particular hiſtorie, we will with our wonted pace hold on our way, wherein of force we muſt returne to meete with her, becauſe that ſhe liued in her proſperitie vntill the time of the Emperour AVRELIANVS, of whom we are to treate hereafter, where we will ſpeake of her fall and end, if God permit. But to the end that the excellencies and vertues of this woman may be the better knowne ſeeing we recite not her acts, I ſay firſt that ZENOBIA was of an excellent good conſtitution of bodie, and was exceedinglie faire and beautifull, not very white, but ſomewhat browne. Her eies were great and black, very cleere and bright, and in all parts of her body ſhe was proportionable. And as ſhe was moſt excellently beautifull and amiable, ſo had ſhe an honeſt

Odenatus and his eldeſt ſonne brought to their end through the treaſon of his coſen germane Meonius.

The valour of Zenobia.

The ſtature and beautie of Zenobia.

neſt countenance, and had ſuch white and bright ſhining teeth, that they rather reſembled pearles then teeth. Her voice was cleere, but ſounding deepe more like a man then a woman. Herewith ſhe was moſt honeſt and continent, and would neuer lye with her husband after that ſhe was with child; neither twiſe, vntill that by naturall ſignes ſhe knew whether ſhe had conceiued or no. She was very wiſe, and learned, and moſt perfectly ſpake the Latine, Greeke, and Egyptian tongues, and was very liberall and temperate in all things; ſomewhat ſeuere, and yet pitifull. In her diet ſhe was moſt temperate, but yet when ſhe inuited any gueſts, ſhe would alittle exceede, more to pleaſe others, then for any naturall deſire. She was ſerued very ceremoniouſlie, and with great honor, after the cuſtome of the kings of the Perſians.

The chaſtitie of Zenobia.

Her learning.

Her moderation in her diet.

When ſhe made any ſpeech to her men of warre, or ſate in counſell among them, ſhe came armed with a caske vpon her head, and rode in the like manner. She delighted much in hunting, and did other things ſhewing ſtrength and courage, as though ſhe had bin a valorous and gallant Knight. She vaunted much that ſhe deſcended from CLEOPATRA, and from the PTOLOMYES Kings of *Egypt*; and ſhe ſaid, that ſhe alſo deſcended by another line from the great SEMIRAMIS Queene of *Babylon*. By meanes of this her proweſſe and valour, ſhe held the Empire of the Eaſt, and was called AVGVSTA the ſpace of many yeeres. As for her two ſonnes HERENNIANVS and TIMOLAVS, I find not written what their end was, but only that they had the habit and enſignes of Emperours, and are reckoned in the number of the tirants of thoſe times. TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that the Emperour AVRELIANVS made them to be ſlaine. Others affirme, that they died of their naturall death. So ſoone as the Emperour GALIENVS (being in *Rome*) vnderſtood of the death of ODENATVS, thinking to make a better hand againſt ZENOBIA, he commaunded ſouldiers to be leuied, and to be ſent into the Eaſt againſt her and the Perſians, and ſent with them a Captaine whoſe name was HERACLIANVS, who with his troupes was ouerthrowne by ZENOBIAS forces. The *Gothes* alſo in thoſe times made another incurſion into *Aſia* the leſſe, ſailing through the ſea called *Mare Euxinum*, and were ouercome by ATHENVS and CLEOPHANVS Captaines ſent by GALIENVS: but yet for all that they made great ſpoile in thoſe coaſts, and were alſo againe ouercome by ſea, by another Captaine called VENERIANVS, and ſo that nation did much harme in the confines of the Empire, although that ſometime they were ouerthrowne therein. About this time there was in the kingdome of *Egypt* another Captaine of certaine companies of Romanes, whoſe name was EMILIANVS, who after ſome tumults which happened therein, did as he ſaw others do, and proclaimed himſelfe Emperour, and with great courage and audacitie ſeiſed on that moſt auncient kingdome. But as theſe buildings had but weake foundations, ſo ſmall force and a little foule weather ouerthrew them, which was in this manner. GALIENVS (notwithſtanding that he was careleſſe and negligent) ſent from *Rome* againſt him a Captaine called THEODATVS, who tooke ſuch a courſe, that EMILIANVS his friends failing him, he was apprehended by THEODATVS, and afterwards put to death in priſon.

Zenobia delighted in hunting.

Herennianus and Timolaus called Emperours.

Heraclianus ouerthrowne by Zenobias forces.

I preſume that the reader will imagine me to be very tedious in writing the life of this Emperour, ſeeing hee was ſo remiſſe and negligent; hauing briefly written the liues of others which were good and excellent: But if he ſhall conſider that in this Hiſtorie are comprehended the liues of thirtie tyrants, whereof many did better deſerue to haue been Emperours then GALIENVS; he ſhall haue

The Authors excuſe.

haue greater reaſon to accuſe me of breuitie, then of being too long. But to auoyd the breach of order I will be as briefe as poſſibly I may. While then that matters paſſed in the East in this manner, the other prouinces of the Empire were neither in reſt, nor peace; but rather, there was not any of them wherein were not warres, battailes and tyrants which called themſelues Emperours, the right Emperour GALIENVS ſolacing himſelfe in *Rome*, contented with *Italie*, which only obeyed him in peace. The reſt ſometimes obeyed him, and ſometime they denied him their obedience, and he taking no care to finde any redreſſe, ſent onely certaine Captaines which did ſome thing; whereof we will ſay ſomewhat. In this generall hurlie burlie *Africa* forbare not to vſe ſome alteration, although not ſo much as other prouinces did; for at that time there was therein for Captaine generall thereof, a Romane Knight called FABIVS POMPONIANVS; and for Proconſul and gouernour another, whoſe name was VIVVS PASSIENVS; who for that they would haue an Emperour of their owne making, agreed to chuſe and nominate a Tribune whoſe name was CELSVS, a man much eſteemed and commended, aſwell for his excellent good cariage, as for his vertue and iuſtice; and alſo for his perſonage: for he was exceeding tall of ſtature and of an excellent good conſtitution. And they hauing effected their purpoſe, the poore mans maieſtie laſted but ſeauen daies: for he was put to death by the order of a woman dwelling in thoſe countries, which was a kinſwoman of the Emperour GALIENVS, whoſe name was GALIENA; and after that he was dead they ſhewed extreame crueltie to his body. After whom I finde not that any man roſe againſt GALIENVS in *Africa*, yet hereof great and many ſcandales, and much trouble enſued in that countrie. While theſe things paſſed in the places aforenamed, in *Hungarie* and in the marches thereof, was a Captaine of the armies in *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia*, called REGILIANVS which rebelled; and with the conſent and good will of the inhabitants of thoſe prouinces, he was proclaimed Emperour: for they were greatly incenſed againſt GALIENVS for the cruelties by him vſed in thoſe countries, when hee ouercame EVGENIVS, whom in the beginning (we ſay) to haue rebelled in that countrie, and to haue been ouerthrowne and ſlaine by GALIENVS. Truely it is a troubleſome peece of worke to make relation of all the tyrants, and it is as ſtrange a thing to conſider, that of all the Captaines that VALERIANVS father to GALIENVS made, there was not any one of them, but in the time of GALIENVS was called Emperour, wherein they ſhewed little loyaltie to their countrie and their Lord: But it was growne to a cuſtome to doe ſo, ſo as they ſeemed to haue right thereto. Neuertheleſſe it argued the great iudgement of VALERIANVS in chuſing for his Captaines, men of ſo great courage and valour. There were alſo beſides theſe Captaines, others, which in this confuſion of the Empire were called Emperours; amongſt which was one TITVS, a notable man, who in the time of MAXIMINVS had been Tribune, but he continued with this title but ſixe monethes; for the ſame ſouldiers which choſe him, killed him. And in the ſame manner, began and ended CENSORINVS a man which had been Conſul; and had held other offices and dignities. And another Captain called TREBELLIANVS, was choſen and proclaimed Emperour, by the Yſauri; which are a people inhabitiug the mountaines bordering vpon *Cilicia* in *Aſia* the leſſe; who many daies gouerned thoſe quarters, againſt whom GALIENVS ſent a Captaine called GAVSISOLEVS borne in *Egypt*: betweene which two, was fought a moſt cruell battaile, wherein TREBELLIANVS was ouerthrowne and ſlaine. Yet for all this, the Yſauri remained not in peace, but

Celſus made Emperour in Africa, and put to death by a woman.

Regilianus called Emperour in Hungarie and Dalmatia.

Titus made Emperour by his ſouldiers and ſlaine by the ſame.

Cenſorinus began and ended in the ſame manner.

but rebelled many times afterwards; more for that their countrie was inexpugnable and of hard acceſſe, then for the valour or vertue of the inhabitants. And to make a concluſion, let vs write of thoſe which in *France*, and the marches thereof were called Emperours, from the time of the impriſonment of VALERIANVS, vntill the death of his ſonne GALIENVS: which of purpoſe I haue left till the laſt; becauſe that in thoſe warres GALIENVS employed himſelfe, and finally therein ended his daies. There was for captaine generall of the armies in the prouinces of *France*, an excellent and valorous man, whoſe name was POSTHVMVS, of whom (ſpeaking of the tyrant AVREOLVS) we made mention; whom VALERIANVS did highly honor and eſteeme; and for that cauſe his ſonne GALIENVS held him in great reputation, and ſo ſoone as he came to the Empire ſent him his ſonne SALONINVS, whom hee intituled CÆSAR, to be brought vp and inſtructed by him; and he began to doe ſo. But afterwards ſeeing the retchleſnes and ill gouernment of his father GALIENVS (forgetting the loyaltie which he ought to his ſoueraigne Lord) putting the ſonne to death, he ſought to get the Empire for himſelfe. Yet others write, that he was prouoked and compelled by the inhabitants of that countrie (which deadly hated GALIENVS) to accept of the name of Emperour; and that they ſlew SALONINVS, ſcorning to haue a boy for their Lord. But howſoeuer it was, POSTHVMVS with great courage and diſcretion made himſelfe Lord of all *France*, and with the like gouerned the ſame the ſpace of ſeauen yeeres, defending it valiantly, and obtayning many great victories againſt the Barbarians and northerly nations, which continually inuaded it and made incurſions. Againſt POSTHVMVS, GALIENVS leuied an armie, for that he was ſo neere to *Italie*, and notwithſtanding that he was retchles, vicious and careleſſe, yet he wanted not ſufficient courage for the warres; if he would haue followed them, as he did his pleaſures and eaſe. And went againſt POSTHVMVS, hauing with him for generall of his armie, a noble man called THEODOTVS, and alſo another called CLAVDIVS, who was a man of great goodnes and vertue, and afterwards was Emperour. And being come before a citie wherein POSTHVMVS was, the French-men did not onely defend him, and the citie, ſhewing great courage and loue; but the Emperour GALIENVS in a skirmiſh was wounded with an arrow, by meanes whereof he was conſtrained to raiſe his ſiege. And holding this for a very doubtfull warre, he made peace with AVREOLVS, who at that time was called Emperour in *Slauonia*. But that was not ſufficient to defeate POSTHVMVS: for he was ſupported by VICTORINVS, who was an excellent captaine and a yong man, whom POSTHVMVS made his companion in his Empire; with whoſe aide & diligence (although that moſt commonly his ſide was ouerthrowne) he defended himſelfe and prolonged the wars many daies; hauing ſomtimes proſperous, & ſomtimes aduerſe fortune. And GALIENVS returning to *Rome*, as though that he had left all in peace, entred thereinto in great triumph, giuing himſelfe ouer to his old courſe of life and accuſtomed pleaſures; whither daily newes were brought vnto him (beſides the ſtrange nations which moleſted the Empire) of captaines and other notable men which intituled themſelues Emperours, whereof his wickednes was the occaſion, being hated and ſcorned for his retchleſnes and ſtupiditie; which are things which make wicked men audacious; and giue good men hope and meanes to ſeeke redreſſe. POSTHVMVS liuing all this time (as is ſaid) in great proſperitie, together with his ſonne of his owne name whom he entituled CÆSAR, and afterwards Emperour, and his companion in his Empire; gouerned with great

Saloninus ſon of Galienus put to death by Poſthumus who alſo was called Emperor.

iuſtice

The French rebelled against Posthumus, and in his place chose Lolianus. Posthumus and his sonne slaine in the warre against Lolianus.

iustice and seueritie. But the Frenchmen desirous of noueltie, rebelled against him, and chose for Emperour a Captaine whose name was LOLIANVS, a man of great sort, very valiant and of great experience: and these two warring one against the other, POSTHVMVS and his sonne were slaine by him and them; and so hee was paid for the treason which he committed against GALIENVS. And LOLIANVS remaining Emperour in those parts, notwithstanding that he was very valorous and of great power, yet hee could neuer attaine to that authoritie which POSTHVMVS had; as well for that hee was not chosen by common consent, as for that VICTORINVS, whom (as we haue said) POSTHVMVS proclaimed Emperour and his companion, held great part of the countrie and was called Emperor. This VICTORINVS was a womans sonne, whose name was VICTORIA or VICTORINA, which was so valorous and manly, and so desirous to raigne, that she was therefore called mother of Armies, and VICTORINVS was altogether ruled by her counsell; and she afterwards after the death of her sonne, tooke vpon her to make an Emperour of her choosing: so great was her minde and policie.

VICTORINVS with the fauour and reputation of his mother, made resistance against LOLIANVS the new Emperour, which slew POSTHVMVS, so as VICTORINVS obtained the victorie against LOLIANVS and slew him; and remained sole Lord, together with his mother whom he called AVGVSTA. To say the truth, VICTORINVS was an excellent and valorous Prince; but he was luxurious, and therefore raigned but a little while: for by the treason of a souldier (from whom hee had taken his wife) hee was slaine in the citie of *Agrippina*, now called *Colleine* in high *Duchland*: which so soone as his mother vnderstood, with the aide and assistance of some of her friends, she proclaimed her nephew VICTORINVS Emperour, who was the same VICTORINVS his sonne. But the furie of the men of warre was such, that they presently slew the sonne as they had done the father. Yet for all this, VICTORINA gaue not ouer her desire to rule and commaund: for by the meanes of her friends and fauourites, she perswaded TETRICVS a Senatour of *Rome*, who had a certaine gouerniment in *France*, to proclaime himselfe Emperour, and his sonne CÆSAR, and he did so; and prooued an excellent and valorous Prince, and made himselfe Lord of all *France*, and of the greatest part of *Spaine*, obtaining also some victories against the Northerly nations; and his raigne continued long, euen vntill the time of AVRELIANVS. And the right Emperour GALIENVS enioyed *Rome* and all *Italy*, which neuer forsooke him: and the other tyrants (by turnes) the one destroied the other; or else were slaine by their owne souldiers. I gesse that I haue very neere treated of all the tyrants, except of one whose name was SATVRNINVS, and of another called MARIVS. Of SATVRNINVS then I say, that the souldiers which chose him presently bereaued him of his life: and MARIVS his Empire lasted but seuen daies.

Tetricus chosen Emperour by the meanes of Victorina.

Saturninus and Marius called Emperours, the one was slaine presently, and the other raigned 7. daies.

Through all parts and prouinces of the Empire there were committed infinite murthers, robberies, violences, insolencies, and al kinde of cruelties, tyrannies and treasons, with famine, pestilence, and other euils and calamities, seldome heard of, but in the time of this GALIENVS; and the greatest part thereof caused through his vice, crueltie, and negligence: and so it pleased God that hee had the like end as other euill Emperours had, which was complotted in this manner. An excellent Captaine (whereof the warres produce abundance) called MARTIANVS, compounding with another called HERACLIANVS, and one other whose name was CERONIVS, determined to kill GALIENVS, to the end that one of them

A conspiracie against Galienus.

them ſhould haue the Empire; each of them alleaging that they did it for the generall good of the whole Empire. And hauing laid their plot, they preſently put it in execution: for it happened that GALIENVS went from *Rome* with a great armie againſt AVREOLVS, who (as we haue ſaid) was called Emperor: and they two had been companions in the Empire. But afterwards falling at variance, AVREOLVS tooke the citie of *Milan*; and GALIENVS hauing beſieged it, MARTIANVS and the other traitors, which had agreed with AVREOLVS, fained that the ſaid AVREOLVS was making a ſallie, and came to charge that place where GALIENVS was: whereupon he with greater haſte then good ſpeed, went from his lodging ſmally accompanied; but before that the reſt of the armie could come together, hee was ſlaine by thoſe which came with him, together with a brother of his, whoſe name was VALERIANVS. And ſo GALIENVS ended both his life and his raigne, when as the Empire was little leſſe, then rent in peeces and vſurped by forraine nations: for the Gothes and Scythians held a great part of *Thracia*, and of *Macedonia* in *Europe*, and ſome prouinces in *Aſia*. ZENOBIA raigned and ruled all in the Eaſt: and in *France* and part of *Germanie*, TETRICVS and VICTORINVS: and in *Slauonia* and *Illyricum*, AVREOLVS, who was beſieged in *Milan*; and ſo all the reſt liued, part vnder the obedience of GALIENVS, and part vnder tyrants. The ſouldiers of his armie were greatly offended with his death: for they hoped to haue had the ſacking and ſpoile of that citie; ſo as MARTIANVS and his companions were driuen to ſatisfie them with readie money: but none of thoſe conſpirators could attaine to the deſired title of Emperour. This happened in the yeere of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST 271. after EVSEBIVS, and in the fifteenth yeere of the raign of GALIENVS.

Galienus and his brother Valerianus ſlaine.

Annō Dom. 271.

THE LIFE OF CLAVDIVS THE SECOND, AND FIVE AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

METhinketh that I haue perfourmed a great peece of worke, ſeeing that I haue ended the life and hiſtorie of GALIENVS; whoſe hiſtorie is ſo confuſed and out of order, and by the authors written ſo obſcurely, as it appeareth: which being ended, I come now to recount vnto you the life of CLAVDIVS the ſecond, who was one of the moſt vertuos and valorous Emperours that euer was in the world.

So ſoone as the Emperour GALIENVS was dead, the men of warre of his armie were ſo highly diſpleaſed, that neither MARTIANVS nor any of thoſe which conſpired with him in his treaſon, either could or durſt take vpon him the name of Emperour; but rather by the common conſent of all men, CLAVDIVS who came thither with GALIENVS, one of the moſt excellent Captaines of them all, as well for his goodnes and vertues, as for the worthines of his perſon, and great and notable ſeruices which hee had done in former time, was choſen Emperour. It cannot diſtinctly be ſet downe of what linage or countrie hee was: for ſome ſay and affirme, that hee was borne in *Dalmatia*; and

was

was descended of an ancient familie: others say, that he was of *Dardania*, and was sprung from the bloud of the Troians: and some (as AVRELIVS VICTOR saith) affirmed, that hee was the sonne of the Emperour GORDIANVS. He was a very tall man of person, his eyes were cleere and bright, and he had a great and ful face; and was very strong and of marueilous force: so as in wrestling and other exercises, which young men of warre doe vse, he euer wanne the prize; and was also of holy, vertuous, and excellent good conditions and behauiour. He was very chast and continent, very true, temperate, iust and vpright, both before that hee was Emperour and in the time of his raigne. He deerely loued his friends and kinsmen, and greatly honoured strangers. He persecuted the euill, and seuerely punished them; and was an extreme enemie to vniust Iudges. He made excellent lawes and ordinances, and in very short time reformed the Common-wealth: so as when he died, it seemed to be another world. Before that he was Emperour, he did many noble feates of armes in the seruice of GALIENVS, against POSTHVMVS in *France*, and against the Gothes in many parts, and likewise in other wars. Wherefore he was worthily chosen by all men to the dignitie of the Empire. For which occasion so soone as his election was knowne in *Rome*, the ioy was great which was conceiued thereat by all estates, and with incredible great goodwill they confirmed his election, with great applauses and blessings of the Senate. When CLAVDIVS was inuested in the Empire, hee gouerned the same with so great wisedome and courage, as in a good Prince was requisite. The first battaile or conflict that he had after he was Emperour, was against AVREOLVS, who (as we said) was in *Milan*. Who vnderstanding of the death of GALIENVS, fortified himselfe in such sort, that hee made account to haue remained sole and absolute Emperour. But CLAVDIVS hauing reinforced his armie, fought many battailes with him; amongst which, in one which was very notable, he obtained the victorie, which hee deserued, fighting therein most valiantly. Whereupon AVREOLVS retired himselfe into *Milan*, and from thence sought to come to some composition with CLAVDIVS, as hee had done with GALIENVS: but CLAVDIVS, as a vertuous and victorious Prince, would not heare of any agreement with a tyrant, but answered, That such demaunds might well haue been made to GALIENVS, who could haue endured AVREOLVS his conditions, and stood in feare of him: but of him he was not to expect any vniust or vnlawfull matter. AVREOLVS was afterwards slaine, as some say, by his owne souldiers; and as others say, by CLAVDIVS his commandement, fighting at the foote of a bridge. But wheresoeuer, CLAVDIVS became Lord of his armie, and of all the countries which he possessed: and going with this victorie to *Rome*, he was there receiued with great triumph and feasting: and there he established the affaires of the Empire in such sort, as could not be bettered: and did nothing without the consent of the Senate. And his goodnes comming to be knowne, hee was obeied in all places and parts of the Empire, saiing in such as were vsurped by tyrants and barbarous nations. And as all his studie and care was how hee might restore the Empire to the former libertie, and to recouer what therof was lost, exposing his person to all kinds of daungers; it was debated in the Senate, and that very doubtfully and with diuers opinions, what warre was first to be vndertaken, and whether he should goe against TETRICVS and VICTORINA, which held *France* and *Spaine*; or into the East against ZENOBIA; or else against the Gothes and other nations, which also vsurped and infested sundrie parts of the Empire. But the good Emperor CLAVDIVS soone resolued them of that doubt, saying, That the first warre that hee

The stature and strength of Claudius.

The victorie of Claudius against Aureolus.

The death of Aureolus.

would vndertake ſhould be againſt the Gothes and other ſtrange nations; for they were enemies to the common-wealth; but as for the tyrants they were enemies to him only: wherefore he was bound to reuenge a publique wrong before a priuate iniurie. This his reſolution being approued by the Senate and people of *Rome*, he with all poſſible diligence leuied the greateſt armie that euer was leuied by any Emperour for ſuch a warre; and truly he could not well haue had any leſſe, conſidering the preſent neceſſitie: for the Gothes (as IORNANDES in the actes of the Gothes, and PAVLVS OROSIVS, and others do write) had for the ſpace of fifteene yeeres vſurped many parts of the Empire, and had deſtroied many cities therein; amongſt which, ſome were very great and principall. And notwithſtanding that by MACRINVS, and by CORNELIVS AVITVS, and in one place by the ſame CLAVDIVS in the time of GALIENVS, they had beene ſometimes defeated and ouerthrowne; yet neuertheleſſe they ſtill held all *Thracia*, and in a manner all *Macedonia* and other prouinces.

After ſundrie arguments Claudius prepared himſelfe to go againſt the Gothes.

At the ſame ſeaſon that CLAVDIVS determined to make warre againſt the Gothes, they through their greedie deſire of ſpoile & bootie, and for reuenge of ſome battailes which they had loſt, and beleeuing that CLAVDIVS would be ſufficientlie buſied in warring againſt TETRICVS and other tyrants, moued many northerly people & nations to come againſt the Romanes. Whereupon they ioined thẽſelues with the Heruli, Trutungi, Virtungi, and other vnknowne nations, exceeding in all the number of three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides ſeruants and diſarmed people: and taking their way through *Hungarie*, and downe the *Danubie*, they fraighted two thouſand barks and ſhips with men and munition. Some are of opinion (as I ſay) that this fleete came down the *Danubie*; and others affirme, that this was a fleete that the Gothes had by ſea: the auncient authors wrote it ſo cõfuſedlie, that I continue of my firſt opinion, that the Gothes were neuer mightie by ſea, neither then, nor at any time before. In concluſion, they brought ſo many men, and ſo great ſtore of armes and victuals, that they made the whole Empire to quake for feare, only the inuincible Emperour was not diſmayed, but with a ſelect gallant armie marched againſt them, and being readie to come to blowes with them, he wrote a briefe letter to the Senate, wherein he ſhewed the great difficultie and the danger wherein he was; and yet wanted not courage to aſſault his enemies, the effect whereof was this:

Newe commotions made by the Gothes.

Fathers conſcript, I do giue you to vnderſtand, and told you it for certaine, that into the lands of the Romane Empire are entred three hundred and twentie thouſand men of warre; I go to fight with them, if I ouercome them, it is reaſon that you giue me ſuch thanks and reward as ſuch a deede ſhall deſerue. But if it happen otherwiſe, conſider I pray you that I fight after that GALIENVS hath raigned, the commonwealth being rent in pieces, and almoſt ruinate, and that I ſhall fight after the tyrannies and rebellions of EVGENIVS, REGILLIANVS, LOLIANVS, POSTHVMVS, CELSVS, and many others, which in contempt of GALIENVS rebelled againſt their countrey and commonwealth. And we may well ſay that we now haue neither whole ſword nor launce: for *France* and *Spaine* which are the ſinewes and ſtrength of the Empire, are vſurped by TETRICVS, and the croſſebowes and archers (although it be a ſhame to ſpeake it) ZENOBIA hath them all: ſo as hauing ſuch want of all things neceſſarie, whatſoeuer ſmall matter ſhall be by vs perfourmed, is to be reputed great. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, CLAVDIVS led with him an excellent and well experienced army, and by his wiſedome and good direction came to a battaile, wherein the

Claudius his Letter to the Senat of Rome.

Gothes

Gothes were ouerthrowne,and an indicible ſlaughter was made of them, which was one of the moſt noble victories that euer was gotten in the world, wherein there was an incredible number of enemies ſlaine and taken priſoners, and a great aboundance of ſpoile taken by the ſouldiers: Inſomuch as the ſame CLAVDIVS in a letter (extant to this day) written by him to IVNIVS BROCHVS, writeth,that he had ſlaine,taken, and put to flight three hundred thouſand men, and taken two thouſand ſhips: ſo as the houſes were filled (almoſt to the tops) with ſwords,lances,ſhields and targets of the ſubdued,and the ſhores of the riuers,the ſeas,and the fields were full of bones,and the wayes ſtopt vp with the dead carcaſes of the enemies. For this victorie there was conceiued great ioy in *Rome*, and for that cauſe they made many vowes and ſupplications to their gods. In this battaile were taken many barbarous Kings, and other men of great account, and there were ſo many priſoners, that there was neither prouince nor citie wherein were not many ſlaues of them.

A moſt noble victorie obtained by Claudius againſt the Gothes.

After this victorie in *Thracia* neere to *Conſtantinople*, and in *Macedonia* neere to the citie of *Theſſalonica*, CLAVDIVS his Captaines fought ſundrie battailes with the Gothes which were poſſeſſed of thoſe cities, in all which, through his good fortune,his enemies were ouercome,in ſuch ſort,that he reſtored to the Romane Empire all that which therein they had vſurped; ſo as the Gothes were wholie driuen out of it, and in long time after durſt not hold vp their heads. Likewiſe this moſt valorous Prince (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR report) had another very notable victorie againſt the Germanes, neere to a lake called *Venacus* (now *Garda*) the enemie being little leſſe then two hundred thouſand ſtrong: ſo as hauing freed the Empire from ſtrangers,and meaning to haue gone againſt TETRICVS and ZENOBIA, or againſt ſome other tyrants remaining, it happened that the good Emperour fell ſick in ſuch ſort, that (as TREBELLIVS POLLIO ſaith) within few daies after it he died of his naturall death, a thing which I moſt deſire to ſee in an Emperour, which ſeldome happeneth but in ſuch Emperours as are good and iuſt, as this Emperour was. When he died he had raigned only two yeeres, and for his death (except TETRICVS and ZENOBIA) all were very ſory, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 273. and by a decree made by the Senate,he was honoured with all kind of honour,and placed in the number of the gods. His ſtatue made of gold was ſet vp in the Capitoll, and his target of gold was ſet in the Senate. Truly they did it with great reaſon, for conſidering his high attempts in the beginning, without all doubt if it had pleaſed God to haue giuen him longer life, CLAVDIVS had wholie defeated all the tyrants of the Empire,and had againe ſet it in perfect libertie.

Claudius his victorie againſt the Germanes.

The death of Claudius.

Ann. Dom. 273.

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THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROVR QVINTILIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

THE Emperour CLAVDIVS had a brother whose name was QVINTILIVS, who as he was his brother by nature, so was he in behauiour, condition, and vertue: for he was very wise, and as expert in the warres as in ciuill gouernement: by reason whereof he was much esteemed and beloued, and was left with certaine legions to guard *Italy*, when his brother went to the warres against the Gothes. The death of CLAVDIVS being published, the little armie which QVINTILIVS commaunded, moued thereto by his deserts and vertues, chose him Emperour, and his election was approued by the Senate of *Rome* so soone as it was aduertised thereof, and they gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS (after EVTROPIVS) and hauing accepted the Empire, and beginning to make a good shew of his valour, hauing raigned only seuenteene daies, newes was brought him that the victorious armie which his brother had with him so soone as he was dead, had made choise of a noble man called AVRELIANVS for Emperour, of whom we will presentlie discourse. Wherefore QVINTILIVS being out of hope to be able to make his partie good against him, as well for that he was a man of great valour and courage, as for that that army was the whole power of the Romane Empire, desiring to die in his estate rather then to liue depri-

ued

ued thereof, hauing firſt ſounded the will of his ſouldiers, and finding no hope in them, he cauſed his vaines to be opened, and ſo died voluntarilie bleeding, hauing raigned, as ſome ſay, twentie dayes, and as others ſay, but ſeuenteene. *The death of Quintilius.*

THE LIFE OF AVRELIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

AFter QVINTILIVS, AVRELIANVS ſucceeded in the Empire, or to ſay better, after CLAVDIVS: for ſo ſoone as CLAVDIVS was dead, in the ſame maner as the armie in *Italy* choſe QVINTILIVS, the other great armie which CLAVDIVS led, choſe AVRELIANVS, and he remained Emperour; and was one of the moſt mightie that euer raigned in *Rome*; and is by the hiſtoriographers compared in his feates of armes with the greateſt and beſt Captaines of the world, which were ALEXANDER the great, and IVLIVS CÆSAR, for the great victories which he obtained in the ſmall time of his raigne, and the prouinces which he ſubdued with incredible celeritie, marching from one to another, as we will briefely declare; although that in his condition he was neither equall to them, neither did he any way imitate them; chiefely, he did much differ from CÆSAR in clemencie, for he was cruell and bloudie: wherefore it was ſaid of him, that he was neceſſarie for the Empire, but yet he was ill beloued by the moſt part thereof. Others ſaid, that AVRELIANVS was fit to be a Captaine, but not to be an Emperour; and ſo he is neither accounted among the good Princes, nor amongſt the euill: for of the one ſide he ſet the Empire at libertie, by deſtroying all the tyrants, and of the other ſide he vſed much crueltie. Some ſay, that he was borne in *Dacia*, and others ſay, that he was borne in *Miſia*, the truth whereof is incertaine, and ſo FLAVIVS VOPISCVS who doth moſt copiouſlie and particularlie write his life, leaueth it in doubt; but all agree that he was of a meane linage, and of poore parentage. He was tall of ſtature, and of great ſtrength, and

had a gracious and pleasing countenance; and with his faire aspect he seemed to be a perfect man. In his diet he did somewhat exceede ordinarie. And from his infancie he was inclined to the warres and militarie discipline; and in obseruing it and making it to be obserued, he was most seuere. He was of great courage and singular strength, and exceedingly desirous to come to haue blowes with his enemies. And being a souldier he euer desired to fight, and procured skirmishes and encounters: and for that there was another in the armie whose name was also AVRELIANVS, to distinguish the one from the other, they called this, AVRELIANVS with his hand vpon his sworde: for vpon all occasions he was in a readines with his pike or sworde in his hand, desiring to be doing. With which readines and valour he made himselfe famous wheresoeuer he came, and performed notable matters in his owne person. In so much that THEOCLIVS and FLAVIVS VOPISCVS report of him, that in the warres of *Sarmatia* he happened in one day to kill fortie of his enemies with his owne hands, and at seuerall times aboue nine hundred men, which made him so much esteemed among the Romanes, that in their dauncings which they vsed in those times, among certaine sonnets and catches sung by the dauncer, they vsed to pronounce this verse.

A thousand and a thousand,
one alone hath killed a thousand,
A thousand yeeres and a thousand
haue he: alone which killed a thousand.

He did other things, which although they seeme to be but meane and of small importance, yet they demonstrate the valour and fortitude of this man; whereby he was preferred to great offices and commaundes in the warres. He was many times Captaine and Tribune, and aboue fortie times was Lieutenant to other Captaines and Tribunes. In which offices he did so seuerely punish souldiers for their offences, and did so strictly obserue the discipline of the warres, that he was therefore much feared of them: and did likewise many notable things in battailes and skirmishes; and principally in the warres which his predecessor CLAVDIVS had with the Gothes, he wonne more honor then any other Captaine did; he being generall of the horse. Which his doings were the occasion that CLAVDIVS being dead, he was by the generall consent of the whole armie chosen and made Emperour. And after that QVINTILIVS was dead, who in *Rome* was obeyed, the Senate and people of *Rome* approued his election, and held him for Emperour. And he hauing accepted the Empire, without any longer stay, marched with his victorious armie against the Sueuians and Sarmates northerly nations, which had inuaded the bounds of the Empire. With which he came to a battaile, and obtained a most honorable victorie; but therein befell him one mishappe, whereof many inconueniences ensued, which was: That being busied in this war, the Marcomanni and other most fierce nations of *Germanie* came downe into *Italie*, and made great spoile and slaughter in that part, which is now called *Lombardie*, and in the marches of *Milan*, whereof they were in so great feare in *Rome*, that they thought they should haue been wholy lost, and there were many rumours, and many spake ill of AVRELIANVS. But so soone as he heard the newes he was greatly grieued, and came with al speed to the rescue of *Italy*. And this was so daungerous a warre that neere vnto *Placentia* there wanted but a little, that the Emperour had not been wholy ouerthrowne: for ioyning battaile with all their whole powers of either side, they fought a whole day from sunne to sunne; and

Aurelianus called Aurelianus with the sword.

AVRELIANVS loſt in that iourney the greateſt part of all his troupes; ſo cruell was that battaile. But he afterwards reinforcing his armie (in three notable battailes hauing the victorie) ended the warre, deſtroying the whole armie of the Marcomanni: and from thence went to *Rome*, very angrie with thoſe which had murmured and ſpoken ill of him; among which were ſome that had practized againſt him: and whereas he was very cruell (notwithſtanding that he was receiued with great feaſting and ſolemnitie) he vſed ſo cruell puniſhment for light offences, and of ſo ſmall importance, that any gentle or mercifull prince would haue diſſembled, and made no reckoning thereof. But he would not doe ſo, but to the contrarie put many horribly to death; for which cauſe he began to be extremely feared, and therefore generally hated. He encreaſed and enlarged the walles of *Rome*, and fortified the ſame, repairing that which was decayed, which was not lawfull for any Emperour to doe, but to ſuch as had enlarged and encreaſed the prouinces and limits of the Romane Empire: for by that title AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, TRAIANE, and alſo NERO enlarged the walles.

Crueltie vſed in Rome by Aurelianus, and the occaſion thereof.

Aurelianus inlarged the walls of Rome.

Hauing eſtabliſhed all matters in *Rome* (his chiefe delight conſiſting in armes) he could ſtay but few daies therein, but ſpeedily departed thence towards the Eaſt, againſt the great ZENOBIA; accounting it a ſhame that a woman ſhould hold the Eaſt Empire in diſgrace of *Rome*, and the Emperours thereof. And paſſing through *Slauonia*, and thence through *Thracia*; he had certaine conflicts againſt certaine barbarous nations, which ſought to reſiſt him and to haue ſtopped him in his iourney; but keeping his way, hee came to the citie *Byzantium* which is now called *Conſtantinople*, and ſo paſſed with all his armie into *Aſia* the leſſe, which now is ſubiect to the Turke, firſt pacifying the prouince of *Bithynia* which then rebelled, all the whole nations yeelding themſelues into his hands, without any battaile or making any reſiſtance. And from thence he marched into *Cappadocia*, where for that the citie of *Tiana*, which in that countrie was an auncient Colony of the Greekes, being the countrie alſo wherein the famous APOLLONIVS TIANEVS was borne, made reſiſtance and would not receiue him, he ſware that he would puniſh the inhabitants in ſuch ſort, that he would not leaue a dogge aliue amongſt them, which his determination he afterwards altered and reuoked. For by the illuſion of the diuell (God permitting it for ſome vnknowne cauſe) there appeared vnto him in a dreame; or it ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw a viſion, which told him that it was APOLLONIVS TIANEVS; which warned him to forbare to deſtroy his countrie *Tiana*, and gaue him alſo further aduiſe. Which, as they write, was the occaſion that he not onely pardoned the Tianeans, but alſo that from thence forth he was not ſo cruell, as theretofore he had been. So as in *Tiana* he did put but HERACLAMON to death which betraied the citie into his hands, which he ſaid he did, for that he which had been a traitor to his countrie, could neuer be faithfull to him. But his wealth which was very great, he commaunded to be giuen to his heires, to the end that no man ſhould thinke that he had condemned him to be executed for the deſire of his goods. And to the ſouldiers complaining, for that he had not giuen them the ſpoile of the citie, wherein he had ſworne that he would not leaue any liuing, no not a dogge; he anſwered, I promiſed that there ſhould neuer a dogge remaine aliue in *Tiana*; and I giue you leaue to kill them all. When the Emperour had gotten this noble citie, he from thence marched to *Antioch* which bordereth vpon the mount *Taurus*; where graunting a generall pardon, with one onely battaile of ſmall reſiſtance, neere to a wood called *Daphne*, he ſeaſed on all that prouince.

Aurelianus departed from Rome into the Eaſt againſt Queene Zenobia.

A iuſt reward for treaſon.

prouince. And leauing all those countries in peace, hee passed thence into *Syria* against ZENOBIA, who with another woman called ZAVALLA (in a manner as manly as her selfe) attended his comming with a very great armie of singular good souldiers and excellent Captaines, trained vp with great experience in the warres with her husband ODENATVS; and afterwards in other warres against the Persians: and the two armies comming neere the one to the other, a most cruell warre began betweene them. For ZENOBIA not as a woman, but rather as though she had been HANNIBAL, prouided and performed whatsoeuer was fit against the Romanes. Finally, after some encounters they came to a battaile, neere to the citie of *Emesa*, which bordereth vpon the deserts of *Palmerina* a prouince in *Syria*; which was so bloudie and doubtfull, that AVRELIANVS was well neere ouerthrowne: for his Cauallerie being tired with fighting began to retire, refusing the battaile, and were readie to haue turned their backes and to flie: but being detained, by their Captaines, and by the footemen constrained to stand firme, he obtained the victorie; and ZENOBIA escaped by flight.

A cruell battaile betweene Zenobia and Aurelianus.

Zenobia ouerthrowne and put to flight by Aurelianus.

When AVRELIANVS had obtained so noble a victorie, he went into the citie of *Emesa*, and from thence to the citie of *Palmyra*, which is the head of that prouince, and ZENOBIAS principall seate. In which way his people passed many daungers and difficulties, wrought by their enemies where they were to passe: and the citie with such courage made resistance, that his souldiers were greatly distressed, and the Emperour himselfe in person incurred many great daungers. Which plainly appeareth by a letter written by him to a familiar friend of his. Whereupon AVRELIANVS desiring to make an end of this warre, thinking to induce ZENOBIA to yeeld her selfe into his power, sent her a letter wherein hee did assure her of her life, & that he would giue her all her treasure, her iewels, and her money; and that she should liue free & at libertie in any place or citie where the Senate should appoint. ZENOBIA hauing receiued this letter, in lieu of granting or requiring peace, became therewith more hautie & proud then before: answering him with another very proud letter; which NICOMACHVS a writer of those times, translated out of the Syrian into the Greeke tongue; and FLAVIVS VOPISCVS hath left it to vs in Latin, which I will set downe, to the end that the hautie presumptuous minde of this woman may be made knowne to the world, which saith thus: ZENOBIA Queene of the East, to AVRELIANVS AVGVSTVS, greeting. No other Captaine vntill this day but thou, hath required by letter that which thou demaundest of me in thine: for those things (AVRELIANVS) which are to be tried by warre; by armes and by force, are to be demaunded and determined. Thou requirest that I yeeld and giue my selfe into thy power, as if thou haddest neuer read that CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt* (from whom I am descended) would rather kill her selfe then liue in the power of OCTAVIANVS, in any dignitie or libertie graunted by him whatsoeuer. I let thee know that I shall not want the reliefe of the Persians, which I expect. The Saracens will also come to my aide; and the Armenians fauour me. Thou doest wel know that the theeues of *Syria* were sufficient to ouerthrow and disorder thy armie. If then the forces and succours which I expect shall come vnto me, thou wilt abate the pride and presumption wherewith thou doest now commaund me to yeeld my selfe, as though I were absolutely ouercome. And so she ended her letter, glorying more in her valour then in her eloquence. This letter being receiued by AVRELIANVS, he made no account thereof: but drew neere with his armie, and commanded his Captaines on all sides to besiege the citie more narrowly, and with such

A letter written by Zenobia to Aurelianus.

order

order and policie to assault the same, and to defend his campe, that hee failed not in any thing of the dutie of an excellent Captaine. For vpon the way comming to ZENOBIA, he ouerthrew the succours which came from *Persia*, and did the like by certaine companies of Saracens. And the forces which came from *Armenia*, what through feare, and faire promises, hee drew them to his seruice and made them his friends: in such sort that ZENOBIA seeing her selfe ouercome, in the best manner that she could, departed from the citie, with Dromedaries, carrying such treasure with her, as the shortnes of the time would permit: and trauailing towards *Persia*, she was ouertaken vpon the way by certaine horsemen which the Emperour sent after her: And so AVRELIANVS tooke her, and the citie of *Palmyra*, and afterwards all the whole estate of the East. And although that many counselled him, yet he would not put ZENOBIA to death, purposing to haue her aliue in his triumph. But he put the Philosopher LONGINVS to death, for that it was said, that he had penned the letter which ZENOBIA wrote vnto him. TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that when this valorous woman was brought into the presence of AVRELIANVS, he said vnto her; Tell me, ZENOBIA, how durst thou presume to contemne Emperours, and to defend thy selfe against their power? Whereto she answered, excusing her selfe, and honouring him, saying: Onely thee, AVRELIANVS, I acknowledge to bee an Emperour, for that thou knowest how to ouercome. But as for GALIENVS, AVREOLVS, and the rest, I neuer held them for Emperours nor Princes. In this manner (as I said) ended the power of ZENOBIA.

Zenobia taken prisoner by Aurelianus.

The answere of Zenobia made to Aurelianus.

The Emperour AVRELIANVS hauing ended this warre, leauing order and forces in the East, returned into *Europe* by the same way that he went; and comming into high *Duchland*, he subdued a certaine people called Carpi, which warred therein, and ouerthrew them in a battaile. Vpon this occasion he was in *Rome* called CARPICVS: whereat hee was both angrie and sorrie, that for that onely victorie they should giue him a surname. And therefore caused himselfe to be called GOTHICVS, SARMATICVS, ARMENICVS, PARTHICVS, ADIABENICVS, GERMANICVS, and SYRICVS, after the names of the countries and nations which he had subdued.

Aurelianus his surnames.

As matters stood vpon these termes, and hee being to march against TETRICVS the tyrant of *France*; newes was brought him that the Palmerins which had bin vnder ZENOBIA, were reuolted, & did rebel, & had slaine SANDARIO whom he had left there for Captaine and gouernour of the citie, with sixe hundred archers with him; and that they had made ARCHELAVS, who was of kinne to ZENOBIA, their Prince. When AVRELIANVS vnderstood thereof, with his accustomed courage and expedition (which was naturall vnto him) hee returned by great iourneies into *Asia*; and being come into *Syria*, he made no stay vntill that he came to the citie of *Palmyra*; which when he had taken, he inflicted most cruell punishment, by putting all sorts of people to death, men, women, old folkes and young children, without leauing any liuing creature therein. And afterwards he destroied and left the whole citie desolate, and almost all the other cities, which consented and conspired therewith in the rebellion. Without any long abode in *Asia* (in great haste) he returned into *Europe*, where he happily pacified all matters; so as there remained no part, but al was in obedience. Neuertheless, for as much as the people were accustomed to the libertie and euill customes permitted vnder the gouernment of GALIENVS, a certaine Captaine called FIRMVS, who was in *Egypt*, arose and made all that kingdome to rebell; and as some write made himselfe

The Palmerins rebelled.

The Egptians rebelled.

ſelfe Emperour. And as others write, crying libertie, hee promiſed to maintaine the libertie and priuiledges of that countrie. Which when this warlike Emperor vnderſtood (who for expedition in the warres was a ſecond IVLIVS CÆSAR) he would put no man elſe but himſelfe in truſt, and returned the third time into *Aſia*, and thence came into *Egypt*; and at his firſt entrie with little difficultie, he recouered all that kingdome, and left it in peace and quiet. At that time (as AVRELIVS VICTOR and EVTROPIVS report) there was a Captaine in *Dalmatia* whoſe name was SEPTIMIVS, who alſo rebelled, and proclaimed himſelfe Emperour. But AVRELIANVS needed not to come againſt him: for the ſame legions and ſouldiers which choſe him, conſpired againſt him and killed him. So as there reſted nothing for AVRELIANVS to do, but to defeate TETRICVS, which held a great part of *France* and of *Spaine*, with the title of Emperor, as is before ſaid. Whereof AVRELIANVS made great account, and came from *Egypt* with intent to goe againſt him: this warre being in all mens opinion very doubtfull: neuertheleſſe AVRELIANVS tooke ſo good order therein, that it was ſoone ended. The occaſion whereof was, that TETRICVS being a tyrant, and no lawfull Emperour, the legions and men of warre vnder his commaund became therefore ſo diſſolute and preſumptuous, that hee was no longer able to endure their inſolencie and pride, but choſe rather to liue a ſubiect to the Emperour AVRELIANVS, then to be an Emperour ouer ſuch ſubiects, with conditions ſo reprochfull and vituperable. Wherupon he ſecretly wrote to AVRELIANVS, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that he voluntarily yeelded himſelfe; and ſo all became in peace and quiet, ſubiect vnto AVRELIANVS. And as at other times the legions had betraied their Captaines and Emperours; ſo at this time, the Emperour to ridde himſelfe out of trouble deliuered vp his legions to another. Which is a great example and proofe of the miſeries, ſuſpitions, and troubles, which thoſe men ſuffer and endure, which vniuſtly and tyrannouſly hold lands and dominions; daily expecting and fearing death, and to bee caſt out and diſpoſſeſſed of their gouernments. Whereof ancient hiſtories are full, and in our time we haue ſeene with our eyes, that although they eſcape for a time; yet there is no day wherein they are not grieued with the inſolencies and diſſolutions of thoſe, by whoſe aide they maintaine their tyrannies, and moſt commonly they are by them brought into greateſt daunger. And ſo to keepe themſelues on foote, they vſe great crueltie againſt their ſubiects, and ſhew themſelues partiall, remiſſe, and humble to their fauourits and friends. And aboue all, the ſecret martyrdome and remorſe of conſcience doth chiefly torment them: whereof DIONYSIVS, MARIVS, SYLLA, and other famous tyrants which haue been in the world, are good witneſſes: which vpon their ſubiects inflicted and committed moſt horrible and terrible cruelties, and with their friends and companions endured incredible inſolencies and intolerable audacious preſumptions. Which TETRICVS knowing very well, notwithſtanding that he was not vnprouided nor deſtitute of power, courage or valour; yet he voluntarily yeelded himſelfe to VALERIANVS, holding it for a harder matter to commaund with trouble, then to ſerue in quiet. Which may alſo ſerue for a rule and admonition to flie and eſchew a vanitie, much vſed by thoſe which in townes and common-wealths maintaine factions and diſcords, and will commaund and tyrannize ouer that which is none of their owne; who thereby vainly and fooliſhly make themſelues ſeruile and ſlaues to very baſe fellowes, flattering them and giuing what they will haue; becauſe they will not endure the companie of thoſe which are their equals, then which there can be no greater madnes.

Tetricus ſubmitted himſelf to Aurelianus.

madnes. It proued no euill course that TETRICVS tooke: for he liued many yeeres afterwards in great honour and rest, and ended his dayes as we will declare: whereas otherwise if he had persisted in his tyrannie, he had made such an end as all such others had, which was either to haue been slaine by his enemies, or by his owne people; and that time which he should haue liued, would haue beene but full of continuall feare and vnrest.

AVRELIANVS hauing fullie subdued and pacified all the prouinces of the Empire, and hauing reduced the same to the auncient power and reputation, by taming and subduing the tyrants, and by expelling the strangers and barbarous nations with force, felicitie, and admirable expedition, he determined to come to *Rome* to receiue the triumph for his victories, which was giuen him with the greatest solemnitie and preparation that could be deuised, which in respect of my accustomed breuitie cannot particularly be recited. It may suffice to say in summe, that it was one of the most stately triumphs that euer was made in *Rome*, wherein were led an infinite number of prisoners and captiues of diuers and sundrie nations, great varietie of wild beasts, as Tigres, Lions, Ounces, Elephants, Dromedaries, Beares, and such like. There was also an incredible aboundance of armes taken from those which were ouercome, and most rich and sumptuous chariots, one, which had bin of ODENATVS, ZENOBIAS husband; another which she herselfe had made; and another which the King of the Persians voluntarilie sent to AVRELIANVS for a present. There went also in that triumph the great ZENOBIA, most richly attired in cloth of great price set with pearle and stone, in manner of a prisoner led with chaines of gold. There were in the number of them, of whom AVRELIANVS triumphed, TETRICVS and his sonne, whom the father had intituled Emperour. AVRELIANVS entred in another chariot, which had been the Kings of the Gothes, drawne by foure stagges: and after him came all the victorious legions both of foote and horse, most rich and gallantlie armed, bearing boughes of lawrell or of palme in their hands: there were also many other things of great pomp. And he in this manner went to the Capitoll to do his sacrifices according to the custome, and thence to his Palace, and the next day were made in *Rome* all kinds of sports and feasts, such as were wont to be made, with addition of many things aboue ordinarie, and more then other Emperours had done. He likewise gaue many gifts to the people, as the custome was at such like times. TETRICVS he made gouernour of *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Puglia*, and *Campania*, with other prouinces of *Italy*, and did him great honor together with his sonne. To ZENOBIA he gaue lands and possessions, the rents whereof sufficed to maintaine her honorablie, and so she liued and died, being highlie honored and commended of all men, still preseruing her auncient reputation, and the honour of her person. AVRELIANVS being victorious, and in this prosperitie (as his chiefest delight was in the warres, and to beare armes) determined to leuie a choise and selected armie, and therewith to go into the East, to make warre against the Persians, in reuenge of the iniurie done to the Empire by the imprisonment of the Emperour VALERIANVS, and within short space he departed thitherwards. And as he was valorous, wise and a most excellent Captaine, he had therein without doubt perfourmed great matters, had not death, through the secret iudgement of God, by the way cut off and made frustrate his high attempts and purposes: which (as OROSIVS and EVSEBIVS testifie) God permitted to happen for a punishment of his wickednes. For hauing raigned sixe yeeres, fauouring, or at leastwise tolerating the Christians to liue free and at libertie, he suffred

A most stately triumph prepared for Aurelianus.

not the Catholike Church to be moleſted or perſecuted, wherefore notwithſtanding that he was an infidell, our Lord God (who leaueth no deſert vnrewarded) gaue him ſo many victories and ſo good ſucceſſe in all his actions: But in the end deluded by the Deuill and the counſell of wicked men, he determined to perſecute the Chriſtians, and ſent abroad his letters and edicts to that effect, which was the ninth perſecution of the Church. But while as he was about to haue ſigned the ſame, there ſodainely fell a thunderbolt from heauen ſo neere vnto him, that all men thought that he had been ſlaine: yet notwithſtanding this ſigne and warning giuen him from God to deſiſt from his ill determination, he permitted the reſt which was his death, and that his owne ſeruants in which he repoſed moſt truſt, ſhould kill him, which was thus: That as he was euer cruell, and had put many to death for light occaſions, his principall ſecretarie who mannaged his moſt ſecret affaires (whoſe name was MENESTHEVS) being in feare of his life, for that AVRELIANVS had threatned him for a matter of ſmall importance, reſolued to practiſe the death of his Lord: which to effect, he preſentlie wrote a forged fained memoriall, wherein it ſeemed that AVRELIANVS had ſet downe the names of certaine perſons which he would cauſe to be ſlaine, among which he wrote his owne name, and ſhewed this memoriall to all thoſe, or to the greateſt part of them which were conteined therein, many of which were odious to the Emperour, which made the matter the more likely to be true. And as the ſecretarie was of great credit by reaſon of the place which he held, and they knowing the Emperours crueltie, preſumed as much, and throughlie beleeued it, they thereupon ſpeedily agreed to make an end of the Emperour, for feare that he otherwiſe would haue done the like by them: and hauing reſolued vpon the manner, they killed him as he one day with a ſmall guard went from *Heraclea* in *Thracia* (for many cities are ſo called) towards *Byzantium*, now *Conſtantinople*. He died (according to EVSEBIVS his computation) in the yeere of our Lord 278. and in the ſixt yeere of his raigne, a ſmall time truly conſidering his great and noble acts. He left neither ſonne nor nephew, but one onely daughter. The Senate was very ſory for his death, but the people much more: for they liued in greater ſecuritie, and without danger of his crueltie. And for his noble acts they canonized him, and numbred him among their holie Emperours. When the treaſon of MENESTHEVS was diſcouered, they draue a ſtake through him, & did caſt out his bodie to the dogs, & to be deuoured by wild beaſts. It is not written that the reſt were puniſhed, for that peraduenture they were principall men, and ſo great, that no man durſt to procure them to be puniſhed.

The ninth perſecution of the primitiue Church.

Meneſtheus procured the death of Aurelianus.

The death of Aurelianus.

Ann. Dom. 278.

THE

THE LIFE OF TACITVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND EIGHT AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

THe warlike and inuincible Emperour AVRELIANVS being dead, as we haue aboue ſaid; who with ſuch valour brought all the prouinces of the Empire to ſuch peace and tranquillitie, and in ſo ſhort a time, that it ſeemeth that the feare and reuerence which they bare towards him in his lifetime held the ſame authoritie euen after his death. For no man attempted to make himſelfe Emperour, in any of the prouinces wherein legions lay in garriſon, as at other times they were wont to doe, neither durſt the armie which was with him chuſe an Emperour, hee had in ſuch manner tamed the prouinces and the pride of the people. And the Captaines which then were with him were alſo better aduiſed, and tooke warning by the death and confuſion of thoſe, which in the time of GALIENVS had vſurped the name of Emperors. Wherefore, for that they deemed none worthie of the Empire, they deſiring to auoyde the like inconueniences as befell in times paſt, and to the end that a good Emperour might be choſen, who with his authoritie might preſerue and maintaine the preſent eſtate, the men

of warre of AVRELIANVS his armie ſent word to the Senate, that it (as reaſon was) ſhould chuſe and name an Emperour; and that they would obey him and confirme his election. The Senate knowing that the armie was not wont to be contented with a prince of their chuſing, made anſwere, that they ſhould name and make choiſe of one, and that the Senate would approue their doings. In this ſtraining of courteſies, ſixe monethes paſſed (which may ſerue for a wonder to him that hath read the former Hiſtories) in which the world was without an Emperour, and the Empire was gouerned by the Senate and ſuch officers, as AVRELIANVS had left. At the end of which time ouercome by the entreaties and Ambaſſades from the armies, the Senate made choiſe of TACITVS a noble man, who had been Conſul, and was a good man and of great age, who earneſtly refuſed the ſame; ſo as there were many complements betweene them about the matter. But in the end he accepted thereof, to the great ioy of the Senate and Romane people, and alſo of the Pretorian Cohorts which ordinarily lay neere to *Rome*. And ſo he performed the ſolemnities, diſtributions, and gifts which the new Emperours were accuſtomed to make. TACITVS was very old when he came to the Empire: but of great experience in magiſtracies and offices of charge, and had euer liued a vertuous life. He was very temperate in all things, gentle and kinde, and a louer of iuſtice and equitie. When as TACITVS had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire (as a good prince free from ambition) he did all things by the aduiſe and counſell of the Senate, and held ſuch a courſe in all his actions, that the whole Empire was in peace and tranquillitie, and iuſtice was euery where adminiſtred, with quietnes; and to that end he made excellent lawes and ordinances, aboliſhing certaine abuſes and euill cuſtomes in *Rome*. But for any notable matters which readers commonly deſire in Hiſtories, as warres, battailes, great aduentures and accidents, there were none in his time; aſwell for that he found all in peace and in good order, as for that he raigned but a little while; which was but ſixe monethes, and thoſe not fully expired. What death he died, the authors doe not certainely ſet downe. Some ſay that his owne ſouldiers ſlew him, vpon the way trauailing towards *Aſia*, whither he was going with an armie to make warre againſt the Perſians. But SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and others write, that he died of a burning feuer in the citie of *Tharſus*, which ſeemeth moſt likely to be true: for he was a vertuous man and much beloued. Among his other vertues, he was very temperat in his diet, and in all other things; ſo as he would not allow his wife the Empereſſe to weare any precious ſtones or iewels of any great price. And he much honored the memorie of the good Emperours. His countrie or linage I finde not written. He left no ſonne either naturall or adoptiue. In thoſe times ſprung the famous Heretikes of the Manichees, whoſe originall and maiſter was a wicked man called MANES; who with his followers were ſo wicked and ſuch Infidels, that they preſumed to ſay, that there were two Gods, the one good, the other euill: adding thereto, that the one was the originall of all goodnes; and the other of all euill. And this horrible and diueliſh hereſie laſted in ſome wicked men aboue two hundred yeeres, againſt which Saint AVGVSTINE and other holy doctors oppoſed themſelues. The life of this TACITVS is written by FLAVIVS VOPISCVS, whom I haue followed, and the other authors aboue named.

The armie ſent to the Senate to chuſe an Emperour.

Tacitus choſen Emperour.

The death of Tacitus.

The originall of the hereſie of the Manichees.

THE

THE LIFE OF FLORIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND NINE AND THIRTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

SO ſoone as TACITVS was dead, a brother of his whoſe name was FLORIANVS, truſting in the neerenes of bloud to the laſt Emperour, without any authoritie or election, tooke vpon him the name of Emperour. Which he did through the fauour of part of the armie, and of certaine principall men which were with him. But his eſtate continued but a ſmal time: for ſo ſoone as the armies in the Eaſt vnderſtoode of the death of his brother TACITVS, they made choiſe of PROBVS, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter, who was a man of ſuch authoritie and ſo well beloued, that FLORIANVS vpon the newes thereof held himſelfe for forlorne. And knowing that all the martiall men would abandon him (as many of them alreadie had done) he made certaine of his vaines to be opened, imitating QVINTILIVS, who (as we haue ſaid) did the like, and ſo he died (as the other did) bleeding, about two monethes after that he had taken vpon him the name and title of Emperour. Wherefore he could doe no ſuch notable matter as might be worthie writing. He was a man very like vnto his brother TACITVS, aſwell in condition and goodnes of life, as in the ſhortnes of the time that he held the Empire. He died in the yeere of our Lord 279.

The death of Florianus.

Ann. Dom. 279.

THE LIFE OF PROBVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FORTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

ALthough that Probus were of no very noble blond, yet neuertheleſſe he was ſo honeſt a man and ſo vertuous, that in conſideration of his vertuous deedes he worthily deſerued to be choſen Emperour. After that he was confirmed in that dignitie, he ſhewed himſelfe to be ſo affected to the people, and ſo kind and louing to the Senate, that by common conſent and publike decree he was called Pater patriæ : *and to him moreouer were graunted all the titles and dignities that might enoble and make him famous. In his time aroſe infinite warres and troubles, ſo as he ſpent all his life time in managing of armes ; wherein being victorious he entred Rome in triumph, hauing tamed and ſubdued the Frenchmen and the Germanes, and ſubdued ſome which would haue made themſelues Emperours ; among which was one Saturninus a valorous and politike man. And ſeeing that all the Empire was in peace and vnder obedience, he vſed to ſay, that within a while there would be no neede of martiall men : which when they vnderſtood, they began to murmure and to conſpire againſt him, principally becauſe that hee would not permit them to liue in their accuſtomed libertie. And going with great preparation towards the warres againſt the Parthians, he was ſlaine by them vpon the way. His death was greatly lamented in Rome, and generally through the whole empire, miſſing ſuch a father as in euery reſpect did worthily deſerue to be called Probus.*

PROBVS ſucceeded FLORIANVS, or rather TACITVS, in the Romane Empire, who was choſen Emperour by the legions, and the armie in the Eaſt, preſently ſo ſoone as they vnderſtood of the death of TACITVS, to the end that they would not ſtay for one to be choſen at the pleaſure of the Senate. But this PROBVS was ſo valiant a man, and ſo excellent a Captaine, and ſo held and reputed for ſuch by all men, that the Senate and people of *Rome* preſently confirmed his election. There happened in the time of this excellent Prince, ſuch and ſo

so many warres and battailes, as well against tyrants as against strangers; and hee obtained so many and so singular victories in them, that hee might very well be compared to AVRELIANVS, of whom a little before we haue written: And for such, as we may make him equall with him; so may wee likewise compare him with HANNIBAL, with CÆSAR, or with any other great and famous Captaine of ancient time: Whose acts seeme greater then the acts of these Princes, by reason that they were so fortunate, as to haue them registred by those most eloquent and excellent writers which celebrated the same. Which ornament failed in those which wrote the liues of the Emperours of these times, and a hundred yeeres before, and in long time after there were not found any so eloquent; or rather, neuer since. And although they write the truth of the historie, yet oftentimes it is written so abrupt, and so briefly, that it maketh their acts and doings to seeme lesse then they were. But the discreete reader, considering the acts of some of those Emperours which we haue alreadie written, and which we are to write hereafter, shall certainly know that the acts and prowesse of some of these Princes, were no way inferiour to theirs which were so famous, but in some sort might rather seeme greater; if they well consider what nations and people they were, against which they fought. Which as they were no lesse valiant or fierce, then those of ancient times; so were they more expert and of greater skill in the warres, and in ought else that was requisite. But to returne to our good Emperour PROBVS, he was borne in *Hungary* in a citie called *Sirmio*, of noble parentage and bloud, principally of his mothers side. His fathers name was MAXIMVS, a man very famous, and one which followed the wars, & had had the leading of martiall men; and being Tribune, died in *Egypt*. His wife liuing after him, with this sonne and one daughter, which was his sister. This young PROBVS prooued to bee so vertuous and so valiant a young man, that the Emperour VALERIANVS which died prisoner in *Persia*, made him a Tribune, being so young that hee then had no signe of any beard. He performed in the time of the same VALERIANVS, and of his sonne GALIENVS, and of AVRELIANVS, and of CLAVDIVS (wherein happened such warres, so many battailes and conflicts) such notable seruices, both as a souldier and a Tribune; and afterwards when he was a Captaine, that he was euery where held and reputed for a most valiant man, and now maketh men to admire him, which reade his doings. In giuing assaults to cities, he was many times the first man vpon the scaling ladders, and the first that entred the enemies campe or fortresses. He was victorious in many single combats man to man, and in battailes freed many Romane citizens from death: wherefore according to his deserts, there were giuen to him many ciuicall crownes, collars, bracelets, launces and banners, with other enfignes, deuices and martiall priuiledges. And afterwards being a Captaine of legions, and Generall and gouernour of prouinces; there was almost no nation but was subdued by him, in the infinite warres which were in those times. In *Africa* hee subdued a people called Marmarides, and in battailes and skirmishes ouerthrew some mightie tyrants and rebels. In *Egypt* being a captaine, he fought against the Palmytines, which would haue vsurped that countrie and kingdome; but he brought them to quietnes with great part of the East, in the seruice of AVRELIANVS. In the time of CLAVDIVS, hee ouercame the Gothes in many battailes; and in the time of AVRELIANVS, the Sarmates and Germanes; and often was victorious in many other parts. And with these victories and noble acts, with the goodnes and equitie of life and behauiour, hee made the discipline and knowledge of armes equall: So as he was in all, a good and a valorous

The origine of Probus.

lorous Souldier, Captaine, and Emperour. Many letters (recited by FLAVIVS VOPISCVS) written by GALIENVS, CLAVDIVS, AVRELIANVS, TACITVS, and other Emperours and Princes of that time, beare record of that which is ſaid of him; in which they extoll the vertues, valour, and excellencie of this man: wherefore he was infinitely beloued and honored of all men. Which plainely appeereth by the manner of his election: for the armie which was in the Eaſt deſiring to make haſte in chooſing an Emperour, being aduertiſed of the death of TACITVS, the Captaines and Coronels drew their ſouldiers into the field, and without any former requeſt, practize or agreement, they began to ſhew vnto them, that it was requiſite to make choiſe of an Emperour, a man which ſhould be valiant, honeſt, religious, good, pitifull, wiſe, and repleniſhed with all vertuous qualities: which ſpeech they vſed in ſundrie ſquadrons & parts of the armie. The ſouldiers, without that one did heare or vnderſtand what the other ſaid, euery where cried, Let PROBVS be Emperour AVGVSTVS, God keepe and preſerue thee PROBVS, and with ſuch other words and applauſes, ſhewing the great loue and affection which they bare vnto him. When PROBVS had accepted of the Empire, he preſentlie wrote a briefe letter to the Senate, but yet with great honor and reſpect, approuing what was done the laſt yeere in the election of his predeceſſor TACITVS, and excuſing himſelfe for hauing accepted of the Empire, without the knowledge and confirmation of the Senate, he laid all the fault vpon FLORIANVS, who for that he had taken vpon him the name of Emperour, the armie was therefore conſtrained to make choiſe of him. His letters being read, there was made great ſhew of ioy, and they applauded his election with many bleſſings, and gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, Father of the countrey, and they alſo made him higheſt Biſhop, and gaue him tribunall power & authoritie.

Probus proclaimed Emperour.

When PROBVS had receiued this decree from the Senate, he was very glad, and taking good order for all things, and leauing ſufficient garriſon in the Eaſt, he came into *Europe*, where he was receiued by the armies, which ſware to be faithfull vnto him. The firſt thing that he did after his comming, was, to leuie the greateſt armie that he could, wherewith he went into *France*, which euer after the death of AVRELIANVS was ſubiect to the Germanes, which made themſelues lords and maiſters of all the moſt principall cities of all that land. After that he came into the countrey of his enemies (whoſe number was infinite) there began a moſt cruell and bloudie warre: for the ſouldiers of either ſide were very valiant and expert. There paſſed (as ſaith VOPISCVS) many bloudie battailes betweene them, whereof one continued two dayes, one after another: ſo that each day the darkenes of the night parted the fight, the victorie ſeeming to incline ſometimes to the Romanes, and ſometimes to the Germanes, which is found written in the auncient Chronicles of *Germany*, as witneſſeth HENRICVS MVTIVS a modern writer: but in the end through the good prouiſion, and direction of PROBVS, after that he had obtained many victories againſt the Germanes, wherein died foure hundred thouſand men of them, and a great number of the Romane army, he reduced out of their poſſeſſion ſixtie principall cities, and draue them out of all that which they had vſurped: and paſſing further forwards he alſo tooke other cities, and his armie made great ſpoile & hauocke. And after that they were ouercome, they yeelded obedience, and became vaſſals to the Empire, which without my particular relation will plainely appeare by a letter written by PROBVS to the Senate, which ſaith thus: I giue thanks (fathers conſcript) to the immortall Gods, ſeeing that they haue approued your iudgement of me, ſhewing it to be reaſonable

A cruell battaile fought betweene Probus and the Germanes.

A Letter written by Probus to the Senate.

reasonable and true. For know, that I haue conquered and subdued all *Germany*, and that wise Kings of sundrie nations and prouinces haue prostrated and humbled themselues at my feet, or to say more rightlie, at yours, and now are subiects, and fight in our armie against other barbarous nations more northerly. You shall (fathers conscript) make your accustomed prayers vnto the Gods, seeing that we haue slaine foure hundred thousand of your enemies, and sixteene thousand men very well armed haue yeelded themselues vnto vs; and we haue recouered threescore cities which they possessed, and all the prouinces of *France*. All the crownes which the French cities gaue vnto me for presents, I send vnto you, to the end that by your hands they may be consecrated, and offred to the most good and most mightie IVPITER, and to the rest of the immortall Gods. The pray that we haue taken, is greater then all the harmes that they haue done vnto vs. The fields in *France* are ploughed and tilled with Oxen taken from the barbarous, &c. And so in his letter he proceedeth, signifying vnto them his victories, for which in *Rome* was made great ioy, feasting, and supplications to their gods, according to their rites and customes. After this conquest, he came with his forces into the prouinces of *Slauonia*, inuaded by the Sarmates, which are the inhabitants of *Muscouia*, *Russia*, *Polonia*, and others, as is aforesaid, and had the same in possession, which warre was no lesse dangerous then the last, for the great multitude and fiercenes of those nations with which he fought certaine battailes: wherein he shewed himselfe a most prudent, hardie and valiant Captaine; and hauing wholie subdued them, he constrained them to flye out of the bounds and confines of the Empire, the greatest part of them being either slaine or taken. *Probus draue the Sarmates out of Slauonia.* And from thence with great expedition he marched with his armie into *Thracia*, which with the rest is now called *Graecia*, wherein is the great citie *Constantinople*, and marching farther towards the North, with a resolution to make warre against the Gothes in their owne countrey, and wholie to subuert that nation for reuenge of the harmes and troubles which they in time past had done in the Empire. He was of such reputation, and all nations stood in such feare of him, that whersoeuer he came he found no resistance: for they sent to yeeld their obedience, and to be bounden to be confederates and friends to the Empire: whereupon leauing *Europe* in peace, he went into *Asia*, with a determination to haue warred against the Persians and NARSEVS, who then was King of *Persia* and *Parthia*, and passing so through *Asia* the lesse, he inuaded the prouince of *Isauria*, which is a part thereof, bordering vpon *Cilicia*, which (as in the life of GALIENVS we said) is mountainous, cragged, and hard to be assaulted, ill to be conquered, and easie to defend, wherein were many theeues and tyrants which sought to make themselues Lords of that countrey; all which the valiant Emperour subdued, not without great toile and danger: for the inhabitants being fortified by the naturall scituation of that countrey, defended themselues couragiouslie, so as there passed dangerous battailes and conflicts betweene them, but PROBVS in short space pacified all. And they say, that entring the countrey he desired to see the naturall and artificiall fortifications thereof, which he much meruailed at, and said, that that land was hard to be woon, and easie to be defended. He deuided the fields which he there tooke from the tyrants among his old souldiers, and such as had borne themselues valiantlie in that seruice. After that he had pacified all that region, he marched into *Soria*, and into the Easterly parts, but first he went against a certaine people which they called Blemij, which came out of *Ethiopia*, and had taken part of *Arabia*, and of *Palestina*, of *Iudea*, and the cities of *Ptolemais*,

and

and *Ioppa* which is now called *Iapha*, which was then a famous citie. And hauing ended this iourney, he trauelled towards *Persia* against NARSEVS King of the Persians and Parthians, who was the most mightie King of the world, and whose predecessors and successors euer troubled the Romane Empire, and the Emperours thereof. But PROBVS (of whom we now treate) was so much feared and esteemed, that NARSEVS durst not contend with him; but by all meanes procured peace, restored what he had vsurped, gaue him other great gifts, and made such composition and conditions, as PROBVS required. So as hauing no enemie against whom he might wage warre, he returned againe into *Europe*, leauing the whole state of the East in peace and vnder good gouernment. Comming into *Thracia*, which countrie was dispeopled, through the warres and spoile which the Gothes, Sarmates and other barbarous nations had made therein; and for that many nations which were wont to be enemies, had now submitted themselues to doe him seruice, and desired him to giue them some land to inhabit wherein they might be his subiects; he gaue vnto them the prouince of *Thracia* and the marches thereof; diuiding fields by lottes amongst them, where they should inhabit and till the earth. These were of many Tribes and nations, as Vandals, Gothes, Guntanes, and other people, whose number was infinit. But this counsell proued afterwards very daungerous; and much harme (as we will hereafter declare) ensued thereof.

Narseus King of Persia yeelded to Probus.

In this time was a generall peace through the whole Empire, and there was no King or nation out of it, that durst to stirre. But as mens harts are commonly (euen from their infancie) more inclined to euill then good, through the corruption of our nature, wanting forraine enemies, there arose some domesticall; and those which were wont to make head against forraine enemies, made themselues enemies.

There was in the East parts a Captaine whose name was SATVRNINVS, who was both very valorous, expert in the wars, discreete and of great iudgement, and in the time of AVRELIANVS had been Captaine generall of those frontiers, and was by birth a French-man. This man comming to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* about some busines and matters of importance which wee know not; without his knowledge or imagination, the Egyptians as they were euer vnquiet, rebellious and desirous of nouelties; by a common & generall consent, hailed him Emperor; and called vpon his name with so great resolution, that he durst not refuse it, neither to forbeare to say that he consented thereto. But imagining that through his absence that tumult would haue bin pacified, he departed from *Egypt* & came into *Palestina*. But they neuer giuing ouer what they had begun, and as those troups whereof he had the commaund, did not onely consent thereto, but were very glad thereof. He himselfe standing in feare of PROBVS, clad himselfe in purple, which was the imperiall colour, but we will say crimson, which was the colour of the imperiall robe, accounting it the safest way. But it is written, that when his Captaines and souldiers came to sweare obedience, and to doe him such honour as was accustomed in such actions; SATVRNINVS receiued and entertained them weeping, saying vnto them, let it not my brothers and companions in armes be imputed vnto me for pride and presumption, what I now shall say vnto you; for this day doth the common-wealth lose in me a necessarie member; for I was the chiefest man in restoring *France*. I being a free Captaine recouered *Africa* from the Moores. I pacified *Spaine*, and did other things to the honour of the Empire; but what auaileth it to haue done all this? for with this daies worke

Saturninus made Emperor against his will.

all

all is loſt. And as his Captaines and Coronels encouraged and entreated him to be merrie, this wiſe man which well knew what it was to raigne with tyrannie, anſwered them, ſaying; My friends, you know not what it is to raigne, but I will make you vnderſtand it in my ſelfe: for from henceforth there will daily hang ouer my head threatning me and putting me in feare of my life, ſwordes, gleaues, ſhields, and on euery ſide I ſee my ſelfe aſſaulted with halberts, launces, and other kindes of weapons; and I begin to ſtand in feare of thoſe which haue the guarde of me; and to take heede of thoſe which keepe me companie. I ſhall not eate one bit that ſhall taſt well, neither without ſuſpition. I can trauaile no way in ſafetie. I ſhall not vndertake any warre to my owne liking, neither ſhall I beare armes for exerciſe, but forced thereto: and although I did aſſure my ſelfe to the contrarie, yet truely it is impoſſible for any Emperour to pleaſe and content all his ſubiects. For if he be an old prince; they will ſay that he is inſufficient and an vnprofitable dotard: if he be young, they will ſay, he is raſh and furious, and hath not wit enough to be a ſoueraigne Lord. And ſo there neuer want imperfections to charge him withall. Beleeue me my friends, in that you make me Emperor, you binde me to die. But one thing doth ſomething recomfort me; which is, that I ſhall not die alone. But ſeeing that you will haue it ſo, I pray to the Gods that the time come not, wherein you will be as ſorrie for what you haue done, as I am at this preſent. Theſe ſpeeches are recited by FLAVIVS VOPISCVS, who writeth that he vnderſtoode them by the report of his grandfather, who was preſent when they were ſpoken. SATVRNINVS, although as a wiſe man he knew and foreſaw into how great daunger he thruſt himſelfe, ſeeing he could not returne, was nothing diſmaied, but rather with great courage prouided all things neceſſarie for the preſeruing of the eſtate which he had taken vpon him. And notwithſtanding that he was made a tyrant againſt his will, yet he deſired rather to ouercome, then to leaue to be. But as the Emperour PROBVS, was no leſſe wiſe or valiant then himſelfe; ſo he ſo ſoone as he was aduertiſed of what paſſed, with the greateſt forces that he was able to leuie, returned into *Aſia*, prouiding and ordering all things after a new manner with great care; being very iealous of this warre, in reſpect of the qualitie of the Captaine and ſouldiers. Both armies being come into one countrie, they made of either ſide cruell warre, and the battailes were very fierce and bloudie; yet the Emperor PROBVS ſought to haue come to ſome compoſition with SATVRNINVS; promiſing to pardon him, & to entreate him very well. And it is ſuppoſed that SATVRNINVS would willingly haue accepted thereof, but his ſouldiers would neuer yeeld thereto, holding themſelues therby to be in no ſecuritie, ſeeing they had conſtrained him to take vpon him the name of Emperor. But in the end SATVRNINVS being apparantly ouercome, he was beſieged in a Caſtle, and there was ſlaine by the ſouldiers againſt the Emperors wil, who would rather haue forgiuen him. After this victorie, which was held for ſo doubtfull; PROBVS returned into *Europe*, and the ſouldiers and legions remained ſo tame and quiet, and in ſuch obedience, that it grew to be a common by word; that the Miſe did not dare to gnaw for feare of PROBVS. But as he was buſie herein (as it was not thought that he ſhould haue had ſo good ſucceſſe) in *France* and *Germanie* were two Captaines, the one called BONOSVS who was the principall; and the other PROCVLVS: which raiſing mightie armies in *France* and in *Britannie* (where PROBVS was ill beloued, for the victories which he there had had) and hauing alſo ſome Spaniards, beſides the ordinarie legions of their gouernments, they both tooke vpon them the name of Emperours, and the

The miſerable condition of tyrants.

Warres betweene Saturninus and Probus.

Bonoſus and Proculus called Emperours.

the purple robe. But for that it would be a long ſtorie, particularly to recount all that paſſed; it ſhall ſuffice to know, that PROBVS neuer reſted; ſo as according to the ſmall time of his raigne, which was but ſixe yeeres, it may ſeeme a wonderfull thing to conſider the warres and voyages which he made. But in the end he found out theſe tyrants, and inuaded them both; of which the warre againſt BONOSVS (as they write) was very daungerous and laſted long: and finally PROBVS had the victorie, and BONOSVS falling into deſpaire hung himſelfe. And PROCVLVS being likewiſe ouercome, fled into the land, where the Germanes (thereby to winne PROBVS his good will) deliuered him: and ſo he had an entire and complete victorie ouer all. This PROCVLVS was borne in a place among the Alpes neere to *Geneua*, and BONOSVS was a Britaine, bred vp in *Spaine*; of whom they write, that he would drinke ſo much wine, that ten great drinkers could not drinke ſo much: and that therewith he had two wonderfull properties, the one was, that how much ſo euer he dranke, he was neuer therewith drunken; the other was, that when it pleaſed him, he could piſſe as faſt as he did drinke, without containing any iot within his body: wherefore the Emperour AVRELIANVS was wont to ſay of him, that BONOSVS was not borne to liue, but to drinke.

Bonoſus in deſpaire hung himſelfe.

Proculus was ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

Strange qualities.

After that PROBVS had defeated theſe two mightie Captaines and tyrants, it was to haue been ſuppoſed reaſonable, that armes ſhould haue giuen him leaue to haue repoſed himſelfe in *Rome*; for now his yeeres and trauailes required no leſſe: but it happened otherwiſe, for the nations and people which he left (as wee haue ſaid) to inhabit *Thracia*, notwithſtanding that the Baſtarnari remained in peace and quiet: yet the Vandales and other nations ſeeing the Emperour peſtered in the warres (truſting in their ſtrength and multitude) determined to make no longer abode there, but to inuade all the prouinces of the Empire, robbing and ſtealing all that they could lay their hands vpon: And their number was ſo great, that no citie or countrie could make head againſt them, but that they ſpoiled and burned all whereſoeuer they came. Which when the Emperor had well conſidered, imagining that whatſoeuer he had theretofore done for the good and libertie of the Empire, was to no effect or purpoſe, if he ſuffered this plague to go forwards: he reſolued therefore to put himſelfe in hazard, and to goe in perſon into al thoſe places which theſe people inuaded. And for that they by reaſon of their multitude could not march togethers, he fought with them in ſundrie places, wherein many men were ſlaine of either ſide; and the Emperour himſelfe was ſometime wounded, and in daunger of death. But in the end he ouercame them all, and took ſuch order that he compelled thoſe which by flight eſcaped from the battailes, to flie out of the confines and frontiers of the Empire. And he very ioyful and victorious, finding now no reſiſtance in the world, came to *Rome*; whereinto he entred triumphing, in a triumph truly well deſerued; for in *Rome* was a law that the triumph ſhould not be graunted but for great victories obtained: which being ſo, I ſee not that either CÆSAR or POMPEY could or did better deſerue it, then PROBVS. For if we conſider the number of battailes and victories (although they be not at large deſcribed, which he fought and wanne before that he was Emperour, and thoſe alſo after that he was ſo: I know not when we ſhould make an end of reciting them. There was neuer a prouince in the Empire when it was furtheſt extended, which was not conquered a new, or pacified and brought into ſubiection by him. CÆSAR was much extolled for expedition, taking his enemies at vnawares and vnprouided for him; PROBVS was no ſlower or made leſſe haſte

Probus warred againſt the Barbarians.

Probus came into Rome in triumph.

A compariſon betweene Probus and Iulius Cæſar.

then

then he; and although that his enemies were prouided for him, yet he ouerthrew them and put them to flight. It is ſaid that CÆSAR ſlew in battailes in the warres aboue a million of men; and PROBVS in the firſt warres which hee made after that he was Emperour, ſlew foure hundred thouſand: and *France* wherein CÆSAR warred tenne yeeres before he could ſubdue it, PROBVS conquered in one yeere. As for the other warres and battailes which he fought when he was but a Captaine, I hold the number of thoſe which were ſlaine therein for as innumerable, as the warres were daungerous and deſperate. But if we come to the ciuill warres which CÆSAR made againſt the Romanes; I hold thoſe which PROBVS waged againſt three tyrants with old legions, to be no way inferiour. So as I know not wherefore we ſhould not as much extoll the acts and doings of ſome of thoſe Emperours, as of POMPEY, or of CÆSAR. But not to ſwarue from the common opinion, againſt which wee may not contend, giuing to CÆSAR and ſuch excellent men the firſt place and degree; yet it is great reaſon that we ſhould alſo make honourable mention of thoſe which were vertuous and valorous; and that wee ſhould preſerue the memoriall of them for an example of fortitude. Which wanted no other thing (as I ſaid in the beginning) but writers, which might eloquently and with a good ſtile, haue particularly written their acts, which the others had: for if of PROBVS and of ſome others, of which wee haue alreadie treated, and are againe to treate hereafter, there had bin any which elegantly and eloquently had written the hiſtories, relating all their acts and valiant deedes in particular; their bold attempts, their counſels, their orations, their aduertiſements, their wonderfull policies, ſtratagems, and other matters of importance, which doubtles happened without number, in ſuch and ſo great enterpriſes and battailes; wee ſhould not onely be content to giue vnto theſe men the ſecond place, but peraduenture we ſhould contend for the firſt; eſpecially conſidering that they were no leſſe excellent in vertue and bountie, then in armes and valour.

But leauing this diſputation apart; for in the end the world will pronounce ſentence in the behalfe of CÆSAR, and of thoſe famous men of ancient time: Our PROBVS entred *Rome* triumphing of the Germanes, of the Blemii, and of many other nations and tyrants. His triumph was moſt ſolemne, and his men of warre entred with him: among which were Germanes, Spaniards, and other nations which had ſerued him in the warres, as well as the Romanes. There were alſo ſome excellent and great Captaines, of which the moſt noble were, LEONIDES, DIOCLESIANVS, CARVS, CONSTANTINVS, ANABALLIANVS, MAXIMINIANVS, PISONIANVS, HERCVLEVS, CECROPIVS, and ſuch others, whereof ſome were afterwards Emperours. This triumph being ended, the next day (according to the ancient cuſtome) began the feaſts, games, and diſports; wherein were huntings of fierce and ſauage beaſts, more and more ſtrange, then euer before that time were ſeen in *Rome*: for which purpoſe he cauſed in a place called *Circulus Maximus*, a great groue of wood and a Mountaine to be made, full of very great trees, ſet in ſuch ſort that they ſeemed naturally to haue growne there. The ſituation of the place was ſo capable and ſo large, that therein were hunted a thouſand Oſtriches, a thouſand Stags, a thouſand mountaine Goates, a thouſand wilde Boares, a thouſand fallow Deere, and other kinds of beaſts: and the people were permitted to kill and take thereof at their pleaſure. Afterwards there were killed with launces three hundred Beares; and in a manner as many Lions, of thoſe of *Libya*, and of *Syria*; which was a ſpectacle repreſenting more maieſtie and greatnes then delight or pleaſure. The next day thither came three hundred

Probus his triumph in Rome.

Sword-players, which were men (as we haue alreadie ſaid) which killed one another to make the people ſport; and thoſe which ſuruiued, gained reward and libertie. Theſe feaſts being ended, the Emperour made certaine lawes, and tooke care for the good gouernment of the Empire; and all men liued in ſuch peace and quietnes, that PROBVS vſed to ſay, that hee would ſpeedily take ſuch a courſe, that there ſhould be no more neede of any men of warre. Wherefore, as alſo for that he would neuer ſuffer his ſouldiers to be idle, but buſied them in labours and neceſſarie edifices, they began to hate him and to wiſh his death; as men which had been accuſtomed to robbe and ſteale, and to liue licentiouſly. And hauing taken order for all matters concerning a peaceable gouernment, he determined to goe into the Eaſt, to the end to ſubdue and wholy to ſubuert the kingdome of the Perſians and Parthians: for there now remained no other power that he needed to care for, to confirme that peace which he publiſhed to eſtabliſh through the Empire. And vndertaking this enterpriſe, with greater preparation, then euer was made in any other (for now nothing letted him) it ſeeming to his ſouldiers that it was not good to haue a Prince ſo valorous, in whoſe time they were compelled to liue in ſuch ſubiection and were puniſhed, and could not follow their old courſe and former libertie, they reſolued to kill him; and in ſecret many of them conſpired againſt him: and ſo as hee paſſed through *Slauonia*, they murthered him by treaſon; when hee had raigned (after EVTROPIVS) ſixe yeeres and foure moneths; which (as I ſaid of AVRELIANVS) was a very ſhort ſpace, for the accompliſhing of ſuch and ſo great acts and enterpriſes, as his were. And ſome authors write that he raigned not ſo long. His death was much lamented and bewailed in *Rome*, both by the Senate and Romane people. The armie ſtood not vpon the puniſhing of the offenders; for no man durſt to attempt the ſame: but they erected to this inuincible Emperour a moſt honourable Sepulchre, wherein was engrauen this Epitaph.

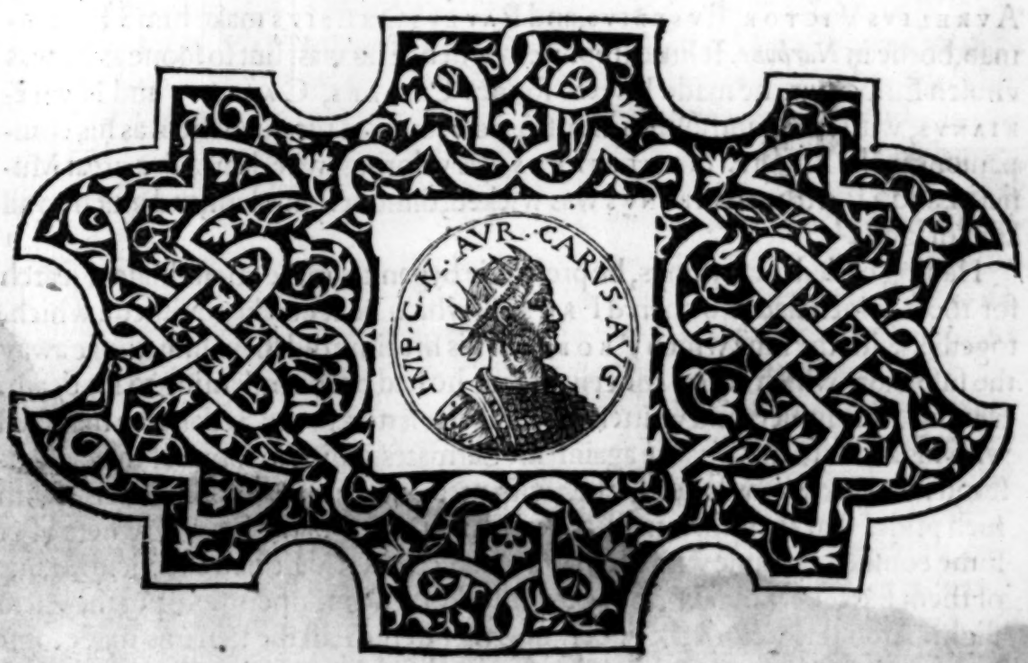
Probus ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

Here lieth the Emperour PROBVS, *iuſtly for his goodnes called* PROBVS; *of all the barbarous nations and tyrants a Conquerour.*

Anno Dom. 285. This paſſed (as EVSEBIVS teſtifieth) in the yeere of our Lord 285. He left neither ſonne nor kinſeman that durſt make challenge to the Empire: and ſo there remained not any man that ſought to eternize the memorie of ſo great and excellent a man.

THE

THE LIFE OF CARVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND ONE AND FORTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME. AND OF CARINVS and NVMERIANVS his sons, which were also called AVGVSTI.



NOw were the men of warre againe in possession of authoritie to chuse Emperors. For as it appeareth by the processe of this historie, they euer hated that Emperour which was chosen by the Senate. And although that in diuers parts of the Empire there were armies and ordinarie legions; yet that armie wherein the Emperour was at the time of his death, euer pretended to haue greatest right; and hee that was chosen thereby, seemed to haue the most iust title, and was held for right Emperour. And for as much as PROBVS was dead and buried, as we haue said, the souldiers began to consult about the election of a new Emperour, and they all desired to make choise of such a man as might seeme to deserue the same; so as neither the Senate nor other armies should haue any iust cause to grieue at his election. And in the opinion of the greatest part, CARVS (whom PROBVS had made Pretorian Prefect) was thought very sufficient, as well for that he was a man of great worth, as for that hee was of great experience in gouernment, by reason of the charge and offices which hee had held: and finally they chose him Emperour, and sware obedience vnto him, to the great good liking of the whole armie.

The men of warre euer hated those Emperors, which were chosen by the Senate.

Carus chosen Emperour.

When his election was publiſhed in *Rome*, the Senate was nothing pleaſed therewith, not in reſpect of himſelfe; for of his good conditions and vertues they were very well aſſured; but for that he had two ſonnes, the eldeſt of which expected to be his ſucceſſor, whoſe name was CARINVS, and was a wicked and moſt vitious man: but they durſt not denie their obedience, and ſo approued his election, through the deſire they had to preſerue the peace and quietnes wherein PROBVS had then left them. Whence, or of what countrey this Emperour CARVS was, I find not written in any authors, FABIVS CECILIANVS which wrote the hiſtorie of his time (as VOPISCVS reporteth) ſaith, that he was borne in *Slauonia*, but by deſcent he was an Africane. ONESIMVS ſaith, that he was borne in *Rome*, and that his father was a Slauon; neuertheleſſe, he was held for a Romane, which he ſheweth in ſome letters which are by the ſame VOPISCVS recited. But AVRELIVS VICTOR, EVSEBIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS make him a Frenchman, borne in *Narbone*. It little importeth whence he was, but ſo ſoone as he was choſen Emperour, he made his two ſonnes CÆSARS, CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, with name and authoritie of AVGVSTI, and receiued them as his companions in the Empire. NVMERIANVS was valorous, wiſe, learned, a great Muſician, and a Poet: but CARINVS was wicked, diſhoneſt, inſolent, and giuen to all kind of vice.

Hauing ended theſe things, he preſentlie began to make moſt diligent ſearch for thoſe which had murthered PROBVS, which he ſeuerely puniſhed: which, together with the loue which PROBVS in his life time did ſhew him, tooke away the ſuſpicion which ſome conceiued that he had been conſenting to his death. Hauing done iuſtice, and written his ordinarie letters to the Senate, he marched with his armie to make warre againſt the Sarmates, which ſo ſoone as they vnderſtood that PROBVS was dead, came with great furie into *Pannonia*, & came with ſuch pride, that they threatned all *Italy*, and the reſt of the Empire, where after ſome conflicts he came with them to a battaile, wherein he had the victorie, ſlue of them ſixteene thouſand, tooke twentie thouſand priſoners, and put the reſt to flight. After this victorie, he vnderſtood that in the Eaſt the Perſians made ſome ſturre: wherefore, and to the end to accompliſh what PROBVS had pretended, he determined to paſſe preſentlie thither, leauing to his eldeſt ſonne CARINVS the gouernement of *France* and of *Spaine*, and NVMERIANVS he tooke with himſelfe, and went with ſuch power and with ſo great an armie, that he preſentlie tooke all the countrey of *Meſopotamia*, without meeting any man to make any defence or head againſt him. And paſſing further, he beſieged the citie of *Theſiphonte*, where the Perſians ſallied forth to receiue him with a ſufficient army, betweene which (as EVTROPIVS writeth) was a moſt cruell battaile; wherein CARVS ouerthrew them, and following his victorie, he tooke by force of armes the famous cities of *Seleucia* and *Theſiphonte*. And as he was of a high mind, and of great experience in the warres (if death had not ſurprized him) it was then beleeued, that he would haue wholie deſtroyed the power of the Perſians: for at that time they were at ciuill warres and contentions among themſelues. But comming with his armie to the ſhores ſide of the riuer *Tigris*, through his trauell and heate, he fell extremely ſick, wherewith being much oppreſſed, there happened one day a great tempeſt of thunder and lightning, and there fell a thunderbolt into the Emperours tent, wherewith ſome of thoſe which were with him were ſlaine, and among them the Emperour himſelfe, hauing raigned but two yeeres only, which he ſpent in continuall trauaile and warres, in the yeere of our Lord

Carus his victorie againſt the Sarmates.

Carus ouerthrew the Perſians.

Carus ſlaine with a thunderbolt.

Ann. Dom. 287.

Lord 287. in the beginning thereof. And notwithstanding that CARVS was a great and mightie Prince, yet the thunderbolt had no respect of him, and I see that those good Princes had as ill fortune as the most base & vntowardlie people of the world. I haue read the Chronicles of Kings, and of other great Princes of many kingdomes and prouinces; but I neuer heard nor read, that the like death euer happened vnto any as to the Romane Emperours, at least so commonlie: for it is certaine that no kind of death, how vile or strange soeuer, but hath bin inflicted vpon some Romane Emperour. For amongst them, some haue bin slaine by treason, and euery foote by the sword: some by thunderbolts from heauen, as CARVS, as I said but now: some were burnt with fire, as we will tell you of VALENS: others were hanged, as before we told you of BONOSVS, who was called Emperour in the time of PROBVS, and before him the old GORDIANVS in *Africa*: others tormented and trailed along the ground, as we told you of HELIOGABALVS and VITELLIVS: others were poisoned, as some before named: others captiues and throwne into prison, as most base and vile slaues, as VALERIANVS died: others opened their vaines and bled to death, as did QVINTILIVS and FLORIANVS: others were drowned, as was DECIVS; and to others happened other kinds of death. So as hauing not written the liues of aboue fortie or 41. Emperours, it seemeth that death hath made experience in them, that there be as many conditions of death, as of dead men: among which may be numbred the deaths of CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, sonnes to the Emperour CARVS, which were called AVGVSTI, from whose life we will presentlie begin; and the processe of the historie will shew others no lesse strange and fearefull.

Sundry kinds of death happened to the Romane Emperours.

Of CARVS his two sonnes, which he made CÆSARS with power and authoritie of AVGVSTI, the yonger whose name was NVMERIANVS, was with his father when he died, who as well for the goodnes and deserts of his father, as for his owne, was much beloued of all the armie and Romane people: wherefore by common consent, so soone as his father was dead, he was chosen Emperour, and for such was generallie obeyed. He was maried to the daughter of a rich and mightie man, whose name was ARRIVS APER. This new Emperour greatly lamenting the death of his father, and imagining that in that warre at that time there was no more to be done, raised his camp, and began to retire, and for that he was diseased in his eies, and could not indure the light; he made himselfe to be caried in a close Litter, so as he could not be seene. And as the desire to raigne and rule is the most strong & violent of all other passions; so his father in law ARRIVS APER forgetting the dutie which he ought to his soueraigne Lord, and the loue to his daughter and sonne in lawe, resolued to kill him, and by meanes of his great wealth and friends to procure the Empire for himselfe: which he might easily bring to passe, for that he was allowed to come to him so often as he would, so as by his hand (or some other mans by his direction) NVMERIANVS was slaine in his Litter; and to the end it should not be reuealed, they left him therein, and publishing that he could not indure to see any man, they caried him therein dead two or three daies, practising in the meane time what they had proiected: but as the dead bodie began to smell ill, the treason was discouered sooner then ARRIVS would, and there was so great a confusion and sorrow in the whole armie, that euery man tooke armes and said, that they would choose an Emperour which should punish so great a treason. But first of all ARRIVS APER was brought prisoner before the imperiall iudgement seate: for it was presentlie knowne that he had committed this murther. And the armie being in this con-

Numerianus chosen Emperour.

Numerianus slaine by his father in lawe.

fusion and tumult, by the common consent of all men DIOCLESIANVS was named and hailed Emperour, who was the most principal man in the armie, and one of the most excellent Captaines in the time of PROBVS, and was (as it were) the Emperours steward, and had the rule and gouernment of his household. He was borne in *Dalmatia* of obscure parentage, in so much that some say that his father was a Notarie: and others say, that he was the sonne of a bondman. But he was a man of a great stomacke, very wise, a great defender and louer of the commonwealth, of a quicke wit and vnderstanding, to make prouision for any occasion that might be offered, according to the time and season: and was of great experience in affaires and charges of importance. He was also a man of high conceites, which he put in execution; but with great wisedome and discretion.

Diocletianus chosen Emperour.

DIOCLESIANVS seeing himselfe called by all men Emperour, with great courage accepted the Empire, and clothing himselfe with the imperiall robe, he set him in the tribunall seate; and being saluted and hailed AVGVSTVS, the first thing that he did, was to make inquirie, how NVMERIANVS came to his death, notwithstanding that he alreadie knew the same. And the treason and league being discouered vnto him, he made the wicked ARRIVS APER to be brought before him; and he with his owne sword killed him; so much was he displeased therewith: And afterwards he made those which were his complices and partakers to be slaine. And so in this manner was reuenged the death of the good Emperour NVMERIANVS. CARINVS the other brother, who was left CÆSAR and was gouernour of *France* and *Spaine*, was very vnlike vnto him; for as this was noble, vertuous and giuen to all vertuous actions and exercises; and we know that besides all his other excellencies, he was the best poet of his time, and a very excellent Orator: so was CARINVS dishoneſt, horibly luxurious, an adulterer, and finally giuen to all kinde of vice and dishonestie: wherefore he was generally abhorred of all men; in so much that his owne father hated him, and being aduertised of his behauiour, said, that he held him not for his sonne, purposing to haue depriued him of the Empire.

Arrius Aper slaine by Diocletianus.

He then remaining in *France*, hauing put from him all the good and vertuous men, which his father left with him, conuersing altogethers with such as himselfe, vnderstoode of the death of his father and of his brother, and also of DIOCLESIANVS his election. And as (although wicked and vicious) he was valiant and of great courage, without amending any of his euill conditions; but rather with his libertie encreasing the same: so he leuied the greatest forces that he was able, and with great diligence made prouision to make head against DIOCLESIANVS, hoping to remaine sole Emperour. Whereof when DIOCLESIANVS was aduertised, he with great expedition came out of the East into *France* against him: And as of either side there was both great power and courage; so they had sundrie skirmishes and battailes, which were very fierce and cruell; but in the end each of them setting vp his rest, they came to a battaile, which was the last and most cruell; wherein CARINVS was iustly ouerthrowne and slaine. And in this manner remained DIOCLESIANVS at that time sole Lord and Emperour, which was in the yeere of our Lord 288.

Carinus ouerthrowne and slaine.

THE

THE LIFE OF DIOCLESIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND OF MAXIMINIANVS, THE TWO AND FORTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Diocleſianus for his vertue deſerued the dignitie of the Romane Empire, to whom the waight of the gouernment ſeeming heauie and burthenſome, he tooke for his aſſiſtant and companion therein Maximinianus; who carried and behaued himſelfe with ſuch loue, faith and ſo much reuerence towards him, and he towards Maximinianus, that they ſeemed to bee rather two moſt louing brothers then Emperours. He made Conſtans and Galerius Armentarius Caſars, to which he gaue the charge of waging ſundrie warres, which he could not himſelfe follow in perſon: and hauing obtained many victories, and triumphed together with his Caſars and with his Auguſtus; in the end he depoſed himſelfe from the Empire, being growne now old; and he perſwaded Maximinianus to doe the like; wherewith he was well content, and neuer after could be induced againe to accept of that dignitie and gouernment; notwithſtanding that he was by many men much entreated thereto. He was very cruell againſt the Chriſtians and deſtroyed many of their Churches, becauſe they ſhould not haue conuenient meanes and places to aſſemble together. In the end being very old, it is ſaid that he killed himſelfe with poiſon, for feare to be put to ſome ſhamefull death. An end vnworthie truly of his glorious life.

THE originall of DIOCLESIANVS; and the manner of his election we haue aboue expreſſed; together with his wit and valour: It reſteth now to declare the ſucceſſe of his life, and his acts, in ſuch manner, as PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPRIVS, and other auncient authors haue left the ſame in writing. Before which I will tell you one thing of

DIOCLESIANVS, which I doe not vſe to doe in the liues of other Emperours, for that I hold it a vaine thing; although recorded by thoſe authors which I follow in this chronicle, which was: the augurie or forewarning that each of them had, that he ſhould be Emperour, before that he was ſo. Which I will ſet downe for that it ſeemeth pleaſing; and to the end a little while to withdraw the readers minde from too much thinking of ſerious matters, of greater importance. FLAVIVS VOPISCVS writeth in the life of NVMERIANVS, ſonne of the Emperor CARVS, that DIOCLESIANVS being a poore ſouldier, and in his youth ſeruing in the warres of *France*, was lodged in a womans houſe which was a Magician or ſouthſaier; or as we ſay, a cunning-woman: one of thoſe which by the Frenchmen were called Druides, for ſo did they call all ſuch: which woman was his hoſteſſe and did dreſſe his meate, and making his reckoning with her for his diet (which he did euery day) as he was very ſparing of his purſe, this woman ſaid vnto him; Thou art very miſerly with me DIOCLESIAN, and truly art too very a niggard. DIOCLESIAN in ieſt anſwered her; Pardon me in that I am ſo ſparing in my expences, for I am but a poore ſouldier: but I promiſe thee that when I am an Emperour, I will be very liberall vnto thee. Quoth this woman vnto him, Doe not ieſt with me: for thou ſhalt bee Emperour when thou haſt ſlaine a Boare. DIOCLESIAN tooke this for a ieſt, and as hee was of a very hautie ſtomacke, he neuer forgat theſe ſpeeches: and although that he alwaies followed the wars, yet he gaue himſelfe much to hunting, and to kill wilde boares; moued thereto by her words. Afterwards in proceſſe of time AVRELIANVS, PROBVS, TACITVS, and CARVS came to be Emperours, and he had alreadie killed and daily did kill boares; and ſometime vſed to ieſt at the prophecie of this Druid, ſaying: I doe daily kill wilde boares, but others eate the fleſh. And at the laſt, when with his owne hands he had ſlaine the father in law to NVMERIANVS, whoſe name was APER, which ſignifieth a boare; it is written that hee then ſaid, Now is my prophecie expired and accompliſhed: for I haue killed the boare which did prognoſticate to me the Empire: and ſo he held the Druides prophecie for fulfilled. It is ſaid, that he came down from his throne of purpoſe to kill ARRIVS APER with his owne hand, although that it beſeemed not his greatnes to doe ſo vile a deede, yet he did it, to the end to confirme the prophecie. It is ſo written by theſe authors, and although I think not the contrarie, but that it happened ſo; yet I hold it but for a ieſt, for this Southſaier did not know what ſhe ſaid, and this which happened was but by chaunce; and ſo much the more, for that DIOCLESIAN was not made Emperour when he had killed one boare, but after that he had killed many boares, and in the end hee was made Emperour when he had ſlaine a man whoſe name was APER, which in Engliſh ſignifieth a boare. And for that all the prophecies which I finde written of theſe Emperours are after this manner, I leaue to write them: for that they bring no fruite with them, but rather hurt and daunger, inticing and alluring Chriſtians to haue regard to Southſayings; a thing truly very pernicious, which the Infidels obſerued through the inſtigation of the diuell. So ſoone as DIOCLESIAN ſaw himſelfe free from the warres of NVMERIANVS, beginning to take the gouernment of the Empire into his hands, an infinite number of people which were labourers and peazants, aroſe in *France*, in manner of a communaltie; the captaines whereof were two very ſufficient men, whoſe names were AMANDVS and HELIENVS: wherefore accounting that warre vnworthie of himſelfe, he ſent thither MAXIMINIANVS, whom hee had alreadie made CÆSAR, for that he was a man of much worth and very valiant in armes,

armes, who (although with great daunger) put to flight and slew a great number of them, so as all places there were in peace and quietnes. But other warres and tyrants rising, holding himselfe alone insufficient for so great a charge, hee now made MAXIMINIANVS (whom before he had made CÆSAR) AVGVSTVS, Emperour and his companion and equall with himselfe in the Empire; as some other Emperours by others had done the like. And truly it was a wonderfull matter to see, that they agreed so well together: for MAXIMINIANVS was not onely a good and loiall companion in the Empire, but there was neuer any sonne more obedient vnto his father, then he was to DIOCLESIAN; and so in loue and concord they gouerned the Empire a great space, and obtained many noble victories against their enemies. When DIOCLESIAN had made this choise, he tooke his way towards the East, for that there was a certaine captaine in *Egypt* whose name was ACHILLEVS, which had seised on that kingdome, and was called Emperour, and was mightie and of very great power. And MAXIMINIANVS went into *Africa*, where all the legions and old souldiers were drawne together in a mutinie, and so other nations with their Captaines very orderly rose with the countries, and enioyed the rents and tributes; and these for their continuance were called QVINGENTIANI, or QVINQVAGENARII. These two enterprises were held to be most important, wherein they had good successe, as wee will presently declare. But before that those warres began, there happened other of no lesse importance: for a principall captaine called CRAVSIVS, or (as others say) CARAVSIVS, rebelled in *Britannie*, possessed himselfe of that Iland, and was called Emperour. And NARSEVS King of *Persia* and *Armenia*, taking the benefit of the time, began to warre against the Empire, and inuaded *Mesopotamia*. And one IVLIANVS in *Italy* rebelled, and would haue made himselfe Emperour: But seeing how small meanes he had to maintaine the same, hee stabbed himselfe to death with his poiniard, and fell into a fire, as AVRELIVS VICTOR reporteth. For which occasions the two Emperours agreed that each of them should name one other to be CÆSAR and his successor, which should be such a man, as should be of qualitie able to helpe to preserue and defend the Empire; which they did: and DIOCLESIAN chose one GALERIVS MAXIMINVS, who by his surname was called ARMENTARIVS. This man was of so base a linage, that they report him to be the sonne of a Cowheard, and borne in *Dacia*; but was a most valiant man, very wise, and an excellent Captaine; yet very seuere, and of a churlish condition. MAXIMINIANVS named another called CONSTANTIVS, and by his surname CLORVS; a man both very vertuous, wise, a valiant Captain, & a Romane gentleman, borne of high and noble linage. His fathers name was EVTROPIVS, and his mothers CLAVDIA, neece of the Emperour CLAVDIVS, who had the great victorie against the Gothes: and to the end to be the better assured of them, they made them to put away the wiues which they had, and to marrie others. CONSTANTIVS did put away HELEN, by whom hee had alreadie one sonne called CONSTANTINE, which afterwards was an excellent Emperour, and he married with THEODOSIA the daughter in law of MAXIMINIANVS. When they had made this prouision, diuided the Empire amongst them, and leuied their armies: the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS went into *Africa*, and DIOCLESIAN into *Egypt* against ACHILLEVS; GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS went into the East against the Persians; CONSTANTIVS CLORVS CÆSAR remained in *France* to make head against CARAVSIVS, who called himselfe Emperour in *Britannie*; and against the incursions of the Northerly nations. Which warres, although

Diocleſian chose Maximinianus for his companion in the Empire.

Achilleus called Emperour in Egypt.

Crauſius rebelled in Britannie.

Iulianus rebelling in Italy slew himselfe.

Conſtantius Clorus made Cæſar by Maximianus.

that

that ſome of them happened at one inſtant and togethers; I will recite in ſuch manner as to me ſhall ſeeme moſt expedient. And to begin with the Emperours, I ſay, that DIOCLESIAN being arriued in *Egypt*, ACHILLEVS attended his comming with a huge and mightie armie; and ioyning battaile (notwithſtanding that ACHILLEVS fought very valiantly) DIOCLESIAN had the victorie; and ACHILLEVS ſauing himſelfe by flight, recouered the citie of *Alexandria*, where ſeeking to repaire his forces, he was beſieged by DIOCLESIAN; and in the time of eight moneths (for ſo long the ſiege laſted) there happened many battailes, skirmiſhes and encounters, on the one ſide and the other; but in the end the citie was taken by force of armes, and ACHILLEVS was by DIOCLESIANS commandement caſt to be deuoured by lions, and other fierce wilde beaſts; and ſo he vſed in all that kingdome moſt cruell and extreme puniſhment, putting to death many thouſands of men, but principally of thoſe which had been leaders and motors of this rebellion, or had conſented thereto. MAXIMINIANVS the other Emperour which went into *Africa* againſt the Quingentiani, in the beginning warred very doubtfully, and with great difficultie: but the greateſt part of that people fighting with his power, hee conſtrained the reſt to entreate for peace, and afterwards went into diuers parts, deſtroying the tyrants and theeues which were in thoſe countries: wherefore he was called MAXIMINIANVS HERCVLEVS, for that HERCVLES trauailed many parts of the world, doing the like. And DIOCLESIAN by a new ſurname was called IOVIVS, of IVPITER; who they ſaid did ouercome and kill the Giants: and ſo he and his companions (in his name) ouercame and ſlew the tyrants. The other warres made by the CÆSARS prooued not ſo well in the beginning: for CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, who remained to make head againſt CARAVSIVS; as CARAVSIVS was valiant & wily, and in poſſeſſion of al *Britannie*, ſo could he no way preuaile againſt him, but was rather forced by the Germanes which came downe againſt him, to conclude a peace with CARAVSIVS; and ſo CARAVSIVS remained peaceable Lord of *Britannie* the ſpace of 7. yeeres. Yet afterwards his companion & familiar friend called ALECTVS ſlew him, and tooke the gouernment of the land to himſelf, which he held 3. yeeres. But he at laſt was ouerthrowne and ſlaine by ASCLEPIDOTVS, or ASCLOPIVS DOTVS, a Pretorian prefect: and ſo *Britannie* was againe recouered, after that it had bin tyrannized, & held by rebels the ſpace of 10. yeeres. When CONSTANTIVS made peace with CARAVSIVS he warred a long time, & had a ſore & dangerous war with the Germanes and barbarous nations; with which among other battailes, he fought one which was very memorable, wherin in one day he was ouerthrowne and loſt: & likewiſe the ſame day he was a conqueror & a victorious Lord. Which happened in this manner: He comming to a battaile with them in the morning, neere to a citie of the Ligones or Cigones in *Gallia Belgica*, part whereof is now called *Flaunders*; his troupes fought ſo il, that they were conſtrained to turne their backs & to retire to the citie: and CONSTANTIVS CLORVS was forced to do the like. But when he came to the gates of the citie hee found them faſt lockt, and was in ſuch a ſtreight, that if they had not let downe a rope, wherewith he was drawn ouer the wall into the citie, he had then bin ſlaine by the enemie. When he was within the citie, he called the ſouldiers togethers, and made ſuch a ſpeech vnto them, that they were greatly aſhamed at their receiued diſhonor: ſo that in the eeuening within fiue houres after the firſt fight (the enemie miſtruſting no ſuch matter) he commaunded all the gates to bee opened, and ſallied out ſuddenly at vnawares, and ſet vpon his enemies with ſuch courage, that after a long fight they

Alexandria taken by Dioclesian, and Achilleus vvas caſt to the lions

Maximinianus called Herculeus.

Conſtantius made peace vvith Carauſius in Britanny

Conſtantius in great daunger vvas ouerthrowne and ouercame both in one day.

they were ouerthrowne and torne in peeces, to the number of few leſſe then threeſcore thouſand men. In like manner happened many great accidents to CONSTANTIVS in thoſe parts. And while as DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN Emperors, and CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR followed theſe warres, GALERIVS waged a warre no leſſe dangerous againſt NARSEVS King of *Perſia*: againſt whom (as we haue ſaid) he went. For beſides that it laſted a long time, there were many men ſlaine of either ſide therein, without any aduantage or ſigne of victorie to either partie, vntill at the laſt they came with their whole power to a ſet battaile neere to the citie of *Carras*, whereinto GALERIVS CÆSAR entred with leſſer forces then he ought to haue done or was requiſite: and fighting with greater courage, then diſcretion, he was ouerthrowne, and loſing almoſt his whole armie, he eſcaped by flight. Whereat the Emperour DIOCLESIAN was ſo much grieued, that GALERIVS comming into his preſence in *Meſopotamia*, meeting him vpon the way alighted from his horſe, and came to the litter wherein the Emperour was, to doe him honour: but DIOCLESIAN ſuffered him to goe a great while ouer the fields on foote, without ſtaying or willing him to take his horſe; but reprehending him, for that he had with ſo little diſcretion ſuffered himſelfe to be ouerthrowne in a raunged battaile. In the end he gaue him leaue to depart, inioyning him to leuie a new armie, and to endeuour to recouer his loſt honour, and to defend his prouince. Which GALERIVS parting from him aſhamed, with all diligence put in execution; DIOCLESIAN remaining with his troupes in *Meſopotamia* in the meane time, to the end that the Perſians ſhould not inuade it. And ſo GALERIVS with all ſpeede went into *Europe* to leuie ſouldiers; and bringing with him the legions of *Slauonia*, *Dacia*, and *Miſia*, hee returned into *Aſia*, and went into the greater *Armenia*, whither NARSEVS the King of the Perſians, by whom hee had been ouerthrowne, was alreadie come, with whom hee began the warre againe anew, in very good order and with good aduice, and with no leſſe courage and force. And the two armies came ſo neere the one to the other, that by a mutuall conſent of their Captaines they ioyned battaile: the one part preſuming on the victorie paſt, and to preſerue the honour which they had gotten; and the other part to recouer their loſſes: And ſo the ſouldiers for the ſame occaſion fought with incredible courage and ſtomacke, which made the battaile very cruell and bloudie: But the Romane armie conſiſting of more choiſe men, and better trained, obtained the victorie; although not without great difficultie and daunger. The King eſcaped by flight, and GALERIVS following the execution entred his campe; where hee found great riches, and tooke his wiues, his children, his ſiſters, and many noble and principall men of the kingdome of *Perſia*. And marching forwards with his forces, hee inuaded his countrie and did great harme therein, without finding any man that durſt to make reſiſtance againſt him. And from thence hee went into *Meſopotamia* to ſee DIOCLESIAN, where hee was receiued as in a triumph: and DIOCLESIAN himſelfe went to meete him, and entertained and embraced him cheerefully, doing him great honour.

Galerius reproued by Diocleſian.

A ſecond battaile betweene Galerius and the Perſians.

Galerius his victorie againſt the Perſians.

All matters in the Eaſt being pacified, and the Perſians and Parthians being ouerthrowne, and hauing therein ſpent many yeeres, they returned into *Europe*, where MAXIMINIANVS called HERCVLEVS, Emperour and his companion, and CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR were, who were buſied in the warres before recited, all being (in truth) gouerned and directed by the wiſedome of DIOCLESIAN, whoſe valour, policie, and courage was ſuch, that there was not any that durſt

durſt to diſobey him, no not his equall MAXIMINIANVS; ſo as they all ſeemed to be his ſonnes and his Captaines, rather then Emperours and his companions.

Theſe men held the Empire in peace in all the three parts, to wit, Eaſt, Weſt, and South, but the Northerlie parts could neuer be throughlie ſubdued, aſwell for their fiercenes, courage, and valour, as for that when they were ouerthrowne and put to flight, they retired and withdrew themſelues into moſt cold, barreine, and inacceſſible places, which they could well indure being borne vnder that climate: ſo as the Romane Captaines held it impoſſible to paſſe any further with their armies, contenting themſelues to haue chaſed them out of the bounds of the Empire, but they would afterwards returne againe more fierce then at the firſt, and euer were troubleſome and feared. Now the Scythians, the Gothes, the Sarmates, the Alanes, the Carpi, the Catti, the Quades, and other nations in great number aſſembling themſelues, with a deſire to rob and ſteale, and to inhabit ſome more fertile ſoile, began to make warre and great ſpoile in the lands of the Empire; againſt which the Emperours and their two CÆSARS marched with their armies, and diſperſing themſelues into ſundrie parts they followed the warres, although not without loſſe, and great difficultie, the one helping and aſſiſting the other. In the end they all obteined victorie, and the barbarous nations were repulſed, and many thouſands of them were taken priſoners, and afterwards being ſet at libertie, certaine prouinces, which by the warres were diſpeopled, were giuen them to inhabit. DIOCLESIAN hauing obteined this victorie and many other, and hauing eſtabliſhed peace in the Empire by the induſtrie of himſelfe, of MAXIMINIANVS his companion in the Empire, and of GALERIVS and CONSTANTIVS which were CÆSARS, now willing to inioy the accuſtomed reward of victories, he came to *Rome*, where he entred in triumph together with the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS, and the two CÆSARS aforeſaid, where was made vnto them one of the moſt ſtately triumphs that euer was ſeene in *Rome*, wherein was an infinite maſſe of treaſure of the ſpoile of the Eaſt, of *Egypt*, and of other nations by them ſubdued, and therein were chariots full of armes, and of veſſels of gold and ſiluer; and therein alſo were led priſoners the wife and children of the Kings of *Perſia*, with many other Kings and Captaines of ſundrie armies of the Alanes, of the Catti and others, which was in the eighteenth yeere of the raigne of DIOCLESIAN: for ſo long was the time that he had been buſied in the warres, and in prouiding and giuing order for ſuch things as were done therein. This DIOCLESIAN was ſo wiſe, ſo politick and ſo valorous in the gouernement of the Empire, that no Emperour either before or after him, held the Empire in the like ſubiection: for MAXIMINIANVS obeyed him as his father, and GALERIVS and CONSTANTIVS as their Lord, and ſo he was honoured and reuerenced more like a King, then an Emperour; and he would that his ſubiects ſhould adore him, and do him reuerence kneeling vpon the ground, after the manner of the Kings of *Perſia*. And as the cuſtome of the Emperours in former time was, when they were intreated by any principall men to giue them their hands to kiſſe, they raiſing them vp gaue them peace with their lips on the cheeke, and meane men vſed to kiſſe their knees: but DIOCLESIAN commaunded by a publike edict, that without any difference all men ſhould kiſſe his foote proſtrate vpon the earth; and for the greater reuerence, he made his ſhooes to be ſet with pearle and ſtone of great worth: And in the top of this his high proſperitie, by the inſtigation of the Diuell, he reſolued to perſecute the Chriſtians, and this was the tenth generall perſecution of the primitiue Church after NERO, and the

Barbarous nations roſe againſt the Empire.

Diocleſians triumph.

The tenth perſecution.

the moſt cruell of all, and laſted longer then any other; for it continued ten whole yeeres. The Chriſtians had liued in reſt and libertie many yeeres after the perſecution of AVRELIANVS, and the number of them and of their Churches was now ſo great, that in all the cities of the Empire and out of it there was a great concourſe of people, and their Churches were much frequented: with which reſt and tranquillitie (as EVSEBIVS, who was a chriſtian author of thoſe times reporteth) the ceremonies and diſcipline of the Church began to be corrupt, and feruent deuotion began to wax cold, enuie and contention growing betweene the Biſhops. And there was ſuch diſcord among them, that (as he iudgeth) God did iuſtly permit the puniſhment and perſecution which then happened, which in truth was ſo horrible and ſo cruell, that no toong is able to expreſſe the ſame: wherefore well ſaith the ſame EVSEBIVS, as he which was preſent and ſaw the ſame, that he cannot throughly expreſſe with words that which he ſaw with his eies. And herewith he and PAVLVS OROSIVS do write ſuch things, which were of ſuch qualitie, that there can be no heart ſo hard, but will haue compaſſion, and be grieued to heare the ſame, and what they haue written: ſo as it is wonderfull to conſider of the patience and conſtancie of the perſecuted, and of the fiercenes and crueltie of thoſe which perſecuted them.

In generall, DIOCLESIAN endeuoured to deſtroy all the Churches and Temples of the Chriſtians, to the end that they ſhould not aſſemble to pray and to vſe the diuine ſeruice therein, and burnt all the bookes that he could get of the holie ſcriptures, and would not permit that any man of what condition ſoeuer, if he were a Chriſtian ſhould hold any office or magiſtracie: and if he were alreadie eſtabliſhed in any, he ſhould be depriued and held for infamous, if he eſcaped with his life. The ſouldiers and men of warre being Chriſtians which would not renounce their faith, were caſſired, and depriued of all militarie honor, and ſome of their liues. The Biſhops and Prelates were robbed and ſpoiled of that which they had, and many of them ſlaine and martyred; and a ſlaue which was a Chriſtian could by no meanes obteine his freedome. This was common in all the prouinces of the Empire, but particularlie in ſome of them was done moſt indidicible great crueltie, as in *Phrygia*, in *Egypt*, in *Syria*, & in other parts. Some were fleyed aliue, others were torne with iron combes, and ſo their skins being rent, they were returned to the priſons, where they were lodged vpon tile ſtones, and the ſheards of broken pots, to the end that their reſt ſhould be more cruell and terrible then their martyrdome. Honeſt and delicate women, but ſtrong and conſtant in faith, were hanged vp by the feete as naked as they were borne, to the end that their life ſhould continue for a ſpace with ſhame and double torment. Others had their eares, noſes, lips, hands, fingers, and feet cut off, hauing only their eies left, for a greater torment, and martyrdome vnto them: For others, they with great force bowed downe great armes and boughes of trees, and faſtned the one leg to one bough, and the other leg to another bough, and then letting looſe the ſaid boughes with the force thereof the bodies were rent in ſunder. Betweene the nailes of the fingers and toes, which are very ſenſible and tender parts, they thruſt thornes and ſplinters of canes. Vpon other men being naked they caſt melted lead and tinne, wherewith they indured moſt cruell torments. Finallie, there were vſed againſt the Chriſtians ſuch torments and cruelties, as the like had neuer beene ſeene nor imagined: and the number of the murthered (during the time of this perſecution) was infinite.

Horrible crueltie vſed by Diocleſian againſt the Chriſtians.

As DIOCLESIAN was in the height of this felicitie obeyed and feared of all

the world he reſolued to doe a notable matter, the like whereof was neuer ſeene in any other Emperour before his time: which was, to renounce the Empire and to liue priuate, conſidering (as ſome write) like a wiſe man, the mutabilitie of all things in this life, which neuer continue in one eſtate; but when they are growne to their height, naturally they decline and diminiſh. Taking example by the great POMPEY, MARCVS ANTONIVS, HANNIBAL, and other great Captaines and princes, who hauing attained to the higheſt of all felicitie and proſperitie, were afterwards throwne downe and brought low. Accounting himſelfe alſo inſufficient for ſo great a charge, by reaſon of his decrepit old age; and fearing therefore to fall into contempt, he would firſt contemne the dominion and rule, with ſo many cares and troubles; and ſo leade a quiet life in meane eſtate without care, feare, or ſuſpition. And was not contented alone to leaue the Empire himſelfe, but he perſwaded, and (as we may ſay) in a manner compelled, the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS to doe the like. Which betweene them was concluded and agreed vpon by letters and Ambaſſades, in ſuch ſort, that both of them vpon one day, hauing ruled the Empire the ſpace of twentie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and ſeauen, MAXIMINIANVS being in *Milan*, and DIOCLESIAN in *Nicomedia*, they renounced the Empire; and putting off their imperiall robes and enſignes, they came downe from the thrones where they ſate, and made themſelues equall with other particular and priuate men. Firſt nominating and chuſing for Emperours and AVGVSTI, CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, and GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS; which before were CÆSARS. Which DIOCLESIAN did ſo willingly and ſo vnfainedly, that he afterwards vſed to ſay; that he then began to liue, and ſaw the beautie of the ſunne. And it ſeemeth ſo to be true, for after that theſe two had left the Empire, as we haue ſaid; he would neuer intermeddle with any matter of gouernment what ſo euer it were. But all his care was to plant and ſet a garden, and an orchard which he had in *Solonia* a citie in *Dalmatia*, where he was borne, and whither he retired himſelfe. And afterwards in proceſſe of time being required by his companion MAXIMINIANVS and his ſonne in law GALERIVS, who then was Emperour, vpon ſome vrgent occaſions which happened, againe to receiue the Empire, alleadging that it was neceſſarie and expedient for the common good; he would not accept thereof, but anſwered: that if they had ſeene and enioyed ſuch quietnes and reſt as he had; and the hearbes and trees which he poſſeſſed in his countrie; they would not haue ſent to haue made any ſuch requeſt vnto him: for he had alreadie trauailed and done enough for the common-wealth; and that now God had giuen him time to trauaile and to liue to himſelfe; and that he could not ſay and account that he had euer liued, but ſince that he liued in quiet and in reſt in his owne countrie. And they replying, that he ought to haue reſpect vnto the great acts which he had done, and not to loſe the reputation of the victories which he might haue in his owne time: He anſwered, that hauing choſen and placed his felicitie in the gifts of the minde; it was no vile or baſe thing, neither ought it ſo to be adiudged to contemne temporall riches and rule, and to profeſſe an honeſt poore life; agreeing with the diſcipline and examples of the ſage and auncient Philoſophers: And ſo finally he would not alter his determination. It cannot be ſaid but that this wiſe Lord, did well knowe and vnderſtand how little the dominion and commaund in this life is to bee eſteemed; ſeeing that with it, it bringeth ſo much trouble, anguiſh, and vexation. And I doe partly beleeue that for ſome good deed which he had done, it pleaſed God

Diocleſian renounced the Empire.

Conſtantius Clorus and Galerius Armentarius made Emperours by Diocleſian.

God (who leaueth no merit vnrewarded) to giue him that reſt and vnderſtanding in this world, ſeeing that in the other life, as a cruell infidell, he was to pay for the cruelties which he had committed againſt the primitiue Church: and in the end gaue him ſuch a death as he had deſerued. Some ſay, that he poiſoned himſelfe for feare of LICINIVS and of CONSTANTINE, which afterwardes were Emperours; who in their letters had threatened him for that he would not come to their nuptials. Others ſay, that he died mad, after that he had liued (as ſaith AVRELIVS VICTOR) ſeuentie and eight yeeres. What death his companion MAXIMINIANVS died, I will tell you in the liues of his ſucceſſors. Of two wiues which DIOCLESIAN had, I finde not that there remained any other ſonne or daughter, but VALERIA which he married to GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS, when he made him CÆSAR. Of MAXIMINIANVS remained one ſonne, whoſe name was MAXENCIVS, who afterwards tooke the name of Emperour, whom he had by a woman of *Soria*, called EVTROPIA and one daughter named FAVSTA, which he married to CONSTANTINE ſonne of CONSTANCIVS CÆSAR, which afterwards was Emperour.

The death of Diocleſian.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND OF GARERIVS ARMENTARIVS, THE THREE AND fortith Emperour of *Rome*.

PRESENTLY after that DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN had reſigned the Empire, CONSTANTIVS and GALERIVS without any contradiction were obeyed and accepted for Emperors, accordingly as the others had ordained; they being, as we may ſaid, ſonnes in law to the two laſt Emperours; for GALERIVS was married to DIOCLESIANS daughter, and CONSTANTIVS to THEODORA the daughter in law of MAXIMINIANVS. This CONSTANTIVS was a very noble, vertuous, courteous and valiant gentleman, both of condition and in bloud. And GALERIVS although that he were but of a baſe ſtocke and li-

Conſtantius Clorus, and Galerius Armentarius made Emperours.

nage, yet was he neuertheleſſe valiant, and a ſingular good Captaine; but therewith, cruell, terrible, churliſh, incontinent, but well proportioned, and (as AVRELIVS VICTOR ſaith) of a comly and goodly conſtitution of body. And notwithſtanding that in conditions there was great difference betweene them; yet DIOCLESIAN through his great wiſedome made them to liue in peace and concord; ſo as they no way diſagreed. But hee being dead (they as wiſemen) for feare to fall out, agreed by lot to diuide the prouinces of the Empire betweene them, which they did: and to CONSTANTIVS befell *Italie*, *Sicilia*, and *Africa*, with all the prouinces thereof, together with *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie* and *Britannie*: and to GALERIVS, was allotted *Slauonia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Theſſalia*, all the prouinces of *Græcia*, of *Aſia*, of *Egypt*, of *Soria*, and all the Eaſt, and the Ilands therein. This diuiſion being made, it ſeemed a great charge and a burthen to the milde condition of CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, to haue the gouernment of ſo many prouinces as fell to his ſhare: for hee rather deſired to gouerne well, then to gouerne much; and therefore renounced to *Galerius* the prouinces of *Africa*, and of *Italie*, contenting himſelfe with *France*, *Spaine*, and the Iles of *Britannie*. Truely hee had reaſon, ſeeing that either of theſe Kings at this day is held for one of the moſt mightie Potentates of the world: ſo as that part which CONSTANTIVS held, for the ſmall time that hee liued; hee gouerned very wiſely and vprightly, to the great profit and contentment of the ſubiects; and was ſo highly eſteemed and beloued, that in his time there was not any warre or rebellion in any of thoſe prouinces. He did much honour and fauour the Chriſtians; and would not conſent that any violence or diſpleaſure ſhould bee done vnto any of them. Hee died in *England* of a diſeaſe, after that hee had been (as witneſſeth EVSEBIVS) ſixteene yeeres CÆSAR; and two yeeres Emperour. And in his place his ſonne CONSTANTINE (whom hee had by his firſt wife called HELENA, from whom hee was diuorced to marrie with the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS daughter in law) was choſen Emperour. And the ſaid CONSTANTINE was alſo married to FAVSTA the daughter of the ſame MAXIMINIANVS. And this was the end of CONSTANTIVS. But his companion GALERIVS hauing accepted that which hee deſired not; which was *Italie* and *Africa*; and conſidering alſo that one man alone could hardly well rule and gouerne ſo great an eſtate, to the ende therefore that hee might bee aſſiſted in the warres, and in all other accidents that might befall him, hee made two CÆSARS, which were almoſt equall in dignitie to himſelfe: the one was called SEVERVS, whom hee ſet in the gouernment of *Italie* and *Africa*; and to the other, whoſe name was MAXIMINVS, being (as ſaith AVRELIVS VICTOR) his ſiſters ſonne, he gaue the gouernment of the Eaſt, holding to himſelfe the prouinces of *Slauonia*, and of *Græcia*, with ſupreme power, as ſoueraigne Emperour aboue the CÆSARS; ſo as by fower heads the world was gouerned. Which were CONSTANTINVS, and GALERIVS, Emperours; and SEVERVS and MAXIMINVS, CÆSARS.

The Empire diuided betweene Conſtantius and Galerius.

The Emperour Conſtantius Clorus died in England.

Conſtantine choſen Emperour in his fathers place.

Seuerus and Maximinus made Ceſars by Galerius.

After that the Emperors DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN had renounced the Empire, the Pretorian ſouldiers which (as hath been often ſaid) remained neere to *Rome*, diſcontented with the gouernement of SEVERVS which ruled it, (he being farre abſent from thence, going into *Slauonia* to ſee the Emperour GALERIVS) aſſembling themſelues in a great tumult, choſe MAXENCIVS for Emperor, who (as is ſaid) was MAXIMINIANVS his ſonne which renounced the Empire,

pire, whom he had by a baſe woman of *Soria*, called EVTROPIA, which bred a great confuſion in the Empire, which then was in peace, and there enſued ſo great troubles thereof, as can hardlie be deſcribed. When the Emperour GALERIVS vnderſtood hereof, he commaunded SEVERVS CÆSAR with all ſpeede to take his way towards *Rome*, where the new tyrant MAXENCIVS was, and he did ſo; and being encamped neere to the citie, the greateſt part of his armie (for nouelties are euer moſt pleaſing) went ouer to MAXENCIVS, which his father MAXIMINIANVS being then in *Lucania*, after that he had renoũced the Empire, vnderſtanding, through deſire to rule, came in great haſte to *Rome*, vnder pretext to counſell and aſſiſt his ſonne in the gouernement, and ſent to DIOCLESIAN, deſiring him to do the like, who (as we haue ſaid) would not accept of his counſell, but liued in quiet.

The Pretorian ſouldiers diſcontent with the gouernement of Seuerus, made Maxentius their Emperour.

Maximianus which had renounced the Empire came to Rome vnder colour to giue counſell to his ſonne in the gouernement of the Empire.

MAXIMINIANVS hauing receiued his anſwere, and perceiuing himſelfe to be greatly accounted of, reſolued with himſelfe to repoſſeſſe the Empire, and to diſpoſſeſſe his ſonne thereof, ſurmiſing that he being in poſſeſſion of *Rome*, and that his ſonne in law CONSTANTINE raigning in *Britannie*, *Spaine*, and *France*, all would yeeld obedience to him. But his imaginations had ſo ill ſucceſſe, that he not only miſt of his purpoſe, but was ſo hardlie dealt withall by the Pretorian Cohorts (his ſonne permitting the ſame) that he was faine to flye out of *Italy* into *France*, where his ſonne in law the good CONSTANTINE had the gouernement, who very honorablie receiued him as his father in law, and as a man which had bin Emperour. But he which had ſet his thoughts only vpon the Empire, and ſought by all meanes how he might attaine thereto, like a wicked and diſloyall father in lawe purpoſed to haue ſlaine his ſonne in lawe CONSTANTINE: but it pleaſed God to diſcouer his treaſon, to the end that he ſhould receiue puniſhment for the crueltie which he had vſed againſt the Chriſtians: for flying from CONSTANTINES court he was ouertaken at *Marſeilles*, where he ſought to haue embarked himſelfe, and there was ſlaine, and ſo MAXIMINIANVS made an vnluckie end, his ſonne MAXENCIVS remaining Emperour and tyrant in *Rome*, as is aforeſaid. When GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS, who was the right Emperour, vnderſtood of the ill ſucceſſe and death of SEVERVS CÆSAR, whom he had ſent againſt MAXENCIVS, he reſolued in perſon to go againſt him with the greateſt power that he was able to make; and to the end to leaue a good guard in the prouinces of *Slauonia*, he made an excellent Captaine called LICINIVS, CÆSAR, who was a man of meane condition and baſe parentage, being but the ſonne of a poore laborer of *Dacia*, but was very wiſe and an excellent Captaine in the wars. This being done, and hauing taken ſuch other order as was requiſite, he departed with his armie towards *Italy*, directing his iourney for *Rome*: but by the way he was aduertiſed that his owne ſouldiers did treate among themſelues of abandoning him, and of going ouer to MAXENCIVS, and that certaine companies of ſouldiers in *Italy* which vntill then had held for him, had done the like: Whereupon fearing to be ouerthrowne, he returned to the place where he left LICINIVS, repenting alſo that he had made him CÆSAR, for that he ſaw that he was of greater power and authoritie then he would he ſhould haue bin. GALERIVS being ſo returned, there grew in his flanke an impoſtume, ſo vile & peſtilent, that no medicines or remedies whatſoeuer were of force to cure it, and it became ſo corrupt, that there fell a number of wormes from it, which did put him to ſuch intolerable paine, that he was readie in deſpaire to haue killed himſelfe. And ſeeing himſelfe to dye in this manner, he made ſome of his Phiſicions which had

Maximianus practiſed the death of his ſonne in law Conſtantine.

The Emperour Maximianus ſlaine in Marſeilles.

him in cure, to be slaine, because they could not cure him. And now at the last without any true repentance, he began to thinke that this happened vnto him for persecuting of the Christians, and therefore in great hast consulting with CONSTANTINE, who raigned in *Britannie*, *France*, and *Spaine*, he commaunded all lawes and edicts whatsoeuer made against them to cease, and to be abolished: and to that effect sent his letters and decrees into all the prouinces of *Græcia*, and of the East, where MAXIMINVS (who was CÆSAR for him) gouerned, which EVSEBIVS an author of great truth and an eie-witnesse, setteth downe verbatim. And besides this, he made many Christians to be brought into his presence, which he desired and intreated to pray to God for his bodilie health: for he remembred not the health of his soule, but would haue continued an Infidell still: wherefore either they would not make so vniust a supplication to God for him, or else it pleased not God to heare their prayers; for within few daies after he died of that his incurable infirmitie; yet some authors say that he killed himselfe. This his death happened in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and twelue, he hauing raigned sixe yeeres, the first two in companie with CONSTANTIVS, and the rest with the CÆSARS. And he being dead, all matters remained in this estate: MAXENCIVS who tyrannouslie was called Emperour held *Rome*, and all *Italy*. CONSTANTINVS who indeede was Emperour, held *France*, *Spaine*, *Britannie*, and part of *Germany*. LICINIVS whom GALERIVS had made CÆSAR, remained in possession of *Slauonia*, and of the prouinces of *Græcia*, and presentlie made himselfe to be called Emperour; and MAXIMINVS remained with all the East, with the dignitie and name of CÆSAR: among all which only CONSTANTINE seemed to haue iust title, for that he was the sonne of CONSTANTIVS, and had maried the daughter of MAXIMINIANVS, both which had beene Emperours.

Galerius his incurable disease and infirmitie.

Ann. Dom. 312.

The death of Galerius Armentarius.

THE

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND fortith Romane Emperor. And of MAXENCIVS, and of MARCVS LICINIVS, which in his time were called Emperours.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Empire was diuided among ſundry Princes, and each of them gouerned his part with equall authoritie: but Maxentius raigning in Rome as a tyrant, playing many vile parts, behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort that Conſtantine bare armes againſt him, notwithſtanding that he was allied vnto him, and ioyned battaile with him, leſſe confident in the force of his armie, then in the viſion which he had ſeene; that vnder the ſigne of the Croſſe he ſhould ouercome, which he euer after bore for his deuice. He likewiſe ouercame Marcus Licinius, who alſo gouerned a part of the Empire. Hee greatly fauoured the Chriſtians, and while hee liued, the perſecution of the Chriſtians ceaſed, and the Prelates and Primates of the Church were had in great veneration, and were made rich. He did put a ſonne of his owne to death, whoſe name was Criſpus, by the inſtigation of his wife Fauſta, whom he afterwards alſo ſlew, being grieuouſly reprehended by his mother Helena for the death of his ſonne. He would haue rooted out the hereſie of Arrius:

rius: but death intercepted him, which tooke him out of this life when he was very old, and he died as a Christian, as he had Christianlike liued, leauing the Church in great honour and rich, whereto he had of his liberalstie giuen many great and rich gifts.

I Am of opinion and doe certainly beleeue, that it cannot be otherwise, but that the reader shall see himselfe in a great confusion, and will not without great trouble comprehend the tenour of this historie; by reason of the multitude of the Emperours and CÆSARS, which concurre at one instant: so as if it be a hard matter to remember their names onely, how much more then will it be to vnderstand the doings of euery of them particularly? It is true, that the Romane Empire was then so great, that no one man alone was sufficiently able to gouerne the same; neither was it possible that many should rule it: for in raigne and commaund (as I haue elsewhere said) equalitie and companie cannot be endured. And from hence arose so much discord, murther, and other straunge accidents, which then could not throughly bee vnderstood, neither can now be cleerely described; so as they may bee distinctly vnderstood in such sort as they passed. Wherefore it shall be requisite that the curious reader remember well what is past, to the end that he may the better comprehend that which followeth.

The greatnes of the Romane Empire.

The tyrant MAXENCIVS being as Emperour in *Rome*, CONSTANTINE in *France*, LICINIVS in *Slauonia* and *Græcia*, who was also called Emperour, and MAXIMINVS CÆSAR in the East. The life and behauiour of MAXENCIVS in *Rome* was such, that hee was therefore extremely hated of all men: for hee was a cruell homicide and a murtherer of Noblemen, libidinous, an adulterer, dishoneſt, couetous, and aboue all a persecutor and destroier of the Church of God. Finally, in all his actions hee was a tyrant, a great sorcerer, and a friend to Southsaiers, Enchaunters, Charmers, and such like. For which the vertuous and most noble CONSTANTINE (being in *France*) was very sorrie: and being called by the Senators of *Rome* and other Noblemen, he resolued to leuie an armie against MAXENCIVS, notwithstanding that hee was brother to his wife FAVSTA, as I haue said. But the better to preserue his owne Empire, he made MARCVS LICINIVS, who commaunded *Slauonia*, and the other prouinces aforesaid, his friend, giuing to him his sister CONSTANCE to wife, in the citie of *Milan* where they two met for that purpose, and made great feasting. Whither was inuited (but would not come) the old Emperour DIOCLESIAN, who yet liued in his voluntarie pouertie. Wherewith CONSTANTINE and LICINIVS being discontent, wrote vnto him sharpe and threatning letters, alleaging that hee fauoured MAXENCIVS; wherefore (as some write) he tooke poison wherewith hee killed himselfe; and others say that he died mad. After that the feasts were ended in *Milan*, the good CONSTANTINE comming with his armie into *Italy* against MAXENCIVS, who notwithstanding that he was a wicked man; yet was he both valiant and hardie: and raising also the greatest and best forces that he was able, went to meete him, trusting in the enchauntments and charmes which he had made, and in the masters which hee had with him, which for that purpose killed innocent children, making with their bloud a thousand charmes and other vanities, wherewith he held the vnlearned and vnbeleeuing people so astonished and amazed, that the greatest part of his friends gaue a credit thereto; and his enemies stood

In what sort the Romane Empire was diuided.

Maxencius a great enchaunter.

The death of the Emperour Diocletian.

ſtoode in feare and in doubt to giue him battaile. Wherefore, and alſo becauſe that in truth, he had a great armie and very expert, principally the Pretorian ſouldiers which firſt made choiſe of him; the warre grew to be very doubtfull, and there were ſome encounters and battailes betweene them, wherein for the moſt part CONSTANTINE had the victorie. But MAXENCIVS reinforcing his armie, and vſing his diuelliſh arts, came finally to *Rome*, where he procured all poſſible fauour, and making greater preparation to offend his enemie, and by the counſell of a Magitian woman, or rather a witch; he reſolued to ſallie forth and to giue CONSTANTINE battaile, who with his forces was come neere to *Rome*. And vnderſtanding what MAXENCIVS ment to put in execution, and conſidering the great euill that might enſue; and ſtanding in feare and doubt of the iſſue of the battaile, aſwell for the great number of the enemies, as for MAXENCIVS his enchauntments wherewith he amazed the world; he was in great care and perplexitie: And as he gaue great credit to the Chriſtians, and was their protector and defender (notwithſtanding that yet he was not baptized) but he had a firme and ſtedfaſt hope in IESVS CHRIST: EVSEBIVS, CASSIODORVS, and others write, that there appeared vnto him one of the greateſt miracles that euer was ſeene in the world, which was: That he ſaw in the heauens a great croſſe, of the colour of fire, like vnto that whereupon our Sauiour ſuffered his paſſion; and therewith he heard a voice which ſaid, *In hoc ſigno vinces*, by vertue of this ſigne thou ſhalt ouercome. By meanes of which ſigne and miracle, God raiſed ſo great and aſſured confidence in his heart, that he preſently aſſured himſelfe to preuaile: and therefore cauſed the ſigne of the croſſe to be made in his imperiall ſtandard; & euer after vſed to beare it wrought in ſome iewell or otherwiſe in his right hand, and in his forehead; and finally, from thenceforth his deuiſe was continually the croſſe, and made it to be ſet in all his enſignes.

Warres betweene Conſtantine and Maxencius.

A miracle appeared to Conſtantine when he prepared to fight with Maxencius.

CONSTANTINVS then putting his hope and truſt in the voice which he heard from heauen; and MAXENCIVS his beliefe and confidence in his deuils and enchauntments, ioyned battaile neere to a bridge ouer the riuer *Tiber*, called *Pons Miluius*, which was ſomewhat more then a mile from *Rome*; whither MAXENCIVS very couragiouſly came in the auantgard of all his armie; and the fight being begun, and hee ouercharged by CONSTANTINES vauntgard, before which was carried the croſſe, fled, and entring vpon the bridge which he had commaunded to be made vpon Barkes and Boates neere to the other, both he and his horſe fell into the riuer, where he was drowned: which bridge he himſelfe had cauſed to be made, to the end therewith to haue entrapped and deceiued his enemie. Wherefore to him may be well applied the ſaying of the Pſalmiſt. *Lacum aperuit, & effodit eum, & incidit in foueam quam ipſe fecit.*

A fight betweene Conſtantine and Maxencius.

Maxencius flying was drowned in the riuer Tiber.

CONSTANTINE hauing obtained this victorie in the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne, accounting from the death of his father, without any loſſe or ſlaughter of his people; the Senators and people of *Rome*, with their wiues and children came foorth to receiue him, as him, who had freed them from captiuitie; and they intituled him father of the countrie, and reſtorer of peace, and libertie. And in this manner was he accompanied into *Rome*, with incredible ioy and feaſting; euerie one chaunting his praiſes; yeelding ouer all, ſundrie congratulations, with mirth and gladnes. But hee attributed nothing to his owne power or policie, but all to God onely. And in the right hand of all the Statues and Images, which in *Rome* by decree of the Senate were erected to his honour for his victorie againſt MAXENCIVS, hee cauſed to be wrought and engrauen the ſigne of the croſſe, with the words

Conſtantine accompanied into Rome by the Senate and whole Romane people with great ioy and gladnes.

words which hee heard from heauen, *Hoc signo vinces*. And then hee forbad and commaunded by publike edict that no man should be condemned to the death of the crosse: which vntil his time was vsed and held for an ignominious death. And setting all matters in order and peace in *Rome*, establishing holy and iust lawes and statutes; and to shew himselfe gratefull for the benefits which he had receiued: he did much good to the Christians, bestowing many fauours and gifts vpon them, building them Churches and houses of prayer, endowing them with rents and necessarie meanes for the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers thereof, with ornaments and necessaries for the diuine seruice. And he and his brother in law LICINIVS the other Emperour, by common consent sent their generall edicts and decrees through all the prouinces and cities subiect to the Empire, commanding that the Christians should be eased from all grieuances, made free, and receiued into honours and offices of dignitie and authoritie; in which decrees were contained the great praises of our Lord, reciting the victories which CONSTANTINE had obtained vnder his banner with the signe of the crosse. Which decrees being sent into the East, where MAXIMINVS CÆSAR bare the sway, were o-obeied by him, as the Emperours commaundement, but much against his will: for he was wicked and a most cruell enemie to the Catholike Church: and so although he contained himselfe for a season, yet afterward he returned to his diuellish condition.

Decrees made by Constantine in fauour of the Christians.

CONSTANTINE liuing in this felicitie, being Lord of al the prouinces of *Africa*, I meane of that part therof which was subiect to the Empire, of *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and also *Italy*, with the Ilands of *Britannie* and *Sicilie*; in all which countries he maintained peace and iustice: for the wisedome and policie of this prince was exceeding great, and no lesse was his courage and valour, in such sort that as he was most valiant and venturous in armes, so was hee very wise and politike in peace: and made and ordained new lawes, against the new slaunders and inuentions of the wicked. And he also tooke great care and paine to reduce all Arts and Sciences to their ancient perfection, greatly honouring such masters as were excellent therein, which then were greatly decaied and diminished, and he augmented their dignitie. And hee also exercised himselfe in most honourable exercises, reading, writing, and inditing; and in hearing the ambassades and complaints which were brought to him from sundrie prouinces; and to all men was affable, gentle, courteous and liberall; conseruing in all things the goodnes and sinceritie of his heart.

And being in *Rome*, as some reckon in the yeere of our Lord 314. and as other say 316. some say more, some lesse; for which computation I take no great care, seeing it little importeth the truth of the historie: he was there taught and instructed by Pope SILVESTER in all matters concerning the Christian faith, which he (as some writers affirme) receiued with great feruencie; and with his son CRISPVS, whom he in the beginning of his raigne had made CÆSAR, was baptized in *Rome*, hauing first made for that purpose a most sumptuous font, which (as PLATINA affirmeth) is at this day there to be seene: yet some others affirme, that hee was baptized but a little before his death. But whensoeuer, it hath greatest apparance that it was solemnized in *Rome*. But wee will leaue this controuersie vntill another time. He liuing thus in quiet in *Rome*, MAXIMINVS CÆSAR, who ruled in the East, seeing himselfe rich and mightie, held it for a disgrace to be inferiour to LICINIVS or to CONSTANTINE; and therfore taking vpon him the name of AVGVSTVS and Emperour, and reuoking the priuiledges giuen to the Christians,

Constantine instructed in the Christian faith by Pope Siluester.

Maximinus calling himself Emperour, reuoked the priuiledges giuen to the Christians.

ſtians, he began to declare himſelfe an enemie, eſpecially to LICINIVS, who ruled neereſt vnto him: and knowing that LICINIVS prouided for him, truſting in the multitude of his men of warre, he addreſſed himſelfe towards LICINIVS: but before they fought any generall battaile, they made moſt cruell warre both by ſea and land in many parts: and after many conflicts, at the laſt they came to fight, power againſt power, wherein MAXIMINVS was ouerthrowne, and the battaile was ſo cruell, that the greateſt part of his people were ſlaine therein, and thoſe which eſcaped yeelded themſelues to LICINIVS; and MAXIMINVS himſelfe eſcaping by flight, chaunged his habit, to the end that hee would not be diſcouered, vntill he might come to ſome place of ſafetie. And (as EVSEBIVS writeth) he imagining himſelfe to be deluded by his Magitians, and the falſe Prieſts of his diuelliſh gods, did put many of them to death, & began to intreate the Chriſtians very well; and ſent abroad his decrees, wherein he commaunded that they ſhould be ſuffered to liue at libertie, and to build Temples and to do what they liſted. Which this wicked man did, more for that he hoped that God would therefore giue him victorie, & ſo he might be reuenged of his enemies, then for any beleefe he had in him: for what hee did was not willingly done, but with a fained heart, and through deſire to be reuenged: for this wicked man thought that Chriſt ſhould aſſiſt him with his mercie, who vpon the croſſe prayed to his father to forgiue them which had nailed him thereon. And hauing once againe leuied the greateſt and beſt forces that he could, with an intent to returne to fight with LICINIVS, it pleaſed God to fruſtrate his purpoſes by his death, afflicting him firſt with the moſt cruel and grieuous diſeaſe that euer was heard of; wherein through the intolerable paine which he felt in his guts and intrailes, he did bite his owne hands, and did caſt himſelfe deſperatly from his bed to the ground: and this torment continuing many daies, ſo as hee could neither eate, drinke nor ſleepe, at length his eyes ſtarted out of his head; and ſo he died inraged and in deſpaire. And through his death the Chriſtians enioyed perfect peace and quietnes through all the prouinces of the Empire: and CONSTANTINE and LICINIVS remained abſolute Lords and Emperours, and ſo continued in great peace and tranquillitie for a ſeaſon: And LICINIVS preſently went into the Eaſt, where he ſlew VALENS, which was a Captaine whom the armie there had made Emperour after the death of MAXIMINVS; and that tyrant being ſlaine, and hee in poſſeſſion of the countrie, hee puniſhed the Sorcerers, the Inchaunters, and the miniſters of MAXIMINVS his cruelties; and alſo cauſed his ſonnes to be ſlaine which hee had made CÆSARS. So writeth EVSEBIVS, who as an eye witneſſe reciteth, how great libertie and proſperitie the chriſtians obtained through the death of MAXIMINVS; and how they builded Churches and beautified the ſame, and in how great account and reuerence CONSTANTINE held the Biſhops and Prelates. And likewiſe the gifts, the rewards, and reuenewes which hee beſtowed vpon them.

A battaile betweene Maximinus and Licinius.

The death of Maximinus.

Valens ſlaine by Licinius.

The Empire being gouerned in this manner; in thoſe times one ALEXANDER a Captaine in *Africa* rebelled and vſurped the name and title of Emperour; againſt whom CONSTANTINE ſent from *Rome* an armie: which comming to a battel, ALEXANDER was ouercome and ſlaine therein. So as all matters remained vnder the commaundement of CONSTANTINE and LICINIVS onely. And although their dignitie and Empire was equall, yet was the authoritie and valour of CONSTANTINE farre greater, and he much more eſteemed and better beloued of all men then LICINIVS, and for the moſt part remained alwaies in *Rome*, doing

Alexander rebelled, and taking the name of Emperour, was ouerthrowne and ſlaine by Conſtantines forces

doing iuſtice to all men indifferentlie; particularlie honoring and enriching the Church of God, hearing and reading the holie ſcriptures, and in this manner remained in reſt for a ſpace. But the Deuill, who neuer ceaſeth to induce men to do euill, and to ſow diſcord and enmitie amongſt them, made LICINIVS to alter his mind, who in his hart fauored not the Chriſtians, and drew him to perſecute them. The firſt thing that he did, was to caſt out of his houſe and ſeruice, and ſo, out of all offices and places of charge, any one whatſoeuer that was a Chriſtian; and afterwards he committed ſuch cruelties againſt them as had ſeldome been ſeene: which he did (as ſome write) thereby to pick occaſion of diſcord and war with CONSTANTINE, whom he greatlie enuied for his great authoritie and goodnes. He alſo ſought many meanes to make him away either by poiſon or treaſon, wherein failing of his will, he reſolued publicklie and openlie to fall out with him: whereto CONSANTINE ſuffred himſelfe to be induced, more as a true Chriſtian, for the defence of the Chriſtian faith, then for his owne particular honor or intereſt: for LICINIVS now deſtroyed the temples and churches which he himſelfe had before commaunded to be builded, and without either feare or ſhame, commaunded all thoſe Chriſtians to be ſlaine which would not commit idolatrie, and adore his idols: whereupon many as weake and inconſtant renounced their faith, and others ioyfullie receiued the crowne of Martyrdome.

Licinius perſecuted the Chriſtians.

Licinius made thoſe to be ſlaine vvhich vvould not commit idolatrie.

Each of theſe two Emperours muſtering vp his ſouldiers and men of warre, they hauing raigned twelue yeeres in peace together, there began euery where very cruell warres betweene them: and as CONSTANTINE euer bare the croſſe in his enſigne and ſtandard, it pleaſed God that moſt commonlie his people preuailed. And both theſe Emperours comming into *Hungarie* with their forces, to the end to draw neere the one to the other, the good CONSTANTINE hauing a fit oportunitie thereto (for LICINIVS was encamped neere to the ſide of a lake) in the night gaue him a camizado: and notwithſtanding that LICINIVS fought very well and made great reſiſtance, yet in the end his forces were ouerthrowne, and his camp was entred, and he eſcaping by flight, came to the citie of *Bizantium*, which ere long after was called *Conſtantinople*. Where to relieue himſelfe and to recouer greater authoritie, he made one of his Captaines whoſe name was MARTIANVS, CÆSAR, who was maiſter of his offices, or high ſteward of his houſe; and raiſing the greateſt power that he was able both of foote and horſe, he prepared himſelfe for a ſecond battaile: But in the meane ſeaſon CONSTANTINE ſeiſed on the prouinces of *Dacia*, *Miſia*, *Macedonia*, and other which were vnder LICINIVS his gouernement. LICINIVS hauing gathered his armie to a head, againe renewed the warre, which (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR write in his life) was very variable and cruell, vntill that by the interceſſion of CONSTANTIA ſiſter to CONSTANTINE, and wife to LICINIVS, there was a truce and peace taken betweene them: but through the enuie and malice of LICINIVS it held not long, and they both againe returned to their weapons, warring with greater malice and power both by ſea and land then before. And both the Emperours comming againe to a battaile, in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Aſia* the leſſe, whither LICINIVS had withdrawne himſelfe (hauing loſt all that he held in *Europe*) it was extremely bloudie and cruell, but in the end CONSTANTINE had the victorie, and LICINIVS eſcaped by flight: And yet afterwards through the intreatie of his ſiſter CONSTANTIA, and wife to LICINIVS, CONSTANTINE graunted him his life, he yeelding himſelfe into his power; but he confined him within the citie of *Nicomedia* in the ſame prouince,

Licinius ouerthrowne and put to flight by Conſtantine.

Licinius the ſecond time ouerthrowne.

where

where afterwards for feare that he ſhould againe rebell, as MAXIMIANVS had done, as ſome ſay; or after ſome, for that LICINIVS began to practice with ſome to take armes againe, he was put to death by CONSTANTINES commaundement, and with him MARTIANVS whom he had made CÆSAR, in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne, and the threeſcore of his age, and in the yeere of our Sauiour Chriſt three hundred and ſeuen and twentith. This Emperour LICINIVS was of a moſt wicked and cruell nature, diſhoneſt, incontinent, a churle, couetous, moſt ignorant, as he, who had no learning, and did abhor and deteſt it, affirming that learning was a publike peſtilence; whereas to the contrarie, without learning, or learned counſell, there neuer was any King that either did or could rightlie gouerne and miniſter iuſtice: neuertheleſſe he was very valiant, and followed the warres all his whole life time.

Licinius put to death by Conſtantines commaundement.

Anno Domini. 317.

All the whole Empire remaining vnder the commaund of the good and chriſtian Emperour CONSTANTINE alone, the world enioyed a moſt happie time: for ſo great was his goodnes and wiſdome, that generallie euery where he miniſtred iuſtice mixed with clemencie; ſo as there was vniuerſall peace and quietnes. And by all his ſubiects he was beloued, and highlie extolled, and by the barbarous and ſtrange nations greatlie feared: and aboue all, the chriſtian faith was held in great reuerence, and embraced euery where. It is wonderfull what EVSEBIVS doth write in the end of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie: And SOCRATES in his Tripartite hiſtorie, of the fauours, graces, priuileges, benefites, and gifts, which CONSTANTINE beſtowed vpon the Biſhops and the Churches, and generallie vpon all chriſtian people, annulling and aboliſhing all the lawes which his predeceſſors had made againſt their libertie: and he commaunded by publike edict, that there ſhould no more temples be builded to the honor of the falſe gods and idols which the Romanes adored. But he commaunded through all the prouinces of the Empire, that the Biſhops commaundements ſhould be obeyed, and that to thoſe which had not whereof to liue, there ſhould be aſſigned goods and rents to mainteine them during their liues. And he not only tooke care for the Chriſtians which liued in the countries ſubiect to the Empire, but vnderſtanding that to thoſe Chriſtians which liued in other prouinces ſubiect to the King of *Perſia*, was vſed force and oppreſſion, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to that King, requiring him to commaund that fault to be amended; inducing and perſwading him to honor and beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt: ſo as by his meanes Chriſt was adored, and the Goſpell was freely preached through the whole world, and vnder this Emperour the Chriſtians indured not any oppreſſion, or ſuffered perſecution, and ſo there were many holie and learned doctors. And CONSTANTINE liuing in this great power and proſperitie was worthilie ſurnamed the great, and ſo vntill this day in all hiſtories he is called CONSTANTINE the great. Beſides this, other honorable names and titles were giuen to him by the Senate of *Rome*, as the reſtorer of mankind, the enlarger of the Romane Empire, the founder and preſeruer of perpetuall peace and ſafetie, and ſo he was generallie honored and beloued of all men, ſo much as poſſiblie a man could be. Some Authors write, among which EVTROPIVS is one, that CONSTANTINE through his great power and proſperitie diminiſhed his vertues, waxing proud and cruell; and accuſe him alſo for being too exceſſiuelie deſirous of glorie and honor: whereof AVRELIVS VICTOR alſo maketh mention, and prooueth the ſame by the death of his ſonne CRISPVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, and of his wife FAVSTA, who as we haue ſaid, was MAXENCIVS his ſiſter, and of many other noble and

Benefites beſtowed by Conſtantine vpon the Church and church-men.

Titles of honor giuen to Conſtantine.

pall men. But it cannot certainly be ſaid how it happened throughly to be able to condemne or excuſe this Emperour: for as a man, he might fall into ſuch ſinnes; & yet afterwards acknowledging his errour, might aske mercie at Gods hands for his offences. It is true that ſome ſay, that he put his ſonne CRISPVS to death, becauſe that his wife FAVSTA, and mother in law to his ſaid ſonne, had complained to him that he would haue rauiſhed her; where as to the contrarie ſhe had diſhoneſtly ſought it of him, procuring his loue and diſhoneſt companie; whereto, he as a loyall and honeſt childe would not conſent. The truth whereof being afterwards knowne; CONSTANTINE made her to be ſlaine, which he did with great reaſon; although hee were deceiued in the death of his ſonne. Others ſay that ſhe as a mother in law, practized the death of CRISPVS, becauſe he ſhould not bee preferred before the other ſonnes which ſhe had by CONSTANTINE. But I am of opinion that theſe executions were not but for offences and cauſes ſufficient to moue him thereto, although they were not publiſhed and made knowne to all the world. And ſo PAVLVS OROSIVS reciting the deathes of his wife, of his ſonne, and of his Nephew, ſaith that the cauſes were ſecret and vnknowne, which mooued him to doe it. And truely a man can preſume no otherwiſe, conſidering how wiſe and how good a Chriſtian this prince was. And ſo SOZOMENVS doth excuſe him, as relateth CASSIODORVS in his Tripartite Hiſtorie. And EVSEBIVS and RVFFINVS in their writings, and the ſame CASSIODORVS, onely declare his vertues, and blame him in nothing. Saint GREGORIE calleth him Emperour, of holy memorie. Saint AMBROSE ſpeaking of the death of THEODORVS ſaith, that CONSTANTINE was worthie of great praiſe, who with the Empire left the Chriſtian faith for inheritance to his ſucceſſors: So as what ſuch men commend, I dare not reprehend or condemne. Holding it then for certaine, that he was a good man, returning to his Hiſtorie, I ſay, that after that he raigned alone, there failed not warres: for the Sarmates inuaded the Empire, and he in perſon with a mightie armie marched againſt them, and ouerthrowing them in a battaile, he forced them to obey, and to be quiet. The like he afterwards did by the Gothes, and other barbarous nations. Which when he had performed, and hauing made his three ſonnes CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS, CÆSARS, and alſo his Nephew DALMATIVS: for ſome reaſonable conſiderations, holding it more conuenient for matters of the Eaſt and to be neere at hand, which was his greateſt care; he determined to tranſport his imperiall throne and ſeate from *Rome* into *Bithynia* in *Aſia*, or into ſome other part of that countrie: and hauing conſidered thereof, and thought vpon ſundrie fit places; he reſolued in the end to reedifie the citie of *Byzantium*, which is in *Thracia*, and meaning to call it new *Rome*, he beautified it with edifices, priuiledges, and other riches more then any other citie of the world. And as Saint IEROM ſaith in his additions to EVSEBIVS, he enriched and adorned that citie with the ſpoiles and empoueriſhing of all the reſt. For all the worthie and notable things which were in *Rome*, as ſtatues, pillars, coloſſes, and all other things which were ſingular and excellent, of gold ſtone or mettall, he made to be taken from *Rome* and to be carried to that citie: Whereto notwithſtanding that he gaue the name of new *Rome*, yet was it then, and now to this day is called *Conſtantinople*, after his name: and ſo it became one of the greateſt and moſt noble cities of the world: and he went thither and there eſtabliſhed his imperiall throne and ſtate, leauing his ſonnes in *Spaine*, *France*, and *Italie*, which prouinces he had giuen them to gouerne.

Conſtantine did put his wife, his ſonne, and his Nephew to death.

Warres againſt the Sarmates.

Conſtantine reedified the citie of Byzantium, now called after his name Conſtantinople.

The

The Empire being in this proſperitie, the hereſie of the Arrians through the inſpiration of the diuell aroſe in the citie of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, which denied the eternitie of the ſonne of God with the father, alledging that he was not of the ſame ſubſtance with him. This hereſie did then, and a long time after, trouble the quiet eſtate of the Church. The head and inuentor of this hereſie, was one ARRIVS a Prieſt in the ſaid citie of *Alexandria*, who was a man which outwardly made great ſhew of holines, and liued morally, well. At that ſame time was Biſhop in *Alexandria* one ALEXANDER, a man of great holines and learning: But as he was gentle and of a mild condition, ſo he endeuored in the beginning to haue cured ARRIVS of that hereticall infirmitie, with ſoft and gentle medicaments, praying and admoniſhing him to leaue his perfidy and misbeliefe, with holy ſpeeches and exhortations; but he being proud and inſolent, perſiſting in his hereſie, induced many others to follow his errors: and this peſtilence encreaſed and extended it ſelfe ſo farre, that many were infected therewith, and all the poſſible diligence that ALEXANDER could vſe, did nothing auaile to ſuppreſſe the ſame; notwithſtanding that ARRIVS was by him excluded and excommunicate out of the Church. Whereupon ALEXANDER aduertiſed the Emperour thereof, and the euill grew to be ſo great that it required a great remedie; and ſo by order of the ſame Emperour, a generall councell was called in the citie of *Nicea*, which is in the prouince of *Bithynia* in *Aſia*, wherein aſſembled three hundred and eighteene Biſhops. And CONSTANTINE himſelfe in perſon was preſent in the ſame councell: finally, ARRIVS and his wicked ſect, was therein condemned by all the Biſhops, excepting ſeuenteene which held with him. Whereof eleuen afterwards (as ſaith RVFFINVS) fained recantation: and ARRIVS together with the other ſixe were excommunicated and baniſhed; to all which the Emperour conſented and approued the ſame, ſubmitting himſelfe to the iudgement of the holy councell. And ſo the opinion of ARRIVS was held for a wicked hereſie, but he perſiſted in his error, and had diſciples and followers. And notwithſtanding that the Emperour tooke great paines to redreſſe it, yet he could not by any meanes effect the ſame. This euill did a long time trouble the Church, and extended it ſelfe euen into *Spaine* and other prouinces; in ſo much that it ſeemed impoſſible to finde any redreſſe for ſo great an euill: but afterwards in proceſſe of time, it pleaſed our Lord of his infinit goodnes and mercie, to cure the ſame.

The originall of the Arrian hereſie.

The Nicene Councell.

Among many other things which CONSTANTINE did in this councell, one was very notable, as among ſo many Biſhops, although many of them were holy and good men; ſo there wanted not enuie and contention among thoſe which were not ſuch: for ſome held erronious opinions; and others which were in ſute and at debate, accuſed one another to the Emperour, exhibiting their complaints and informations vnto him in writing, entreating him to puniſh the offendors. The Emperour receiued the accuſations, and concealed the ſame, ſo as no man ſaw them; and afterwards calling thoſe Biſhops which thus complained before him, he made vnto them a briefe ſpeech, ſaying. Fathers, Biſhops and Prelates, it hath pleaſed God to ordaine you for Prelates and Prieſts, and haue giuen you power to iudge of me, and I may rightly and orderly be iudged by you, but you cannot be iudged by me: wherefore I referre your ſutes and debates to the diuine iudgement, and to the iudgement of the Church and councell. And ſeeing that you are ſet before vs in the place of God, it is not fit that I iudge of you, but leaue you to the iudgement of God, of whom it is written, *Deus ſtetit in ſynagoga deorum,*

in medio autem deus discernit, God stoode in the synagogue of the Gods, and God alone among them is iudge. Wherefore setting apart all this malice and contention, apply your selues vnto that which appertaineth to the Christian faith, and to the Church, and for Gods sake forget these rancors and particular priuate iniuries. These speeches are written by RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS, and are also seene in the decrees, wherewith the good Emperour exhorted those Bishops to concord and friendship, without interposing himselfe betweene them as their iudge, and so was that most holy and Christian councell dissolued. About the same time or little after it, the holy woman HELENA mother to the same Emperour CONSTANTINE, went to *Ierusalem* (I meane to that which is new builded: for of the old *Ierusalem* there remaineth not one stone vpon another) to seeke the crosse whereon our Sauiour CHRIST suffered his passion. And commaunding a Temple to be throwne downe, which by the Gentiles was builded in that same place to their Goddesse VENVS, there were found three crosses, but not in such manner as that it might bee well perceiued which was the crosse of CHRIST: for the superscription was taken away, or else the letters could not be read, & the one was like the other. And HELENA being in this confusion, & with her MACARIVS, which at that time was Bishop of *Ierusalem*, they caried the three crosses to the house of a great Ladie, which in that citie was then at the point of death, sicke of a great and incurable disease; where (as it is written) the right crosse was miraculously discouered. SOZOMENVS in his Tripartite historie writeth wonders, concerning the same. The feast of the finding of the crosse is celebrated by the Church with great solemnitie, vpon the third day of May. And HELENA hauing found what she so earnestly sought, caused in the same place where it was discouered, a most rich and sumptuous Temple to be built: and taking the crosse asunder, the one halfe thereof she left there inclosed in a siluer chest, and the other halfe she carried with her to *Constantinople*, where it was kept by CONSTANTINE with great reuerence. She caried vnto him also the nailes wherewith CHRIST was nailed to the crosse, the one of which hee alwaies wore in his helmet or caske; and of another he made a bit for his horse, against such time as hee should enter into any fight or battaile; and the other naile, it is said, that bearing it about him, and being in a great storme at sea, he threw it into the sea to asswage the tempest. How true or false I will not argue. This historie and the finding of the crosse, besides RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS alreadie alleaged, S. AMBROSE writeth at large in the oration by him made to the honour of the Emperour THEODOSIVS.

The finding of the Crosse.

Helena caused a Temple to be built in the same place where the Crosse was found.

CONSTANTINE hauing now happily raigned about thirtie yeeres, in the latter whereof he wholy applied himselfe to destroy and to root Idolatrie out of the world; and to build Churches, which he dedicated to CHRIST and his Saints; and to extinguish and extirpate ARRIVS his heresie, which yet had some roote, was finally forced to leuie an armie to goe against the Persians and their King, which inuaded the Empire. And marching thitherwards, in the 66. yeere of his age, and the thirtith of his raigne (although that herein is some small difference among the authors) he was taken with a grieuous sicknes; and to the end hee might recouer health, he caused himselfe to be carried from *Constantinople*, with intent to goe to *Nicomedia*, which is a citie in *Bithynia*, to certaine Bathes of natural hot water: but before that he could come thither, his disease so increased that hee died, humbly recommending his soule to IESVS CHRIST, in whom hee constantly beleeued. And so holily died this holy and great Emperor; leauing behind him three sons,

The death of Constantine the Great.

CON-

CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS; which he constituted and ordained for his heires and successors in the Empire, together with his nephew DALMATIVS; and two daughters, the one named HELENA, which was afterwards maried to IVLIANVS who was Emperor: and the other CONSTANTIA which maried with GALLVS. Some suspected that CONSTANTINE was poisoned. He died in the yeere of our Lord 342. *Anno Dom.* 342.

Although that we shall somewhat exceed ordinarie in this discourse, yet I account it time well spent to treate of some doubts, which rise and grow in the life of CONSTANTINE. The first is, for that some say that this holy Emperour was not baptized, vntill a little before his death, and that he was then baptized by EVSEBIVS Bishop of *Nicomedia*; and that all the rest of his time he liued without baptisme, alleaging for a reason why hee did so, that he hoped to haue gone to haue been baptized in the riuer *Iordan*, wherein our Sauiour CHRIST was baptized by S. IOHN. But I account the opinion of those to bee most certaine, which write that hee was baptized in *Rome* by the hand of Pope SILVESTER, after the death of MAXENCIVS. For it is hardly to be beleeued, that there could be such spirit and deuotion found (as CONSTANTINE shewed in his workes) in a man which was not baptized; and therefore it carrieth no colour of truth. The writers doe also prooue and affirme, that he was baptized with his sonne CRISPVS, and that hee caused the same his sonne to be slaine long before he died, as by vs hath been alreadie declared: so as it appeareth that he could not be baptized with his sonne, being alreadie dead. And whereas it is written in a little booke, that CONSTANTINE was infected with a leprosie, and that hee was cured with the bloud of certaine little children which hee caused to be slaine for that purpose; PLATINA holdeth this for a fable and a forgerie: and none of the ancient writers neither moderne that are of any credit, write any such matter. Some also write, that CONSTANTINE was baptized in his latter daies, and that he seemed to be inclined to the Arrian heresie. But he was deceiued which wrote so: for that was his sonnes error and doing, who was also called CONSTANTINE, as he was, and that which was said and written of his sonne (being deceiued through the name) was imputed to the father, of whose true faith, life and death there ought no doubt to be made; neither in their histories treating of his life, doe make any doubt, OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, S. GREGORIE, RVFFINVS, nor CASSIODORVS: Of which S. GREGORIE calleth him, of holy memorie. S. AMBROSE in an oration which hee made at the death of THEODOSIVS, giueth him the name of holie, and highly extolleth him because he left the Christian faith for an inheritance with the Empire. And the Greeke Church doth celebrate his feast as a Saint, vpon the twentith day of Aprill. And so doe also defend his faith and holines both in life and death ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in his Æneades; PLATINA in the life of Pope MARCVS; POMPONIVS LETVS in his abridgement of the Romane historie; and BAPTISTA IGNATIVS in his epitome of the Emperours; and S. ANTONINVS in his Historials: and generally all the moderne authors, besides the ancient alreadie named. And whereas it is written that hee recalled ARRIVS from exile; if he did so as some write, yet according to the same authors, he was induced thereto by a certaine Priest, and at the entreatie of his sister, but principally through a writing sent to him by ARRIVS, wherein he declared what opinion he held concerning the faith; seeming by his words to be conformable to the decree of the Councell; and the Emperour not comprehending

the deceit in those words, released him from banishment. Neuertheleſſe he referred the examination of the cauſe to a new councell of Biſhops, which was then aſſembled about the building of the Temple at *Ieruſalem*; without approouing his opinion in any reſpect. And it happened that ARRIVS died in this demaund, accordingly as his ſinnes and hereſie had deſerued: for it pleaſed God that he died ſuddenly, and his intrailes came foorth at his lower parts. And many of theſe authors affirme, that this happened in the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the ſonne, and not of the father. Their being both of one name cauſeth this confuſion and doubt in the hiſtorie. So as it may be ſet downe and auouched for certaine, that the Emperour CONSTANTINE at what time ſoeuer he was baptized, the moſt certaine is, that he was baptized in *Rome* many yeeres before his death: and he died holding & beleeuing the holy Catholike faith. And as an holy & true Chriſtian he neuer conſented vnto, nor beleeued any point of ARRIVS his hereſie, as ſome charge him, being deceiued by the name of his ſonne, who was infected with the venome of that wicked hereſie.

Now concerning the donation, which ſome ſay that CONSTANTINE made to Pope SILVESTER and to his ſucceſſors, of the citie of *Rome* and of all *Italy*, when hee went to *Conſtantinople*; notwithſtanding that all authors agree that hee gaue great gifts, and builded many Temples; yet of this ſo notable a donation, I finde not that any author of that age doth teſtifie or auerre any ſuch matter. PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, S. IEROME, nor THEODORETVS which liued neere to that time, and wrote the reſt, make no mention thereof. Wherefore it is to be doubted, whether there were any ſuch donation.

It is true that there is a text in the decree, which reciteth this ſaid donation of *Rome* and of *Italy* and other orientall prouinces: but that text is held for Apocrypha; neither is it found in GRATIANS ancient originals. But finally, this is a queſtion which I cannot determine, and therfore I will not thruſt my ſickle into another mans harueſt, neither wil I be iudge herin, ſeeing that I am but only an Hiſtoriographer. Yet to one thing I will not forbeare to make anſwer, thereby in ſome ſort to ſatisfie the malice of our times. And I ſay, that they haue no reaſon to blame the Emperor CONSTANTINE, as ſome haue done, alleaging him to haue bin the cauſe of much euill, in that he inriched the Biſnops, Prelates & Prieſts, for that before his time they followed the true rule and forme of a Chriſtian life; all liuing in the perfection of the Goſpell, imitating the pouertie of CHRIST and of his diſciples. To the firſt, let it be that this were true; the good & holy meaning of CONSTANTINE was much to be commended, and therein hee did well and acceptably before God. To the other, it is not certaine that before the time of CONSTANTINE the Clergie had no temporall goods: for it ſeemeth to the contrarie in the chapter *Videntes 12. quæſtione 1.* wherein it is expreſſed that the ancient fathers ſeeing and conſidering, that it was not ſo profitable to ſell the goods and to diſtribute the money in commune, as the Chriſtians did in the beginning; as it was to keepe thoſe heritages & poſſeſſions, to the end that by meanes of the fruits thereof the Miniſters then being might be maintained, and their ſucceſſors might doe the like after them. And comming to the ground of the matter, although that our Lord IESVS CHRIST and his holie Apoſtles and Diſciples, regarded and commended pouertie, preferring it before riches, as chaſtitie before wedlocke, for the full perfection of the holie life which he had choſen; it doth not therfore follow that he would not that Biſhops, Prieſts and Miniſters ſhould haue no temporall

porall goods of their owne: for if hee had meant ſo, it is to be beleeued that hee would haue ordained it ſo, and ſo it ſhould haue been obſerued euen to this day. And if they ſhall ſay to me, that before the time of CONSTANTINE, they liued without rents or reuenewes, and yet there were many holie Biſhops, as CLEMENT, LINVS, CLETVS, IGNATIVS, POLICARPVS, MARCELLVS, and ſuch others which liued in pouertie, contenting themſelues with a little in holie exerciſes: whereto I anſwere, that in part all theſe holie men were not altogether without goods, but that they and their Churches had ſome poſſeſſions. And I alſo ſay, that it is certaine, that in the beginning about the firſt propagation of the Goſpell, as the name of Chriſtian was odious and hatefull to the Emperours and Princes of thoſe times, principally the Biſhops and Prieſts: ſo it behooued them of neceſſitie to be contented with that which they had, and to maintaine themſelues as they were able. And whereas it appeareth that commonly they then liued more deuout and holie and in greater humilitie, then after that the Emperour CONSTANTINE became chriſtian, and after that the Church obtained libertie, and that the authoritie thereof was confirmed with riches: yet it is certaine, that after that time there were alſo many very holie men. And although that afterwards there was not generally ſo great ſinceritie and holines of life, as before there was: yet neither the Emperour nor the riches were to be blamed therefore, but the euill nature and conditions of thoſe which had the vſe thereof, and did abuſe the ſame. For it is not to be beleeued that thoſe ancient holie men in the beginning of the Primitiue Church, would by reaſon of riches haue left to haue been holie; neither am I aſſured that thoſe which afterwards were proud and inſolent, would haue been holie and deuout, notwithſtanding that they had been poore. It is true, & I acknowledge the ſame, that voluntarie pouertie is a ſtate of great perfection, and that great riches oftentimes miniſter occaſion of pride and wickednesſe, but hereof men themſelues are the cauſe: for we are naturally all inclined to euill: but to put the ſame in execution, the rich haue greater power then the poore. Therefore neither riches nor pouertie are the occaſion: for neither are all rich men wicked; neither are all poore men good: which would be ſo, if theſe riches onely were the occaſion thereof. For neither riches nor pouertie in their owne nature are good or euill: but rather, as ſaith S. PAVL, *All things are cleane to the cleane*. Neither ought riches to be contemned, becauſe that ſome wicked man doth abuſe his wealth: for if that argument were of force, ſo were likewiſe to be condemned and deſpiſed the ſtrength of the body, beautie of countenance, ſharpnes of wit, and quicknes of vnderſtanding; and a man ſhould deſire to be vgly, feeble, dull, ignorant and of little diſcretion: for thoſe which be ſtrong, faire, beautifull, quicke witted, and of great capacitie and vnderſtanding, may doe more harme and vſe greater deceit, then the deformed, decrepit & ignorant. And if a man ſhall iudge according to the occaſion onely, pouertie bringeth with it retchleſnes and great diſtruſt, and therewith men become enuious, greedily couetous, malefactors, coueting and ſtealing other mens goods: yet I will not denie, but that in riches is the greater daunger. But in both the fault is in vs, and not in the goods, which of themſelues are neither good nor euill, but are according as is he who hath the vſe of them. And ſo not to ſwarue any further from our hiſtorie, I conclude and ſay; Let vs leaue to blame CONSTANTINE, and blame thoſe which haue abuſed and miſpent the goods which were giuen by CONSTANTINE. And let thoſe which are ſo zealous of the generall reformation of the

Church, reforme their owne conſciences, and amend their owne liues and abuſes, and let them with teares pray vnto God to amend the reſt. For if euery man in particular would doe thus and amend one, all would preſently be amended. But truly moſt men take care for the gouernment of Empires and dominions euen at home in their houſes: but of their owne houſes and conſciences they take little care. And to the end that they thinke not, that all the miſchiefe conſiſteth in the Church goods, let them know that after that the Churches were rich, and that the Prelates were of great power and authoritie, there were therein, a S. LEO, a Pope, a S. GREGORIE, S. AMBROSE, S. IEROME, S. AVGVSTINE, S. BERNARD, and an infinite number of other Biſhops which poſſeſſed riches, and deſpiſing them were poore in ſpirit, which is acceptable before God.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, AND CONSTANS, BRETHREN, SONNES OF THE EMPEROVR CONSTANTINE the great, and fiue and fortith Emperours of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

THe Emperour Conſtantine being dead, the gouernement of the Empire remained in the hands of his ſonnes, to wit, Conſtantius, Conſtans, and Conſtantinus: but as cuſtomarilie it happeneth in matters of State; ſo after that the Prouinces were diuided, they imagining them to be vnequallie ſhared, fell together by the eares among themſelues, and two of them being dead, the gouernement of the Empire reſted wholie in Conſtantius, who had no leſſe to do to defend himſelfe againſt domeſticall tyrants, which ſought to vſurp his eſtate, then to offend Princes ſtrangers, thereby to enlarge the Romane Empire. After many caſualties of warre, he ouercame Magnentius, and the laſt battaile betweene them was ſo bloudie, and the execution ſo great, that in a manner it enfeebled the forces of the whole Empire, but finallie Magnentius was driuen to ſuch extremitie that he ſlue himſelfe. He made his Coſen-germane Gallus, Caſar, giuing him his ſiſter Conſtantina to wife, who behaued himſelfe ſo wickedlie in his gouernement, that Conſtantius was forced to cauſe him to be ſlaine: in whoſe place he made his brother Iulianus, Caſar, who going into Germany againſt the high Dutch, had ſo good ſucceſſe in all his enterpriſes in the warres, that the ſouldiers of France conſtrained him perforce to take the enſigne and name of Emperour. Which when Conſtantius underſtood (who then warred againſt the Perſians)

Persians) he ordred that warre in the best manner that he could, and came with a mightie great armie against Iulianus, but falling grieuouslie sicke by the way, he died, and made Iulianus his successor, leauing the Empire to him, from whom he was going to bereaue the same.

HOW needefull and how good the Empire or raigne of the Emperour CONSTANTINE was, and how great was his goodnes and valour, plainely appeareth, seeing that immediatly with his death the vniuersall quiet and peace was disturbed, the fauour and reuerence to the Church was diminished, and the execution and administration of Iustice was likewise peruerted and troubled. The good Emperour CONSTANTINE left behind him when he died three sonnes, and two daughters. His sonnes names were CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS; and his daughters were called HELENA, and CONSTANTIA. The sonnes presentlie after the death of their father were Emperours: for in his life time he had made them CÆSARS, together with his nephew DALMATIVS; and he also left them by his testament heires to the Empire. The daughters were afterwards maried to Emperours; as in the processe of this historie we will declare, which in truth is very abrupt, aswell for the varietie and difference among the authors, as for the great discord and warres which grew betweene these three brethren, and through the tyrants and vsurping Emperours which arose in their time. Let the reader endeuour to reade attentiuely: for I will do my best to write the most plaine and cleerely that I shall be able.

Constantine his children.

These three brethren deuided the Romane Empire amongst them in this manner: To CONSTANTINVS who was the eldest brother, was allotted *Spaine, Britanny, France,* and that part of *Germany* which was subiect to the Romanes. To CONSTANS, who was the second brother, was allotted *Italy,* and all *Africa,* with the Ilands *Sicilia* and the rest betweene them, together with *Slauonia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Achaia, Morea,* and all *Gracia.* The third brother, which was CONSTANTIVS, possessed the prouince of *Thracia,* wherein is the citie of *Constantinople,* with all the East prouinces of *Asia* the lesse, *Soria, Mesopotamia,* and *Egypt.* And in the dominion of this CONSTANTIVS by his consent and accord his cosen DALMATIVS gouerned as CÆSAR. SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that he raigned also in *Armenia,* and in the borders thereof, and that ANNIBALLINVS was therein established CÆSAR. And so in this manner began the Empire to be gouerned by three Emperours, and one CÆSAR, which was DALMATIVS: whereof ensued great discord and warre, for that either of them would take place before other, and be Lord of the whole: and of the other side the Romane Empire was so great, that no one man could well gouerne it alone, and so very few held the whole in quiet possession; and therefore it declined and diminished: as alwaies haue done, and euer will do, all kingdomes, principalities and dominions which are farre extended and enlarged: for neither mans life, force, nor humane wisedome are sufficientlie able to weild and gouerne so great a matter. In the beginning of their raigne, these brothers liued in peace, for ioy to see themselues so great Lords: and DALMATIVS who in the East assisted CONSTANTIVS, began to make shew of himselfe, to be a most excellent Prince, in his actions and vertues imitating CONSTANTINE the great: wherefore by the good he was much beloued, but feared of the wicked, & enuied by CONSTANTIVS himselfe, which was the cause of his death. CONSTANTIVS permitting it, or being accessarie thereto, he was vpon a day in a mutinie slaine by the souldiers which

Constantine his three sonnes diuided the Empire betweene them.

Dalmatius loued by the good, and sorrowed by the wicked.

Dalmatius slaine by the souldiers through the practise of Constantius.

which he had leuied against the King of *Persia*, and so the Empire remained absolutely betweene the three brethren. After this it presentlie ensued, that CONSTANTINE who was the elder brother began to find himselfe grieued, alleaging that he had the least part in the diuision of the prouinces: for he possessed but *France*, *Spaine*, part of *Germany*, *England*, and *Scotland*, his other brothers holding so many prouinces: and therefore he sent Ambassadours vnto them requiring a new diuision to be made; and as their parts seemed to them to be but little, they would not yeeld to his request. Whereupon he mustered vp his men of warre, and leuied an armie, determining to take that perforce which they would not allow him by their will, and with a great power inuaded the frontiers of his brother CONSTANS his Empire, to whom befell *Italy* & *Africa*. At that time CONSTANS was in *Dacia* (which is *Transiluania* and *Walachia*) making warre vpon the Gothes and Sarmates which had made incursions into the limits of the Romane Empire: and he vnderstanding what his brother did, sent a Captaine with men of warre into *Italy*, who with such power as he was able to raise, made head against CONSTANTINVS, neere to the citie of *Aquileia* in *Italy*. But CONSTANTINVS little regarding his brothers forces, vnaduisedlie resolued to fight, and being entrapped in an ambush laid by his enemies fighting vnknowne, his horse being killed vnder him, and he falling to the earth was slaine, hauing enioyed his Empire but three yeeres only, being of the age of 25. yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 343. Which as some imagine happened vnto him for his sinnes: for they write of him, that he beleeued and fauoured the heresie of ARRIVS. And CASSIODORVS, RVFFINVS, and THEODORETVS in their Ecclesiasticall histories write, that vpon the death of CONSTANTINE the Great, father of these young men, those which were infected with the heresie of ARRIVS, tooke stomack and courage audaciouslie to maintaine the same, contrarie to the decree of the holie councell, and by their illusions they perswaded CONSTANTIVS thereto, which ruled in the East parts, and many Arrian Bishops sought to suppresse and dispossesse the Catholikes, whereto CONSTANS the other Emperour & brother made great resistance, who was of the Catholikes opinion. And particularly was persecuted the holie Bishop ATHANASIVS, who was the chiefe man in the Nicene Councell, and in that persecution were sent into exile both he, and others, which endured great iniurie and infamie. There were also many councels and assemblies held by the heretikes, and others by the Catholikes, wherein were many contentions. Finallie, the Catholikes were greatly troubled and molested, by reason that many reuolted from the faith, and ioined with the heretikes, which I forbeare to write, because it requireth much time to relate the same; and also, for that I rather write the liues of the Emperours, then any Ecclesiasticall historie, whereof I must of necessitie make often mention hereafter.

Constantius warred against his brother Constans.

Constantine slaine in Italy.

Ann. Dom. 343.

CONSTANTINE the elder brother being slaine by his brother CONSTANS his souldiers, CONSTANS tooke possession of all the lands which his deceased brother was seised of: and so he became Lord of all the West and of *Africa*, whereof alreadie he was in possession. After this, presentlie ensued another dangerous warre, against a kind of people called Francques, a people of *Germany*, inhabiting neere the riuer *Rhine* (as AGATHIAS writeth) which Francques rebelled and seised vpon great part of *Gallia*, from which the Frenchmen vaunt themselues to be descended, and of *Galli* were called *Franci*, and *Gallia*, *Francia*: And to make their originall seeme to be of greater antiquitie, they alleadge that those Francques descended from those which escaped from *Troy*, and that they

came

came to inhabit *Germany* with one of HECTORS ſonnes, whoſe name was FRANCVS: but hereof we will ſpeake more hereafter. Theſe Francques came to blowes with CONSTANS, and after cruell warres and much ſlaughter betweene them, they were vanquiſhed and made ſubiect to the Empire. And although that CONSTANS were much troubled with theſe warres, yet afterwards he liued ſome yeeres in peace and proſperitie, but very weake and impotent of bodie both in his feet and hands, by reaſon of the gout wherewith he was oftentimes much grieued. His gouernement in the beginning was good and agreeable to all his ſubiects, but afterwards he became vitious and negligent in the execution of iuſtice, and by meanes of his infirmitie grew vnweildie, and ill diſpoſed: and therefore ill beloued by the prouincials, and ſubiects of the Empire; ſo as certaine wicked men making benefit of this occaſion, practiſed his death. The principall authors wherof were CRESPIVS and MARCELLINVS his owne Captaines, which agreed to make one MAGNENTIVS Emperour, a man of baſe condition and meane parentage, although that through his courage and valour in the warres he had woon great reputation: and they found the ſouldiers very willing and readie thereto; for they hated CONSTANS; and giuing the imperiall habit to MAGNENTIVS, they ſent to kill CONSTANS, who miſtruſted no ſuch matter. In the manner of his death the authors do varie, but in concluſion he was ſlaine in a certaine place called *Helena*, neere to the Pirenean mountaines, which diuide *France* from *Spaine*, in the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, and the thirtith of his age, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred, three and fiftie, according to S. IEROME his computation.

From whence the French affirme to haue their originall.

Conſtans made the Francques ſubiect to the Empire.

Magnentius choſen Emperour.

The death of the Emperour Conſtans.

Anno Domini. 353.

Whilſt matters paſſed in the Weſt after this manner, in the Eaſt with the third brother and Emperour CONSTANTIVS, who ruled all that part of the Empire, things proſpered not ſo well, eſpeciallie in the warres: for he had great and dangerous warres with the King of the Perſians, and hauing fought with him nine ſeuerall times, he was at euery time ouerthrowne, with the loſſe of many of his people. In the end, they fought one moſt cruell battaile, and the victorie being apparant of the Emperours ſide, his people vſed the matter ſo ill, that thoſe which were held for conquered, became conquerours: and ſo CONSTANTIVS loſt this battaile alſo, as he had done many others, in ſuch ſort that the King of *Perſia* recouered certaine principall cities in *Meſopotamia*. Moreouer, in the ſame parts of the Eaſt, there happened many earth-quakes wherewith certaine cities were deſtroyed, and were ſwallowed into the earth, which by the true chriſtian authors was attributed to the iuſt iudgement of God, for that this Emperour did maintaine and defend the hereſie of ARRIVS, and perſecuted the true Chriſtians. But returning to our new Emperour MAGNENTIVS, it happened in this manner: that hauing murthered CONSTANS, as we haue declared, the armie which was in *France* obeyed and receiued him gladly, and all *Spaine* preſently did the like, together with *Italie* and *Africa* alſo: whither he determining to come, made his ſonne whoſe name was DECENCIVS, CÆSAR, to leaue him in the gouernment of *France* and *Spaine* with their confines. But in *Hungarie*, *Auſtrich*, *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and part of *Græcia*, the ordinarie legions which were in thoſe places, choſe an old and valorous captaine for Emperour, whoſe name was BRITANNIO or VETRANIO; who was a man highly beloued of the ſouldiers, for his great wiſedome and valour in the warres; and for the victories which he had obtained in the defence of thoſe prouinces againſt the barbarous nations. Of BRITANNIO you ſhall heare more hereafter.

Conſtantius ouerthrowne in nine ſeuerall battailes by the Perſians.

Conſtantius ouerthrowne in the tenth battaile by the Perſians, for that he knew not how to vſe the victorie.

Great earthquakes in the Eaſt in the time of Conſtantius.

Decencius made Ceſar by Magnentius.

About

About the ſame time, ſo ſoone as it was knowne in *Rome* that VALENS was dead; NEPOTIANVS preſuming on the neerenes of blood to the deceaſed Emperour (for he was the Emperour CONSTANTINES ſiſters ſonne) aſſembling together a companie of fencers, ſworde players and ſuch others, proclaimed himſelfe Emperour. But as his beginning had no ſound foundation; ſo had he an vnluckie end: for within nine and twentie daies after that he had with great difficultie enioyed the title of Emperour, he was ſlaine by MAGNENTIVS his captaines. And ſo MAGNENTIVS remained Emperour (although a tyrant) of *Italie*, *Africa*, *France*, and *Spaine*, in deſpite and diſgrace of CONSTANTIVS in the Eaſt, who in truth by iuſt title, was ſole emperour.

Nepotianus taking the title of Emperour, was ſlaine by Magnentius his Captaines.

CONSTANTIVS being aduertiſed of the death of his brother CONSTANS and of the ſucceſſe of MAGNENTIVS, was greatly perplexed, ſeeing himſelfe oppreſſed with warre againſt the Perſians; and on the other ſide, bound to reueng the death of his brother, and to roote out ſo mightie an enemie as was MAGNENTIVS, who grew great in a very ſhort time; and BRITANNIO alſo, who was not ſlightly to be regarded. But after many conſultations, it was concluded to eſtabliſh all matters of the Eaſt in the beſt order that he might, and to paſſe into *Europe*, againſt MAGNENTIVS. Whereupon he determined to make his Cozen Germane GALLVS, CÆSAR, who was brother to IVLIANVS, of whom we ſhall ſpeake hereafter. Both which were ſonnes to a brother of CONSTANTINE the great, named CONSTANTIVS, whom his father CONSTANTIVS had by a ſecond wife: and to the end to be the better aſſured of this new CÆSAR, he married him to one of his owne ſiſters, whoſe name was CONSTANTIA. And leauing this GALLVS in the Eaſt, hauing firſt concluded a kinde of truce or peace with the King of *Perſia*, he came into *Europe* againſt MAGNENTIVS, with the greateſt power that he was able to leuie, and by the way purpoſed to haue fought with the old Captaine BRITANNIO, whom wee ſaid to bee called Emperour in *Auſtrich*, *Hungarie* and *Slauonia*. But BRITANNIO would not make any reſiſtance: for laying aſide his imperiall robes he came ſo farre as *Thracia*, to meete him, and humbling himſelfe before CONSTANTIVS, ſaid vnto him, that he renouncing the Empire yeelded himſelfe into his hands; to the end that he ſhould diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure. CONSTANTIVS very ioyfully accepted his humilitie, and lifting him vp from ground imbraced and honored him much in ſpeeches, and calling him father, did ſet him at his owne table, and they two ſupt that night together. And being enformed of all matters by BRITANNIO concerning MAGNENTIVS, he kept on his iourney and ſent BRITANNIO to a citie in *Bithynia* in *Aſia*, and gaue him rents and reuenues ſufficient for the maintainance of his eſtate: whither hee retired himſelfe with many his friends and familiars, and liued there ſixe yeeres after in great reſt and tranquillitie.

Gallus made Cæſar by Conſtantius.

Britannio yeelded himſelfe to Conſtantius.

Conſtantius accepted Britannio for his friend and called him father.

CONSTANTIVS paſſing forwards, drew neere to *Italie* where MAGNENTIVS lay in waite for him: and the warre began betweene them, not onely with great power and numbers of men; but with great hatred and malice alſo: for beſides that they both fought for the Empire, they had ſent letters and meſſages the one to the other, which had much incenſed them both. And ſo the warres began to be very cruell, and there enſued ſome battailes wherein fortune ſhewed herſelfe variable; MAGNENTIVS hauing ſometimes the victorie and ſometimes CONSTANTIVS, as CASSIODORVS reporteth in his Tripartie Hiſtorie. But after many conflicts each of them ſetting vp the reſt of his whole power,

they

they fought a great battaile neere to the citie of *Murſia* in *Spaine*, which was one of the moſt cruell and bloudie that euer was ſeene, and the Romane Empire loſt therein the beſt men of all the ordinarie legions. For it continued the greateſt part of all the day and part of the night; and there were ſlaine of both parties, foure and fiftie thouſand men, all valiant old ſouldiers: and CONSTANTIVS obtained the victorie, and MAGNENTIVS eſcaped by flight. It is very ſtrange what ſome authors doe write concerning this battaile, which is, that MAGNENTIVS his troupes did conſiſt of but thirtie and odde thouſand men, and CONSTANTIVS his armie amounted to the number of threeſcore and tenne thouſand, and of thoſe which were ouercome there died foure and twentie thouſand; and of thoſe which ouercame, thirtie thouſand. Whereby it appeareth with what reſolution, force or obſtinacie, MAGNENTIVS his men did fight, which ſlew as many of their enemies as they themſelues were in number; and there remained but ſixe thouſand of them liuing. MAGNENTIVS being ouerthrowne fled into *Italie*, (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR doe write) where reinforcing himſelfe the beſt that he could, hee determined to haue returned againe to trie his fortune, and once againe to fight with CONSTANTIVS, hauing firſt in vaine ſought to come to ſome compoſition of peace, ſeeming to be contented if CONSTANTIVS would ſuffer him to poſſeſſe but *Thracia* onely. Finally, comming to another encounter, hee was againe ouerthrowne; and flying from the battaile, ſhut himſelfe vp in the citie of *Lions* in *France*; where being aduertiſed that his ſouldiers practized to deliuer him aliue into the hands of CONSTANTIVS, he ſlew himſelfe with his owne poiniard, leaning againſt a wall (as ſaith AVRELIVS VICTOR) and ſo ended his Empire which hee had tyrannically vſurped, together with his life; being of the age of fiftie yeeres. When his ſonne DECENCIVS, whom hee had made CÆSAR and gouernour of *France*, vnderſtoode of his death, being out of hope to make head againſt CONSTANTIVS and to defend his iuriſdiction, he hung himſelfe. CONSTANTIVS hauing happily ended ſo daungerous a warre, all the prouinces which had held for MAGNENTIVS (without any reſiſtance) ſubmitted them to his will; and he very ioyfull came triumphing to the citie of *Milan*, where for a certaine ſpace he made his abode.

A cruell battaile betweene Magnentius and Conſtantius.

Magnentius being ouerthrowne the ſecond time ſlew himſelfe.

Decencius hearing of the death of his father hung himſelfe.

While as theſe matters befell CONSTANTIVS in the Weſt, his coſen GALLVS whom he left for CÆSAR and gouernour generall of the prouinces in the Eaſt, adminiſtred no point of iuſtice, neither defended that eſtate with ſuch valour as he ought to haue done. For it is written, that SAPOR King of *Perſia* ouerthrew him in a battaile, and in the reſt he vſed extreame crueltie: And writers principally affirme, that in the citie of *Antioch* he did put to death the greateſt part of all the nobilitie therein. And of the Iewes of *Iudea*, and of *Paleſtina*, for that they had attempted to rebell, he moſt cruelly made many thouſands of either ſex, and of all ages to be ſlaine. And he commaunded the cities of *Tiberias*, *Dioſpolis*, *Cæſarea*, and others to be ſet on fire: Which Saint IEROM affirmeth, and writeth in his additions to EVSEBIVS. When CONSTANTIVS vnderſtoode of theſe and other matters, which AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS reciteth at large, being an eie-witneſſe, which author wrote the life of CONSTANTIVS, IVLIANVS, and IOVIANVS Emperours of thoſe times, very truly, and diſtinctly: but with the moſt rigged ſtile that euer I read in any Latin author; but ſuch as it was, it was great pittie that ſo many books of his workes were loſt: CONSTANTIVS being deſirous to take order for the euils, which I told you of, and

Constantius made his Cosen Gallus to be slaine.

standing alreadie in some feare of GALLVS, sent some secretly to kill him: which was easily effected, hauing first sought some other remedies. And so for that time CONSTANTIVS remained sole Emperour without any CÆSAR or companion in all the Romane Empire: and from *Milan* prouided and sent captaines and gouernours to all parts. Whereas hee was of light beliefe, and delighted and tooke pleasure in schismes and factions (an ill thing in any man, but in princes most daungerous) and to commit cruelties and to inflict punishments, there were daily offered new occasions, by reason whereof he vsed great crueltie and put many to death, which MARCELLINVS describeth at large. And among other matters, there arose an excellent old captaine against him, whose name was SILVANVS; who at that time was generall against the Germanes; and was accused to haue practized some matters against the imperiall maiestie. Which accusation (all writers affirme) was through the enuie which they bare against him for his victories and good successe. And the credulous Emperour, as it seemeth, did also enuie him, and intended to cause him to be slaine: Whereof SILVANVS being aduertised, as he was very much beloued for his age and bountie, and for the great honour which he had wonne in sundrie warres and battailes, but principally in the warres of CONSTANTINE the great, against LICINIVS; and finding no meanes to assure his life, constrained more through feare, then mooued by his owne voluntarie choise, he resolued to rebell and to take vpon him the name of Emperour. Which he did, shewing first to his souldiers his disgrace, and how he was odious to CONSTANTIVS; and how that for the seruice which he and they had done, he had commaunded him to be slaine. Which being vnderstoode, they all with one voice hailed him Emperour, swearing and promising to protect and defend him. These newes did greatly trouble CONSTANTIVS, who was yet in *Milan*, and at the very instant that he was aduertised hereof, without discouering it to any man making shew as though he knew nothing, he compounded with a certaine subtill and valiant captaine, named VRSICINVS, who besides his familiars and necessarie seruants, tooke with him tenne companions, extraordinarie men and very valiant; with which he vndertooke to kill SILVANVS, vnder this pretext and policie. CONSTANTIVS wrote certaine letters vnto SILNANVS, wherein making no shew to haue vnderstoode ought of his rebellion, fayning that hee would depart from *Milane* and haue him with him, with many honorable words willing him to repaire to him and to deliuer vp the charge which hee held to the captaine whom he had sent. VRSICINVS made great haste in his way, to the end, that through shortnes of the time, it might be the better beleiued, that all his proceedings had been vnknowne to CONSTANTIVS. As he with his companions came neere to the armie, among which one was MARCELLINVS the writer of this Historie; SILVANVS thinking no other but that this man was sent to be his successor; and then being no time to debate of the matter, made no account thereof. And VRSICINVS seeming careless and simple; so cunningly handled the matter, conferring with certaine captaines his friends, and others which were discontented with SILVANVS; and by meanes of some gifts which he gaue, and great promises which he made, they resolued to kill poore SILVANVS. Whereupon assembling together a good number of souldiers, they went one morning to his palace, where killing his guard, they entred perforce, and SILVANVS flying into a Church of the Christians, was therein found and slaine. And in this manner ended his Empire with his life, hauing vsurped the same but onely thirtie daies.

Siluanus chosen Emperour by his souldiers.

A stratagem vsed by Vrsicinus thereby to kill Siluanus.

Siluanus slaine in a Church of the Christians.

This

This being ended to the good liking of CONSTANTIVS, there followed other troubles and cares: for the barbarous northerly Nations of high *Almanie*, came downe to make warre in the Empire: and as matters were yet very much out of order, by reason of the death of SILVANVS, they did much hurt, by taking certaine cities, and by robbing and spoiling the countrie. Which when CONSTANTIVS saw, considering with himselfe that if hee went thither in person, the whole Empire was without any defence; and imagining also that a Generall was not to be trusted with that warre, he resolued to chuse his cosin germane IVLIANVS, and to make him CÆSAR, who was brother to GALLVS, of whom we haue spoken heretofore, and had been CÆSAR in the East, and slaine by his commaundement; both which were the sonnes of CONSTANTIVS, brother to CONSTANTINE the Great before spoken of.

Julianus made Cæsar by Constantius.

This IVLIANVS was a young man of whom there was great hope: for he was of a fine constitution of bodie, of an excellent wit, inclined and giuen to studie, and therewith was very well learned. IVLIANVS was made CÆSAR and adopted by CONSTANTIVS, with many ceremonies and great solemnitie in the citie of *Milan*, where CONSTANTIVS then made his abode: yet some say, that it was in *Athens*, in *Græcia*: and the better to confirme the friendship and parentage, he married him to his sister HELENA. Other matters also passing which for breuitie I omit, IVLIANVS departed towards the armie which was in *Germanie*, where all things prospered so well with him, that he not onely recouered the losses receiued, but also made great spoile and slaughter of his enemies. CONSTANTIVS leauing the West in charge with IVLIANVS, determined to passe into the East, where was no lesse daunger and neede of his presence: for the Persians being ancient and ordinarie enemies to the Romanes, as the offspring and successors of the Parthians, neuer ceased from inuading and making warre vpon the frontiers of the Romanes, robbing and spoiling the lands of the Empire. And in his way he purposed to goe to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great ioy and magnificence. But he could not stay there aboue thirtie daies: for besides other newes from the East, hee vnderstood that the Sarmates, a fierce and barbarous nation, which were the Russians, Muscouites, Polonians, and some others, had entred and passed through *Misia*, now called *Bulgaria* and *Seruia*, and other nations also had entred *Hungary*: wherefore he presently departed and sent towards the warres of the Sarmates MARCELLVS PEBERVS, an excellent Captaine of great experience, and himselfe passed through *Slauonia* towards the East. And notwithstanding that he had a great armie, yet he was not free from feare: for as this Emperour euer preuailed in all his ciuill warres and against tyrants; so against the Persians he was euer infortunate: wherefore he practised to come to some composition of peace with SAPOR the second of that name King of the Persians, who then raigned, and refused not to giue eare to an Ambassadour which motioned the same. Whereof SAPOR growing beyond all measure proud, wrote a most hautie letter to CONSTANTIVS, which, with the answere thereto, MARCELLINVS setteth downe. Wherein he required if the Emperour would haue any peace with him, that he should first resigne into his hands the prouinces of *Mesopotamia*, and *Armenia*, which had been subiect to his ancestors (so great was the power and presumption of the Kings of the Persians, that they would not graunt peace and truce to a Romane Emperour, except hee would giue them two of the best prouinces of the world.) To this letter CONSTANTIVS sent him another for answere: which was a very notable letter and very discreete, which for breuitie I doe

Marcellus Peberus sent by Constantius against the Sarmates.

Lib. 7.

The tenour of a letter written by Sapor King of Persia to the Emperour Constantius: and an answere thereto.

The effect of Constantius his letter to Sapor.

not recite. Wherein he held the grauitie and maieſtie of a Romane Emperour, and reprehending SAPOR for his pride and ambition, hee not onely denied what the other required, but did alſo put him cleane out of all hope to haue any peace with him: and ſo afterwards there began a very cruell warre betweene them. At the ſame time that theſe matters paſſed in the Eaſt, IVLIANVS who remained in *France*, CÆSAR, and General againſt the Germanes; after ſome other victories, ſubdued his enemies in a very great and bloudie battaile: and hauing obtained this ſo notable a victorie, by a generall conſent of all the whole armie he was called Emperour and AVGVSTVS; and they made him equall with CONSTANTIVS. Theſe newes within few daies were brought to CONSTANTIVS in the Eaſt, and he was ſo ſorrowfull and ſo much grieued thereat, that hee was once of the minde to haue abandoned the warres there, and to haue returned with all his legions againſt IVLIANVS. But afterwards altring his determination, he reſolued to ſend Ambaſſadours vnto him, and thinking with good words to winne him, he ſent to entreate and to perſwade him to content himſelfe with the title and dignitie of CÆSAR, and to renounce the name of Emperour and AVGVSTVS. With this ambaſſade he ſent a principall man whoſe name was LEONAS, who for that he came from CONSTANTIVS, was honourably receiued in the armie: and audience being giuen him, and hee hauing deliuered his ambaſſade, and the Emperours letters being read, the armie would not onely not yeeld thereto, but they all with one voice confirmed what they had done, calling IVLIANVS Emperour and AVGVSTVS: only they obeyed him in putting FLORENTINVS out of the office of Pretorian Prefect, which was giuen to NEBRIDIVS. Touching the reſt, IVLIANVS anſwered CONSTANTIVS in humble manner, with the beſt words that he could deuiſe, promiſing to be to him both a loyall and an obedient companion; deſiring him that he would not depoſe him from his dignitie, ſeeing that he had accepted thereof againſt his will, being thereto compelled by the armie. And herewith he returned to make warre with greater force and circumſpection then before. And preſaging and foreſeeing that it was very requiſite to tame and ſubdue thoſe nations, imagining that he ſhould haue warre (and could not eſchue the ſame) with CONSTANTIVS; he aduiſed his Captaines and troupes to make haſte, and to aſſaile their enemies before they were by them aſſailed: whereupon there enſued betweene him and the Germanes, ſome very notable battailes and encounters, which I cannot recount, without altring my ordinarie courſe of writing briefly.

Julianus was by the armie made Emperour and Auguſtus.

Conſtantius ſent an ambaſſadour to Iulianus.

Julianus his anſwere to Conſtantius.

After that CONSTANTIVS vnderſtood that his Ambaſſadours could not obtaine what he required, he determined to make warre againſt IVLIANVS, preſuming vpon his great power and the good fortune which he had euer had againſt other tyrants. Wherefore hee ſought meanes to confirme the peace and friendſhip, which then was in queſtion betweene him and ARSAX King of *Armenia*, and other Kings of the Eaſt; to the end that they ſhould not ioyne in league and confederacie with the King of *Perſia*, his chiefeſt enemie; againſt whom hee left ſuch forces as hee thought ſufficient to defend the countrie, and to continue the warre. After this hee came into *Europe*, and trauailing from *Antioch* in *Syria* to the citie of *Tharſus*, by the way he felt himſelfe ſomewhat ill of a light feuer: but yet that notwithſtanding he held on his iourney, thinking that his exerciſe would haue holpen him by diuerting the humour: and therefore he cauſed himſelfe to be carried in a litter, making ſmall iournies. But comming to the foote of the Mount *Taurus*, he felt himſelfe much oppreſſed with his diſeaſe; the feuer increaſing

sing vpon him in such sort, that hee seemed to be all on a fire. And so he knowing his euill to be mortall, and that his death approched, hee made his will; wherein he nominated IVLIANVS (his enemie and a tyrant) for his heire and successor; so that him whom in his life time he would not admit for a companion, at his death he chose for his heire; hauing in this matter (as a good Emperour) great regard to the common peace and quiet of the Empire. This Emperour raigned foure and twentie yeeres; seuen with his brothers, and seuenteene alone, although in contention with the tyrants aforenamed. And in his fathers time he was CÆSAR thirteene yeeres: wherefore some say that hee raigned in all, eight and thirtie yeeres. He was when hee died (as saith EVTROPIVS) fiue and fortie yeeres old; yet all authors agree not hereupon. This Emperour was reckoned among the indifferent Emperours: for notwithstanding that he was endowed with some singular vertues; so was hee not altogether free from vices. For as hee was courteous, gentle, and of a pleasant conuersation, liberall and affable to his seruants, and very temperate in eating and drinking, and would take great paines, and delighted and desired much to speake well (yet naturally he was neither very sharpe witted nor eloquent) and was an excellent Archer, and delighted greatly therein: so was hee otherwise very credulous, and delighted to heare men speake euill of others. Which occasion moued him to commit many cruelties: for hee was by nature mistrustfull, and euer feared treason; and therefore trusted few men: so was hee likewise much giuen to women. With these vices and vertues, he well preserued and defended the Romane Empire: and died according to S. IEROMES computation in the yeere of our Lord, three hundred, sixtie and foure.

Constantius his last will and testament.

The death of Constantius.

Anno Dom. 364.

THE LIFE OF IVLIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, CALLED APOSTATA, AND SIXE AND FORTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.

AFter the death of CONSTANTIVS, which happened in such manner as is before declared, his cosine germane IVLIANVS remained sole Emperor of the whole Romane Empire; who in the others life time

enioyed the title of AVGVSTVS. This IVLIANVS was by birth ſuch as we haue ſpecified in the life of CONSTANTIVS; and in valour and ſufficiencie for his perſon, was one of the beſt Emperors that euer was in the world: as preſently we will make manifeſt. All which good graces, hee corrupted and defiled, by renouncing the Chriſtian faith, whereof he had before made profeſſion, and by turning to the idolatrie of the Gentiles: wherefore he was commonly called IVLIANVS APOSTATA: whereof ſome authors affirme, that one LIBANIVS an Idolater and a famous Rhetorician was the occaſion. Which beſides the reaſons which may be hereto annexed, is a notable example for all Princes, and men of all eſtates and conditions whatſoeuer, that they not onely with all diligence ſeeke out maſters for their ſonnes, which may be expert in thoſe ſciences wherein they purpoſe to inſtruct them; but that principally they be vertuous, honeſt, and ſound men in religion: for learning without vertue is little worth. And it is moſt certaine and manifeſt, that ſuch things as children learne in their youth, are ſo imprinted in their hearts and vnderſtanding, that they neuer forget the ſame. And thoſe exerciſes and qualities wherein they bee bred vp in their tender age, become proper and naturall, and are neuer relinquiſhed by them in their whole life time; whereof the maſters which haue charge of the children are the principal occaſion. And although we might produce many good and faire examples, yet this preſent ſhall now ſuffice, returning to IVLIANVS, in whom his maſters infidelitie tooke ſo deepe impreſſion, that it well appeareth what harme he thereby receiued: for in the reſt hee was ſo accompliſhed, and ſo ſingular, that in goodnes, bountie and courteſie they compare him with TITVS; in clemencie with ANTONINVS; in his fortunate enterpriſes in the wars againſt the Germanes, they make him equall to TRAIANE; in temperance and modeſtie, to MARCVS AVRELIVS: and in knowledge and learning, to the ancient Philoſophers. He was endued with a ſingular memorie, and was very ſtudious, and therefore learned in many Arts and Sciences: and was eloquent and well ſpoken, no leſſe by the gift of nature then by art. He was moſt temperate in his diet and reſt: and moſt chaſt and free from all carnall paſſion and diſhoneſtie. He was ſo valiant and hardie in armes, although but of a ſmall conſtitution of bodie, and delicately limmed; that hee was therefore noted and reproued to be more hardie and aduenturous, then for a Generall or Emperor was fit or conuenient. Of glorie and renowne he was greedily couetous, which is a vice wherein great ſpirits and mindes doe oftentimes offend. With his friends he was very pleaſant and bountifull, and loued to doe iuſtice indifferently to all men; which he ſtrictly obſerued in the time that hee was CÆSAR, and in the ſmall time that he inioyed the Empire. He was likewiſe adorned with many other vertues, which EVTROPIVS as an eye witneſſe, AVRELIVS VICTOR, and AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS do record. But with all this, hee was an Infidell, which was great pitie, and his vnderſtanding was blinded by the perſwaſion of his maſter LIBANIVS, who was a Gentile and an Idolater.

To whom Iulianus was compared.

Iulianus an Idolater by the perſwaſion of his ſchoolemaſter.

Theſe things which paſſed in the time that he was CÆSAR and Emperour, are very largely & particularly deſcribed by AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, as by him which ſaw and vnderſtood the ſame: for they happened in his time, and he alſo followed and ſerued him in the warres of *Perſia*. But I will recite but the ſumme of that which happened when he was Emperour, and that briefely: for he raigned but only two yeeres; wherefore I hold it not fit in a raigne of ſo ſmall continuance to ſpend much time. Preſentlie ſo ſoone as he was aduertiſed of the death of CONSTANTIVS (which newes were brought to him in *France*, whence he

he was then about to depart to meete him; and the other, as we haue already ſaid, was comming towards him with the ſame determination) in great haſt he marched ſo farre as to the citie of *Conſtantinople*, which euer ſince the death of the Emperour *Conſtantine* was the head of the Empire; where, by all meanes poſſible he ſought to win the loue and good will of the people of all nations, which the better to bring to paſſe, he vſed this policie: firſt, he cauſed the Temples of the Gentiles to be ſet open, and ſuffred them therein to commit their ſuperſtitious idolatries, and to adore their Idols. And notwithſtanding that he abhorred, and was an enemy to the Chriſtians, yet at that time he perſecuted them not with death and tortures; and in contentions betweene the Chriſtians and the Arrians he was newter, ſhewing himſelfe inclined to neither partie: wherefore he was not notoriouſlie hatefull to any, and the barbarous nations ſtanding in feare of his great name and renowme (for by reaſon of the Germane warres he was growne very famous) abſteined from making warre and frō troubling the Empire; and ſo ſent their Ambaſſadors to him to treate of peace and friendſhip; which he granted. In this manner he began to rule the Empire, with as great proſperitie and contentment of all men, as euer any man had done. But as in his heart he was an idolater; ſo he determined to finde ſome meanes to ſupplant the true chriſtian religion, induced thereto by the Deuill, and his owne wickednes: And the better to effect the ſame, he practiſed a meanes neuer before vſed by any other, which was to ſhew himſelfe pitifull and not cruell, well perceiuing that by meanes of torments inflicted vpon the Martyrs, the holie chriſtian faith was greatlie increaſed, and therfore he determined to take a cōtrarie courſe (as RVFFINVS, S. IEROME, and CASSIODORVS do report, which was: to induce them by gifts, fauours, flatteries, and by beſtowing vpon them offices and dignities, to the end that they ſhould renounce the Chriſtian faith, and do ſacrifice to his falſe gods. And as the ſame authors do affirme, there were ſome, and they not a few which being couetous and ambitious, through deſire to grow rich and to be honoured, renied the chriſtian faith. And this was one of the greateſt perſecutions that euer the Church endured, aſwell in reſpect of thoſe which abandoned the ſame, as for that IVLIANVS perceiuing that by this meane he could not throughlie accompliſh his deſire, although as is ſaid, he put none to death; neither vſed any violence to any. He therefore made lawes and generall decrees, that no Chriſtian ſhould be maiſter of any arts or ſciences, neither ſhould any ſtudie in any Schooles, but ſuch as would adore his Idols, to the end that through the deſire of learning, they ſhould become Idolaters, or elſe at the leaſt ſhould remaine idiots, and without learning, and ſo be inſufficient and vnable to preach the chriſtian faith. He likewiſe ordeined that no Chriſtian ſhould haue any charge, or hold any office of iuſtice, neither ſhould be a Captaine in the warres, neither enioy any other dignitie. Finally, he vſed all the inuentions and meanes that he could deuiſe to make warre againſt IESVS CHRIST, without ſhedding any chriſtian bloud, which I hold to be the inuention and ſubtiltie of the Deuill, to hinder and take the crowne from the Martyrs, which they obteined through the perſecution of the ſword, vſing this pittifull crueltie againſt the Chriſtians (as a man of courage and valiant in armes) he determined to make warre againſt the Perſians, which only had not ſhewed any humilitie, or acknowledged any ſuperioritie. Wherefore he went into *Aſia* with a great army, with which & the ordinarie legiōs hauing paſſed through *Aſia* the leſſe and other prouinces, he entred *Meſopotamia*, which (as is ſaid) was the Lady, for whom the Romanes and Perſians did ordinarily contend: and after

Iulianus made the temples of the idolaters to be opened.

A meanes vſed by Iulianus to perſecute the Church vvithout bloudſhed.

A new deuiſe found out by Iulianus to perſecute the Church.

Decrees made by Iulianus againſt the Chriſtians.

Iulian his enterprise against the Persians.

some light encounters and skirmishes, he came to repose himselfe in the citie of *Cercasio* which was held by the Romanes, and was enobled by the Emperour DIOCLESIAN with wals and bulwarks; and from thence he passed to *Zaita*, where he was aduertised that the King of *Persia* was neere at hand with his whole power, whereupon he marshalled his troupes, with a great desire to come with him to a battaile. But his enemie at that time durst not fight with him, but sent him many Ambassades, intreating pardon, and promising him great part of his countries: to whom this valorous Emperour would giue no audience, and so seeing that he refused the battaile, the more to prouoke him, he entred his countrey by sundrie waies, taking many cities in *Soria*, some by force of armes, and others yeelded themselues without any resistance: and he did much harme and made extreme spoile in all that countrey, vntill at last the Persians for very shame were constrained to fight with him, which battaile was very terrible and cruell. Before which, this blind IVLIANVS (as OROSIVS and S. IEROME recite) of very malice and hatred which he bare to the Christians, which he called Galileans (as

Iulianus his vow to the gods.

saith THEODORETVS in his historie) made a vow to his gods, that if he obtained the victorie, he would do sacrifice to them in the bloud of those Christians which would not worship idols. And it pleased God in his secret iudgement to giue him victorie at that time, thereby to reward him in this life for the morall vertues wherewith he was endued, to the end that perpetuallie he should be punished in the other world, for his damnable infidelitie. And he seeing himselfe victorious, and finding no resistance, marched euen to the famous citie of *Thesiphonte*, and finding no forces that durst to stop his passage, he determined to returne to winter in *Mesopotamia*, but vpon the way his people indured great penurie and want with thirst and hunger, aswell for that his armie was exceeding great, as also for that his enemies did suddenlie often assault and molest them. And notwithstanding that the Persians would neuer come to any equall fight, but gaue camizadoes, with light skirmishes, sodainly charging, and then running away, after the manner of the Arabians in these daies; yet therewith his armie was exceedinglie much toiled and tired. And in this manner it pleased God (who with his death would stop the execution of so many innocents which he purposed to haue sacrificed) that a Persian fugitiue, who was the guide to his army, trecherouslie led him & his people into a place where many of his enemies lay in ambush; where being

Iulianus deadly wounded.

by them charged, he was constrained to fight, and in the fight pell mell being vnknowne was striken with a launce through the arme into the bodie: with which wound losing his senses, he fell vpō his horses mane, and so his people tooke him, & caried him into a tent, wherein with some medicines which they applied vnto him, he came again to himself, and recouering strength, he called for his horse and armes: for he would again returne to the battaile. But feeling his force to faile him, they write, that with extreme pride he vsed these words against our Sauiour CHRIST, It sufficeth that thou CHRIST of *Galilea* hast ouercome, for so he vsed to

The prowd speaches vttered by Iulianus a little before his death. Iulianus died talking.

call him. After this, seeing that all those which were about him began to weep, he reprehended them, saying, that they did ill to weep for that Prince which died in the grace and fauour of the gods; and so he discoursed of the immortalitie of the soule so long as he was able to speake, vntill that his bloud being wholie spent, he died, which in truth was great pitie that there should be such accursed blindnes in a man, in whom there was so great valour, & so many good & vertuous qualities. He died in the 7. yeere after that he was made CÆSAR, and in the third yeere of his

Anno Domini. 366.

Empire, being 31. yeers old, in the yeere of our Lord (according to S. IEROME) 366.

THE

THE LIFE OF IOVIANVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN AND FORTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

MVch was the death of IVLIANVS bewailed and lamented in the campe by the whole armie: for he was highly beloued by all his men of warre. But the Church and all Christians rendred thankes to our Lord God, that in his mercie he had deliuered them from the yoke of ſo great a ſeruitude. There was ſo great a confuſion in the campe, by reaſon of the death of this Emperour, that they were at the point to haue been ouerthrowne by the Perſians: beſides that, they were greatly diſtreſſed through want of victuals. And the enemies vnderſtanding of the death of the Emperour, neuer left to moleſt them on euery ſide, with ſuch contiuuall ſudden aſſaults and alarmes, that they were not able to endure them: Wherefore the chiefe and principall men of the armie aſſembled themſelues together to chuſe an Emperor and Captaine, which might rule and gouerne them. And after much contention and diuerſitie of opinions, they agreed to chuſe one (as ſaith EVTROPIVS) whoſe name was MARCELLINVS. But finally they concluded, to name a very famous man, called IOVIANVS, who was the

ſonne

ſonne of a Nobleman called VARRONIANVS, a Hungarian or an inhabitant in *Hungary*, who leauing the warres which he had long followed, and to auoide the tumults and troubles which he ſaw in the Empire, retired, and gaue himſelfe to his reſt and quiet in certaine poſſeſſions which he held in *Hungary*. But his ſonne IOVIANVS came to the Emperour CONSTANTIVS his Court, and followed the warres. Who for that hee was valiant and a goodly perſonage, was greatly eſteemed by IVLIANVS, and whileſt that he was CÆSAR and afterwards Emperour, this man was the principall captaine of the ordinarie troupes which went with the Emperour. This IOVIANVS was of an excellent wit and ſound iudgement, giuen to letters and therewith well learned. He was tall of ſtature and well proportioned, and a faithfull and Catholike Chriſtian; in ſo much that when IVLIANVS commaunded that no Chriſtian ſhould be a Captaine, neither ſhould haue any charge or office in the warres; IOVIANVS pleaſantly ſaid, that hee made greater account of the faith whereof he made profeſſion, then of any dignitie or honour that he enioyed; and ſo gaue vp his charge. And being afterwards choſen Emperour (RVFFINVS and THEODORETVS doe write) that ſeeing that IVLIANVS had made and induced the men of warre of his armie to commit idolatrie, and to doe ſacrifice to his gods; he in a publike oration which he made to them, ſaid, that he (although he might) would not (being a Chriſtian) be an Emperour of Infidels: And ſo hee reſiſted and abſolutely refuſed the Empire. But all men were ſo well pleaſed with his election, that after they had approoued the ſame, they cried out alowd, ſaying, That they were all Chriſtians. And for his ſake thoſe which were not ſo, reſolued to become Chriſtians, vpon condition that he would accept the Empire. In this manner with incredible ioy and gladnes, they ſware obedience vnto him, and gaue him the Imperiall enſignes. Whereupon he preſently ordred and reinforced the armie, which could not bee done without great difficultie: for SAPOR vnderſtanding of the death of IVLIANVS (who for his noble acts and great courage was generally feared of all men) made ſmall account of this new Emperour: but gathering together the greateſt forces that hee was able, gaue ſo fierce a charge in the Emperours armie, that the Romanes were likely to haue bin wholy loſt; and the Perſians apparantly had the better. IOVIANVS marching with great trouble and daunger, for that the waies were craggie and mountainous; the firſt day hee followed his iourney, and making an Alt in a valley, his armie was preſently compaſſed about on euery ſide by the Perſians; who aſſailed and skirmiſhed with them after their manner. The next day he came to the citie of *Carras*, where IOVIANVS and his ſouldiers remembring that in ancient time, MARCVS CRASSVS was in that coaſt ouerthrowne and ſlaine by the Parthians; holding that place for fatall they accounted themſelues loſt, if the enemie euer gaue them battaile. The principall cauſe of which feare was, by reaſon of their weaknes through the hunger which they had endured, and at that inſtant did endure, through want of victuals: for as two ſo great armies marched ſo neere togethers, no prouiſion to be made could ſuffice to ſuſtaine them. But in all theſe extremities, IOVIANVS neuer fainted or was diſcouraged, neither omitted to vſe all diligence in guiding, defending, and animating his people, vntill they came to the riuer *Tigris*, their dangers ſtill encreaſing: where King SAPOR ſent him Ambaſſadours, giuing him to vnderſtand, that conſidering the weaknes of his armie, and his owne force, he was moſt aſſured of victorie; yet if hee would render vnto him the prouinces which he required (which were many) he would be content to hold perpetuall peace with the Empire. IOVIANVS ſeeing the preſent neceſſitie wherein

Praiſe of Iouianus.

Iouianus his profeſſion.

Iouianus choſen Emperour.

wherein he was, tooke counsell hereupon of the chiefest men in the armie: and after three or foure daies consultation, a peace was concluded for thirtie yeeres. IOVIANVS leauing to King SAPOR all the prouinces beyond the riuer *Tigris*, and some cities in *Mesopotamia*, with further condition that the Emperour should not aide or assist ARSAX King of *Armenia*: which peace or truce, as write EVTROPIVS, whose historie endeth with the life of this Emperour, and many other writers, was held for very shamefull and dishonourable to the greatnes of the Romane Empire, for voluntarily giuing to the enemie part of the prouinces thereto belonging, and for shortning the bounds and limits thereof. But for that Princes actions are euer diuersly iudged of, PAVLVS OROSIVS and other writers excuse him, alleaging that he made such a peace as was requisite, cõsidering the time, and although it were not honourable; yet at the least it was profitable and needfull: for he was in manifest daunger to haue lost his whole armie, and the greatest part of the prouinces which hee rendred. Hereof euery man may iudge according to their fantasie; but thus it was. IOVIANVS hauing concluded this peace, went into *Soria*, where he commaunded by publike proclamation, that all those Bishops which were exiled for resisting and contradicting the heresie of ARRIVS, or for any other vnlawfull occasion, should be recalled and restored, and principally the great ATHANASIVS. He likewise reuoked and made voide all the prohibitions and decrees made by IVLIANVS against the Christians; and ordained that they should be admitted to any dignitie, office, charge, Magistracie or studie, as they were wont to be in the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the Great. He likewise caused to be paid to the Churches those rents of corne and other things which CONSTANTINE had appointed for them, and which by the commandement of IVLIANVS were sequestred: which is written by THEODORETVS and RVFFINVS. IOVIANVS hauing laid so godly a foundation to his Empire, concerning the Christian faith, giuing in all things good signes of a good and iust Prince, & prouiding for all matters in the East, as to him seemed most needfull, began his iourney towards *Constantinople*, shewing himself euery where as he passed in all his actions, a iust and a gracious Prince, so as al men conceiued a great good hope of him. But this and all his noble determinations and other Christianlike purposes, were interrupted by death: for the iniquitie of the people did not deserue to haue so good a Prince; which happened in this manner: He comming to a place which was called *Dudastana*, in the confines of *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, in *Asia* the lesser, the weather being very cold (for it was in the winter) they set in the chamber where the Emperour should lie that night, a great panne with kindled coales, which coales were wet, and as the officers of his chamber were gone to take their rest, the chamber doore being lockt, and he asleepe, the vapour of the fire waxing grosse and thicke, and filling euery thing with smoake, and finding no place to euaporate, stopped the Emperours breath, in such sort that he was smoothered sleeping, and in the morning was found dead; all men imagining this to be the cause of his death. Yet some were of opinion that hee died by eating of Mushrumpes, which are held for venemous. And others coniectured that hee ate so much meate at supper, that his naturall heate could not digest the same, and so through the cruditie thereof he was suffocate. But howsoeuer it was, all men were very sorrowfull for his death, hee hauing weilded the scepter of the Empire but only eight moneths; being, according to some writers, of the age of fortie yeers, and after some other, thirtie and odde.

A peace made betweene the Persians and the Romanes for thirtie yeeres.

The Emperour Iouianus smoothered in his bed with smoake.

Who so desireth to know more of this Emperour, as well in warre as in peace, let

let him reade the authors aboue named, and particularly AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, who was with him in all his aduentures: and the Tripartite Hiſtorie of CASSIODORVS in the ſeuenth booke: and RVFFINVS in the tenth booke of his eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie: and EVTROPIVS, although he be briefe was an eie-witneſſe. And here endeth his Hiſtorie. Many things may be gathered of the life of this Emperour, by reading the firſt booke of the epiſtles of Saint AMBROSE: and the fourth booke of THEODORETVS.

THE LIFE OF VALENTINIANVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND OF HIS BROTHER VALENS, THE EIGHT AND FORtith Romane Emperour.

THE ARGVMENT.

VAlentinianus being the ſonne of a roape maker, for his vertues deſerued to be made an Emperour; euen as his father mounted from making of ropes to the higheſt martiall dignitie. He hauing taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, choſe his brother Valens for his companion, and ſhortly after made his ſonne Gratianus, Cæſar. In their time the world was troubled, with ſo many prodigious earth-quakes, remouing of the ſea, ſtrange raines, and ſo many warres, that there hath ſeldome been read of the like. Neuertheleſſe the wiſe Emperours excellently well prouided for all theſe troubles and perils; and not onely ouercame barbarous Kings and ſtrangers which were their enemies, but alſo tamed and ſubdued the domeſticall tyrants, among which was one whoſe name was Procopius, a kinſman to Iulianus the Apoſtata; who taking the enſignes of Emperour, was ſo venturous, as to come to blowes with Valens. Valentinianus was a great friend to the Chriſtians, yet Valens was to the contrarie, and being earneſt to giue anſwere to certaine Ambaſſadors, he was taken with an Apoplexie which bereaued him of the vſe of his tongue onely, leauing all his other ſenſes ſound; whereof within ſhort ſpace he died. Whereupon Valens remay-

uing

ning in the Empire with his Nephew Gratian, as the manner of Vncles is, began to make ſmall account of his Nephew: and fauouring the ſect of the Arrians, gaue himſelfe to inchauntments, nigromancies, to perſecute the Chriſtians, and to martyrize many of them. For which his wickednes God puniſhed him; for he comming againſt the Gothes (to whom he had done good) in a peece of ſeruice, was by them ouerthrowne, and flying wounded into a farmers houſe in the countrie, the houſe was fired by them, and he burning therein, made ſuch an end as his euil life deſerued, receiuing ſuch puniſhment at Gods hands, as ſuch obſtinate heretikes are worthie of.

IT pleaſed God of his goodnes, to giue to the Chriſtian and vertuous Emperor IOVIANVS, a ſucceſſor, although he left neither ſonne nor kinſman, which was like vnto him in faith, goodnes and vertuous conditions: and this was VALENTINIANVS, who although that he were but of a meane ſtocke, and came of a poore father; yet hee was a faithfull Chriſtian and endued with excellent vertues. His fathers name was GRATIANVS, borne and bred in *Hungarie*, in a citie of the Cimbales, a man of a meane parentage, as ſaith AVRELIVS VICTOR; and as he and PAVLVS DIACONVS affirme, was very poore, and by his trade a rope maker: but was of ſo great ſtrength, that vpon a day fiue ſouldiers ſtriuing with al their might to take one of thoſe ropes which he ſold, out of his hands, were not able to doe it. Wherefore ſeeming to be ſtrong and a very able man for the warres, he was counſelled to follow the ſame, and he did ſo; and hauing no leſſe courage of minde then force of body, he profited ſo much in armes, through the notable exploits which he performed therein, that offices were beſtowed vpon him, aud ſo aſcending by degrees, he became Pretorian Prefect. And by theſe meanes his ſonne VALENTINIANVS of whom we purpoſe to treate, came to bee bred vp in the warres, and therein wanne great honour. And being captaine of the companies which were called *Scutarij*, which were targettiers, ſo called, for that no others did beare targets or pauoiſes, but they: IVLIANVS the Apoſtata commaunded him to doe ſacrifice to his gods, or otherwiſe to giue vp the office which he held, (as he did by others, and as we ſaid, he did by IOVIANVS:) but he as a good Catholike and not as a fained Chriſtian, voluntarily ſurrendred his office and captainſhip, to continue in the faith of CHRIST. And the good and Chriſtian IOVIANVS comming to the Empire, drew vnto him all ſuch, as hee was; by meanes whereof VALENTINIANVS was in his ſeruice when hee died, in the ſame place and office which he forſooke in the time of IVLIANVS. So ſoone as IOVIANVS was dead, the firſt and chiefeſt care that VALENTINIANVS tooke, was, to prepare his body to be ſent to *Conſtantinople* to be buried; and the ſecond and next was, to treate of, who ſhould be the next Emperour. And the principall captaines marched with the armie to the citie of *Nicea*, which is the head and Metropolitane citie of the prouince of *Bithynia*, where determining to nominate an Emperour, there were ſome which made account to haue been ſo; and among many one was named, which was a Tribune called EQVITIVS; who (as MARCELLINVS reporteth) was afterwards for his curriſh and ſharpe conditions depoſed. But finally after long conſultations, VALENTINIANVS was choſen, by reaſon of his goodnes and valour, being at that time abſent, hauing remained certaine daies iourney behinde the whole armie; and being ſent for, and come, they all ſware obedience vnto him, with great ioy and contentment. For truly he was (as all men write) a goodly perſonage, very valiant, and magnanimious;

The deſcent of Valentinianus.

Valentinianus gaue vp his office of Captaine rather then he would doe ſacrifice to Idols.

Valentinianus choſen Emperour.

very wise and temperate; a louer of iustice, eloquent, and of a good grace, honorable and valorous, and a man who knew how to make himselfe beloued and respected of all men. Hauing accepted the Empire, and beginning to prouide for such things as might be needefull for the good gouernment thereof; it seemed good to the captaines and souldiers of the armie to name and giue him a companion and an equall in the Empire, to be an assistant to him in the gouernment; which the Emperours of their owne accord did often vse to doe. VALENTINIANVS being aduertised hereof, commaunded the armie to be called together, and with a bold and prompt stomacke and courage, among other matters spake vnto them in this manner. Gentlemen and souldiers, it was in your hands and at your pleasure, when I was not Emperour, to giue me the gouernment and commaund of the Empire; but now that I haue the gouernment and am in possession thereof, it is no part of your charge, neither ought you to entermeddle therein: for that is my charge onely, and the care thereof appertaineth to me to commaund and gouerne the common-wealth. And as for a companion when neede shall require, I will take care for one. These speeches are written by THEODORETVS; and other authors make mention of them: which made such an impression in the souldiers mindes, that from thenceforth they all tooke care to obey his commaundements, without daring to speake a word concerning any such matter. But when hee came to the citie of *Constantinople*, which euer since the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE, was the head of the Empire, imagining it to be a matter very requisit, he made his brother VALENS his companion and equall with himselfe in the Empire, which truely he ought not to haue done, for that he was infected with the Arrian heresie, as hereafter we will declare. And hauing made this election, they deuided the Empire betweene them, so as VALENTINIANVS tooke charge of the prouinces in the West, and VALENS of those in the East. And matters standing vpon these termes, they both fell sicke of a burning feuer, so grieuously, that all men thought they would haue died; but afterwards recouering, there happened vnto these brothers so many warres and such troubles, that they both had enough to doe. For the Saxons and the Scots which are northerly nations, came in great troupes to make a conquest of the Ile of *Britannie*, and the Germanes came againe downe into *France*: and the countries of *Hungarie* and *Austrich* were troubled with the Sarmates and the Catti: into *Thracia* came certaine companies of Gothes to robbe and steale. The King of *Persia* brake the truce, and inuaded *Armenia*, and afterwards *Mesopotamia*. Whereupon by reason of these tempests and others which were feared, and which were alreadie begun, VALENS tooke his way towards the East, and VALENTINIANVS towards *Milan*: And into *Hungarie* they sent a valiant captaine whose name was SEVERIANVS; and so they prouided and placed in diuers parts excellent captaines and gouernours. To recite all things which passed in particular, would be a long peece of worke, but in summe it was thus: that in the first three yeeres of the raigne of VALENTINIANVS, hee had very cruell warres with the Saxons and Germanes, which in the end, after many battailes, he ouercame and subdued. In the third yeere of his raigne, he made his sonne GRATIANVS his companion, Emperour, and AVGVSTVS. And in *Rome* by reason of the death or depriuation of TVRCIVS APRONIANVS, for the Historie declareth it not (or I am forgetfull) he placed a noble man, named ORPHITVS. And as a good Christian, he honoured and fauored the Christians, their Temples and Churches: which his brother VALENS did not in the East; but lying

A speech vsed by Valentinianus to the army.

Valentinianus made his brother Valens his companion in the Empire.

The Empire infested by forraine nations.

Valentinianus made his sonne Emperour and Augustus.

lying for the moſt part in the citie of *Antioch*, permitted the idolatries and ſuperſtitions of the Gentiles, and likewiſe the rites and ceremonies of the Iewes. But the Arrians and Hereticks he extremely fauoured, only he moleſted and was enemie to the true Chriſtians: and aboue all, gaue himſelfe to diuinations, ſorceries, and prohibited Aſtrologie, which CASSIODORVS, IOANNES MONACVS, otherwiſe called ZONARAS, and RVFFINVS alſo treate of at large.

Valens permitting Idolatrie, and the ceremonies of the Iewes, was an enemie to the Chriſtians.

Theſe two brethren gouerning and commaunding the Empire, although after diuers manners, reſiſting and making head againſt the incurſions of ſtrange and barbarous nations, which infeſted the ſame: a noble man called PROCOPIVS, borne in *Sicilia*, and neere kinſeman to IVLIANVS Apoſtata (who beginning by meane degrees, came to be Captaine generall of the Imperiall armies in the Eaſt) rebelled in *Conſtantinople*, and with the fauour and aſſiſtance of certaine Captaines, and ſome other men of warre (taking the Imperiall enſignes) he proclaimed himſelf Emperour, which greatly troubled the two Emperours: for they knew that he daily grew greater, and that his forces cõtinuallie increaſed, and that he had ſent for ſuccours to the Gothes, and other ſtrange nations. The Empire being thus troubled, there alſo followed in thoſe daies ſo vniuerſall and ſo terrible an earth-quake, that an infinite number of houſes, and ſundrie cities fell downe. For in *Sicilia* and in many other Ilands, whole countries periſhed, and the ſea ouerwhelmed and drowned many townes and cities, ouerflowing the naturall bounds and limits; and aboue all, it was moſt terrible in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Aſia*; ſo as the citie of *Nicea* was therewith wholie deſtroied. And in many other prouinces bordering vpon the ſea, the ſea altring his courſe, in ſome places diſcouered and left dry land, where before was nothing but ſea; and in ſome other places made ſea, where before were greene fields and paſtures without water; as PAVLVS OROSIVS and other authors do write, principallie MARCELLINVS, who ſaw it with his eies, and S. IEROME alſo. Whereof the Coſmographers of our times ſhould take notice, and not ſo much blame and maruell at the auncient, if they find not deſcribed and ſet downe in their bookes the ſea-coaſts, the capes, points, hauens, and entries into the ſea, to be ſuch as they deſcribed them then to be: for theſe and many other naturall mutations haue been the cauſe thereof, beſides the error which may be in the letter & depainting of the bookes, or in the phraſe, through their fault which wrote and tranſlated them. A little while after this earth-quake (S. IEROME writeth) that there rained from heauen, like as at other times it vſeth to ſnow, an infinite quantitie of wooll, ſo perfect as the moſt fine wooll that the ſheep beareth. But returning to our hiſtorie. This attempt of PROCOPIVS ſo much troubled VALENTINIANVS and VALENS, that VALENTINIANVS was in doubt whether he ſhould go againſt him in perſon, or leaue it to VALENS; whom it ſeemed more to concerne, aſwell for the neerenes to him, as for that thoſe parts were vnder his iuriſdiction. And being reſolued to go in perſon, he was conſtrained to alter his determination, for that certaine ſtrange nations made new inuaſions in the Empire, aſwell in *Germany* as in *Britannie*, and the cities and prouinces in theſe parts by their Ambaſſadors required ſuccour. Whereupon he determined rather to relieue thoſe which were friends to the whole Empire, and to the common eſtate, then his owne in particular: and publiſhing his determination, he returned to make warre againſt the ſtraungers, ſending an excellent Captaine with a very good armie againſt PROCOPIVS, to the end to reſiſt and make head againſt him, and not to ſuffer his power to increaſe: and he himſelfe went to the warres of *Germany*, wherein he did many

Procopius vvas called Emperour.

An vniuerſall earth quake.

The citie of Nicea deſtroyed by an earth-quake.

Wooll fell frõ heauen like ſnowe.

worthie feates of armes againſt the Saxons, the Burgonians, and other nations, whoſe force was ſo great, that although that they were ouercome by him, and reduced to his obedience; yet vntill this day the remembrance of them continueth, and they inhabit thoſe parts. On the other ſide, VALENS as a man which had the leſſer charge, marched towards PROCOPIVS, and he came to meete him in *Aſia* the leſſe, or in *Phrygia*, neere to a citie called *Natolia*, where they fought, and PROCOPIVS was ouerthrowne and fled. But before this battaile, VALENS had ſent a Captaine whoſe name was IVLIVS, with a very good armie, againſt thoſe Gothes which came to the aid of PROCOPIVS, he hauing ſpread a rumor that VALENTINIANVS was dead in *France*, and thoſe Gothes were ouerthrowne by IVLIVS. PROCOPIVS, as is aforeſaid, eſcaping from the battaile, vſed all poſſible meanes to reinforce his army, to the end again to returne to fight: but he not only failed of his purpoſe, but was by his owne Captaines which fled with him, thereby to obtaine pardon and grace with VALENS, apprehended and deliuered into his hands. Some write, that VALENS ſo ſoone as he had him, made his head to be ſtriken off: and others ſay, that bowing downe two trees by force and policie, one leg was bound to the one tree, and the other to the other, and the trees being let looſe, he was torne in pieces, and ſo ended he his life, parted and diuided, which had cauſed ſo great parts-taking, and diuiſion in the Empire. PROCOPIVS when he died, was of the age of one and fortie yeeres, and was of a very tall and goodlie conſtitution, but that he went ſomewhat ſtooping. It is reported of him that he was euer very ſad, and was neuer ſeene to laugh, and that he alwaies thought on heauie and ſad matters, and ſo had an heauie and an infortunate end, as one which was diſloyall, and a traitor to his ſoueraigne Lord. After that VALENS had obteined this victorie, he extremely puniſhed thoſe which had fauoured and aſſiſted PROCOPIVS, and becauſe that *Chalcedonia*, which is a citie in *Aſia* the leſſe, ouer againſt *Conſtantinople*, had taken part with him, he cauſed all the towne wals to be throwne downe, and made euen with the ground, which before were very faire. When PROCOPIVS was dead, a Captaine and neere kinſeman of his, named MARCELLVS, being in the citie of *Nicea* with certaine companies, and with three thouſand Gothes which he had cauſed to come thither, tooke vpon him the name of Emperour: but he was ſoone ſet vpon, taken and ſlaine by another Captaine, whoſe name was EQVICIVS, gouernour of *Slauonia*. This ſo important an enterpriſe being by VALENS brought to happie end, he then endeuoured himſelfe to perſecute the remainder of thoſe ſouldiers, and to prouide for other accidents in the Eaſt, which for that they were many and of leſſe importance, I will omit. But in matters concerning our religion, as an heretick and a wicked man, he committed ſo many outrages, exiled ſo many, and did ſo great harme, that it would require a long time to deſcribe the ſame. His brother VALENTINIANVS following the warres aforeſaid, obteined ſundrie victories, ſome in his owne perſon, and ſome vnder the leading of his Captaines. In the great *Britanny*, by a Captaine of his whoſe name was VALENTINE, he ouercame and ſubdued the Picts and the Scots, from whom the Scots at this day are deſcended, and the Kingdome of *Scotland* in that Iland tooke name. And THEODOSIVS of whom we will ſpeake hereafter, obteined ſome other notable victories in *Germany*, whom VALENTINIANVS ſent alſo into *Africa*, for that therein rebelled a mightie Captaine whoſe name was TIRMVS, whom THEODOSIVS ouerthrew in battaile, and tooke priſoner, leauing the countrey in quiet. But notwithſtanding that he had ſo good & ſo happie ſucceſſe, yet the Romane Empire was ſo odious

Procopius ouerthrowne.

The death of Procopius.

Valens razed the vvals of Chalcedonia.

The Picts and Scots.

and

and hatefull to all the ſtrange nations, that they neuer deſiſted, ſo long as they had any oportunitie thereto to inuade and moleſt the ſame. Whereupon the Sarmates, a barbarous people, of which we haue often ſpoken heretofore, rebelled, and entred *Hungarie:* againſt which VALENTINIANVS (being greatlie offended) went himſelfe in perſon, and hauing ouerthrowne them in battaile they ſent their Ambaſſadors vnto him: and the Emperour being in an earneſt diſcourſe with them, it is reported that he was very angrie, and cried out ſo loud, that with the force thereof the bloud guſhed out at his mouth in ſuch aboundance, that he died within few daies after. Others write, that he was taken with an apoplexie, wherewith he loſt his ſpeech only, all his other ſenſes remaining perfect. Finallie, of the one, or other, he died within a ſhort ſpace, nothing auailing any phiſick that could be miniſtred vnto him, being of the age of 55. yeeres, in the twelfth yeere of his raigne, and according to S. IEROME his computation in the yeere of our Lord 379.

Valentinianus againſt the Sarmates.

Anno Domini. 379.

This Emperour is accounted among the good and vertuous Emperours, and with great reaſon: for beſides his valour and ſufficiencie, he was a very iuſt Prince, and a great enemie and a puniſher of vice, eſpeciallie of briberie and couetouſnes. When he died he left two ſonnes, and three daughters, which he had by two women. His eldeſt ſonnes name was GRATIAN, whom he had by his lawfull wife, named SEVERA; him before his death he made Emperour AVGVSTVS. His other ſonnes name was VALENTINIANVS, who afterwards was Emperour alſo. And his three daughters, IVSTA, GRATA, and GALLA, he had by a Gentlewoman called IVSTINA, of which one, which was GALLA, was afterwards maried to THEODOSIVS, who in proceſſe of time came to be Emperour. It is written, that this IVSTINA, mother to theſe three ſiſters, was the faireſt woman of complexion, of the moſt excellent conſtitution of bodie, the comelieſt perſonage, and was endowed with more commendable parts, then any woman then to be found in the world; ſo as ſhe was brought to the Emperours Pallace to his wife the Empereſſe for a miracle in beautie, where he had by her theſe three children, as PAVLVS DIACONVS reporteth, by the conſent and permiſſion of his wife the Empereſſe.

We haue declared the principall of all that paſſed in the time of VALENTINIANVS, Emperour in the Weſt, and of his brother VALENS in the Eaſt. VALENTINIANVS dying in ſuch manner, as we ſaid, left his ſonne GRATIANVS for Emperour of all that which he poſſeſſed, and made him Emperour in his life time. And VALENS ſeeing himſelfe freed and at libertie from the reſpect and dutie which he ought to his brother VALENTINIAN, making ſmall account of his ſonne GRATIAN, began to fauour and ſupport the Arrians, and to perſecute and oppreſſe the true Chriſtians. Amongſt other things S. IEROME writeth, that he commaunded and compelled all the Monks and Hermites in *Egypt*, and other parts (that leauing their monaſticall life) they ſhould become ſouldiers, and follow the warres: but before that he could bring them to it, he put many thouſands of them to death, and did many other cruell deedes, for which God gaue him ſuch an end as he deſerued. To the contrarie, his nephew GRATIAN was a good Chriſtian, and was likewiſe a good Poet, and an Oratour, a very vertuous, temperate, honeſt, and courteous Prince, and endued with many noble qualities; but he was condemned to be very remiſſe in matters of gouernement. But concerning the Chriſtian religion, he fauoured and ſupported the Chriſtian Churches in *Phœnicia*, and other prouinces in the Eaſt, like as his father had done before him.

Gratianus remained Emperour in the place of his father.

Valens fauoured the Arrians.

Valens made the Monks and Hermits to leaue their cels, and become ſouldiers.

By meanes of whoſe death the high Dutch tooke heart and courage to come downe, and make warre within the bounds of the Empire, with great multitudes of men: and he with a farre leſſer number went to fight with them, neere to a citie called *Argentine*, where recommending himſelfe to IESVS CHRIST, hee fought a moſt cruell battaile, and obtained the victorie: and as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth ſlew of them aboue 40000. men. S. IEROME ſaith 30000. When the young Emperour GRATIAN had obtained this victorie, he reſolued to make his brother VALENTINIAN his companion in the Empire, who was his brother by the father, and ſonne to the moſt faire IVSTINA; which hee performed with great ſolemnitie. The Empire being in this eſtate, VALENS liuing in *Antioch* in *Soria*, and GRATIAN and this his young brother VALENTINIAN liuing in *France*, VALENS as hee was giuen to diuinations, inchauntments, nigromancies and ſuch other like vanities, made certaine figures to be caſt; and the diuell willing to ſhew him that after him there ſhould raigne one, whoſe name began with this Greeke letter θ, which in Latin is *th*: he therefore cauſed to be ſlaine the moſt excellent Captaine THEODOSIVS, and others whoſe names began in that manner.

A great victorie obtained by Gratian againſt the Germanes.

Valens gaue great credit to inchauntments and ſorceries.

Theſe things being paſt, as God in his ſecret iudgement had ordained that the Romane Empire ſhould fall into a generall decay and diminution (as not long after it did) it pleaſed him in his diuine wiſedome to permit that there ſnould firſt happen ſome notable particular aduerſities, which ſhould be as ſignes and forewarnings preſaging the great and generall euils which afterwards enſued, and continue euen vntil this day. For a beginning, and annunciation of the commune and generall aduerſitie, which in proceſſe of time afterwards followed, it pleaſed God to permit (for VALENS his infidelitie) that in thoſe daies in the Northerly parts of *Scythia*, betweene a people called Hunnes, bordring vpon the *Riſean* mountaines; and the Gothes which with them diuided their frontiers, and were their neere neighbours (both moſt valiant and fierce nations, as in this hiſtorie hereafter ſhall appeare) great warres aroſe: and after many battailes and ſlaughters betweene them (which make nothing to our purpoſe) al beginning about the parting of fields and diuiding their bounds and limits, and other ancient quarrels, as vſually happen betweene nations which are ſo neere neighbours; in theſe controuerſies, the Gothes were finally ouerthrown in a great battaile by the Hunnes, and driuen out of their owne countrie by force of armes: and being a huge multitude of people (compelled through neceſſitie, as ouercome, and deſiring to liue in peace) they ſent to entreate the Emperour VALENS by their Ambaſſadours, that it might pleaſe him to receiue them for his ſeruants and vaſſals, and to giue them ſome lands and fields which they might till and inhabite the ſame. The Emperour ſimply graunted their requeſt, aſſigning vnto them a great countrie beyond the riuer *Danubius*, and certaine fields in the prouince of *Miſia*, which at this time is called *Bulgaria* and *Seruia* (as PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS and others doe report) and there for a certaine time they remained in peace and reſt: and it was beleeued that they would ſo haue continued, had not two of the Emperours Captaines (which diuided the fields amongſt them, and remained there as their guard and ouerſeers) begun to vſe them cruelly, like tyrants, doing them daily great wrongs and iniuries, as though they had been rather ſlaues then ſubiects. Whereupon they conuerted their obedience and humilitie into rebellion and deſperation; reſoluing to beare armes, and to take perforce that which thoſe men denied them. And ſo raunging themſelues in good order (leauing that which

Countries aſſigned by Valens for the Gothes to inhabite.

which was appointed for them)they marched forwards, deſtroying, robbing and ſpoiling all whereſoeuer they came. And entring into *Thracia*, they tooke ſome ſtrong holds and cities, vntill they came neere to *Conſtantinople*, where VALENS then was: for ſo ſoone as theſe troubles began he was aduertiſed thereof, and departing from the citie of *Antioch*, came by great iournies to *Conſtantinople*, out of which he afterwards ſallied with a great and very wel ordred armie, to make head againſt the Gothes, which from ancient time had bin euer much feated, and were ſtill famous. And although they vnderſtood of the Emperours comming, yet they were therewith nothing diſmaied, nor doubted to meete him, but rather ſought to fight with him. Which VALENS refuſed not; ſo as there was a cruell battaile betweene the two armies, wherein at the firſt encounter the Romane horſemen behaued themſelues ſo ill, that disbanding, they left the ſquadrons of footemen naked without any defence; which the Gothes horſemen perceiuing, charged the Romane Infanterie, and compaſſing them about on euery ſide with an infinit multitude of archers, brake through them, and conſtrained them to flie: and ſo the Gothes had an entire victorie, and did great execution in the Imperiall armie. And VALENS flying thence wounded with an arrow, would haue hidden himſelfe in a Farmers houſe neere to that place, and being found, the Gothes ſet the houſe on fire, and he being therein was burnt. Some write that he died fighting, and that he ſeeing the horſemen flie, alighted, and putting off his Imperial robes, placed himſelfe in a ſquadron of footmen, and there being vnknowne, was ſlaine. But I hold the firſt opinion for moſt certaine, for ſo doe the moſt and beſt authors affirme. One of which is S. IEROME, in whoſe time theſe things happened: ſo as he died a death conformable to the courſe of his life.

A battaile betweene Valens and the Gothes.

The death of the Emperour Valens.

The Gothes hauing obtained this victorie, marched forwards, and beſieged the Imperiall citie of *Conſtantinople*, where enſued that which wee will hereafter declare. The Emperor VALENS died in the fiftith yeere of his age, and the fifteenth of his raigne; of which, he had raigned aboue eleuen in the companie of his brother, and the reſt with his nephew GRATIANVS, which was in the yeere of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, three hundred, foureſcore and two, after S. IEROMES computation, who in that yeere ended his hiſtorie, which PROSPERVS afterwards proſecuted.

Anno Dom. 382.

I haue not read that this Emperour left any children behinde him.

THE LIFE OF GRATIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME,

AND OF HIS BROTHER VALENTINIAN the ſecond, and nine and fortith Romane Emperour.

THE ARGVMENT.

THe whole burthen of the Empire reſting vpon Gratianus, he was aduertiſed that the Gothes daily encreaſed their power, and were growne ſo audacious as to aſſault the citie of Conſtantinople: wherefore he made prouiſion to goe againſt them, and made one Theodoſius a Spaniard Generall of his armie, who ouerthrew and ſubdued them, and reduced the Empire to the ancient dignitie. Wherefore Gratianus made him his companion in the Empire, aſſigning vnto him the Eaſt part, and he remaining in France, purchaſed the euill will of his men of warre, by ſhewing himſelfe too much affected to the Alanes, and to other ſtrange nations, whoſe faſhions in attire he often vſed to weare. In which time one Maximus rebelling in Britannie, made himſelfe a tyrant; and Gratianus ſeeing himſelfe forſaken by his legions, returned into Italy, in which iourney Maximus by a ſtratagem, cauſed him to be ſlaine. He had been a very vertuous and good Emperour, if he had applied himſelfe to the gouernment of the Empire: for otherwiſe he was endued with many good parts, and liued little more then 28. yeeres.

AFter the death of VALENS which was ſo ill and infortunate, as wee haue declared, the gouernment of the whole Empire, Eaſt and Weſt, remained in his nephewes GRATIANVS, who was his brother VALENTINIANS ſonne aforeſaid, which before ruled the Weſt Empire, and in his brother the young VALENTINIAN, whom he had made Emperour;

peror; although that by reaſon of his infancie no great account was made of him. The Gothes then following the victorie which they had obtained againſt the Emperour VALENS; without any ſtay, became maiſters of all the countrie round about (and as I ſaid) beſieged the imperiall citie of *Conſtantinople*, wherein was the Empereſſe DOMINICA, wife of the vnluckie VALENS; and they aſſaulted it with great furie and very reſolutely, burning and deſtroying all the ſuburbes thereof, which were very great. And ſo they begirt the citie, vntill that the widow Empereſſe (as writeth CASSIODORVS) vſed ſuch diligence in encouraging and animating the ſouldiers which were therein, with good words, gifts, and readie money, which ſhe diſtributed amongſt them, that they fought ſo valiantly, that the Gothes receiued great loſſe, and could not enter the citie; and ſo it was defended by the diligence of this woman, and the valour of the beſieged. And the Gothes diuiding themſelues into ſeuerall troupes, became Lords of the prouinces of *Thracia*, *Dacia*, and their confines. Here the hiſtoriographers at large deſcribe the originall and countrie of theſe Gothes; and by what meanes, and when they came foorth of their countrie; wherein they are ſo tedious and ſo contrarie in opinions, the one to the other, that I purpoſe to eſchew that labour, for that it little importeth; neither can the truth be fully explaned. But it is true, that they were a people which came out of *Scythia* in *Europe*, according to the moſt writers; but whether they were borne there or came from ſome other countrie (as ſome ſay they did) it importeth not much: neither the difference in their names in calling them Oſtrogothes or Viſogothes; for herein is no greater difference, but that the Oſtrogothes were more eaſterly, and the Viſogothes more weſterly; but generally both the one, and other were called Gothes, and ſo I purpoſe to call them, ſo often as I ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake of them, which will be very often: for in truth the greateſt wound, and chiefeſt hurt that the Romane Empire receiued, and the beginning of the fall thereof, was through their occaſion. Wherefore theſe people may iuſtly be accounted and eſteemed for the moſt valiant in armes of all other nations in the world; ſeeing that they (although with much labour, and by fighting many battailes) were able to tame and ſubdue that people and Empire, which was the tamer and ſubduer of all other nations.

Conſtantinople beſieged by the Gothes.

The Gothes, and whence they came.

The occaſion of the fall of the Empire came through the Gothes.

GRATIAN vnderſtanding of the death of his Vncle VALENS, and of all the accidents which enſued; and being alſo aduertiſed of the power of the Gothes, and how that daily they became Lords of more lands of the Empire; and how that following their example, other northerly nations called Hunnes and Alanes, no leſſe valiant in armes then the Gothes (as it was reported) made preparation to enter the Romane Empire, and to doe the like: reſolued with the greateſt armie that he was able to raiſe, to goe into *Hungarie* to ſtoppe their paſſage. And foraſmuch as in ſo great an extremitie, in his owne perſon hee was not able to prouide for all occaſions; he determined to make choiſe of the moſt ſufficient man that he might finde to be generall of his armie, to whom he might commit the charge and care of the warre againſt the Gothes; which was both of great importance and very daungerous. There liued at that time in his countrie in *Spaine*, one THEODOSIVS, the ſonne of a noble Captaine whoſe name was alſo THEODOSIVS; whom, as we haue told yo ı, VALENS cauſed to be ſlaine. This THEODOSIVS after the death of his father, holding himſelfe to be in danger, retired himſelfe into his countrie, being aſwell for the noblenes of his auncеſtors, and his fathers name and worthines, as for his owne valour, and his exploits in armes,

armes, the moſt renowned and of greateſt account of any man in his time. Whereupon the Emperour GRATIAN, in great haſte ſent for him, and wrote his letters vnto him, wherein hee made him Captaine generall of all the Empire; and within a little while after, Emperour, AVGVSTVS, and his equall in the Empire, he being of the age of three and thirtie yeeres.

Theodoſius made generall of the Emperiall armie.

When THEODOSIVS had receiued the Emperours letters, and accepted of the charge offered vnto him, with the greateſt ſpeed that he could make, he went into thoſe countries where the Gothes were; which knowing of his comming gathered themſelues together to fight with him. And THEODOSIVS being very deſirous thereof, hauing firſt leuied a ſufficient armie, and taken ſuch order, and made ſuch prouiſion as was moſt requiſit; with great heede and circumſpection drew neere vnto them: and after that hee had practized and tried his ſouldiers in ſome skirmiſhes and encounters; he came to giue them a field battaile; which was one of the moſt cruell and bloodie that euer was. But THEODOSIVS carried himſelfe ſo wiſe and valiantly, aſwel in fighting, as in encouraging and directing his men, that he obtained the victorie and made incredible ſlaughter of the enemie; and afterwards in the remainder of thoſe which then eſcaped, vntill that he had driuen them all out of that prouince; ſo as there remained not any enemie therein. And leauing his owne people in good order, he went to doe his dutie to the Emperour GRATIAN in *Hungarie*, where he then lay in the citie of *Sirmie*. Who for ſo noble a victorie (after that hee had well conſidered and weighed his vertue and worthines) made him Emperour and AVGVSTVS, and his equall and companion. Yet ſome ſay, that he did this in the beginning in the ſame place, before the battaile. But howſoeuer, he ſhared the Empire with him; giuing to THEODOSIVS, *Conſtantinople* and *Thracia*, with all the prouinces of the Eaſt, in like manner as VALENS held the ſame; reſeruing to himſelfe *Italie*, and all weſtwards, wherein alſo raigned his young brother VALENTINIANVS.

A great battaile betweene Theodoſius and the Gothes, wherein the Gothes were ouerthrowne.

Theodoſius made Emperor and Auguſtus by Gratianus.

This being ended, GRATIAN preſently returned into *Italie*, and from thence into *France*; and THEODOSIVS went to make an end of his warres againſt the moſt feared and redoubted nations of all the world, which were the aforeſaid Gothes, the Alanes, and the Hunnes; all people of *Scythia*. We reade that ALEXANDER the great would not goe to make any conqueſt of theſe people: for they were feared of all the world.

The Alanes tooke their name of the riuer in *Scythia*, called *Alane*. AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS ſaith, that theſe were called in auncient time Maſſagetes. The Hunnes are alſo Scythians of *Scythia* in *Europe*, inhabiting ouer the bogges of *Meotis*, all which were moſt fierce nations: and although that all the northerly nations were ſuch, yet were theſe more then any of all the reſt; as in this Hiſtorie hereafter will appeare: and theſe (they ſay) are thoſe which at this day are called Tartarians. This people being againe entred into *Hungarie*, THEODOSIVS went to fight with them, ſometimes with one nation and ſometimes with another. All authors write, that he fought many very cruell battailes with them, and in them all had the vpper hand: ſo as he ſlew an infinit number of them, and thoſe which eſcaped the ſword, he made to flie out of the confines of the Empire. And to the end that he would not ſo much tire his men of warre, being humbly required of peace by ATHANARICVS King of the Gothes, offering himſelfe and his people to doe him ſeruice; he graunted it. And comming victorious to the citie of *Conſtantinople*, which was his imperiall ſeate, he brought ATHANARICVS with

Athanaricus King of the Gothes ſued to Theodoſius for peace.

with him; and was receiued with great ſolemnitie, ioy and triumph. Where (they write) that ATHANARICVS did ſo much wonder to ſee the power of the Emperour, the ſolemnitie and greatnes of his court, the ſumptuouſnes and magnificence of the buildings of the citie, and the richeſſe of the furniture of his houſe and ſeruice, that he ſaid, that truely the Romane Emperour was god of the earth, aud repreſented the god of heauen; againſt whom no man ought to be ſo hardie, as to lift vp his hand, or heart, except he would preſently be condemned to death. *Athanaricus his comming to Conſtantinople, and his ſpeech concerning the Romane Emperour.*

Within few daies after that this valiant King ATHANARICVS came to *Conſtantinople*, he was taken with a grieuous ſicknes, whereof he died, after that he had been tormented therewith, the ſpace of three monethes; whom THEODOSIVS ſumptuouſly buried and beſtowed great coſt vpon his obſequies. Some authors, as IORNANDES and others ſay, that this peace with the Gothes, was made by GRATIANVS; for THEODOSIVS fell ſo grieuouſly ſicke, that all men thought that hee would haue died; and that in that ſeaſon the peace was graunted to ATHANARICVS more for feare then for any good will: and that THEODOSIVS recouering health, would not breake what GRATIANVS had concluded. AVRELIVS VICTOR, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and others report it after the firſt manner; but this difference is of ſmall importance. The Gothes which ſerued ATHANARICVS in his houſe and in his armie, knowing and perceiuing the goodnes and bountie of THEODOSIVS, deſired to continue in his ſeruice; and afterwards ſerued him faithfully and valiantly, in ſuch warres as happened. In this time through the grace and mercie of God, GRATIANVS and THEODOSIVS being true Chriſtians, the Catholike Church was fauoured and protected by them. Yet ſome write, that THEODOSIVS was baptized after that he was Emperour: But therewith, that before that time hee did reuerence and beleeue the Chriſtian faith. SOZOMENVS, after CASSIODORVS, affirmeth it ſo, which to me ſeemeth hardly to be beleeued. But howſoeuer it was, THEODORETVS writeth, that ſo ſoone as he came to *Conſtantinople*, hauing ouercome and ſubdued all the barbarous nations; he applied himſelfe to the reformation of the Church, and to the ſubuerſion and rooting out of the Arrian hereſie, which was diſperſed ouer all the Eaſt parts. And vpon this occaſion he vſed meanes to aſſemble a great number of Biſhops at *Conſtantinople*; and although that the euill was not throughly cured thereby, yet that which he did, was very profitable. CASSIODORVS writeth THEODOSIVS his decree, wherein he profeſſed and proteſted that he belieued the ſame faith, which was preached by the holy Apoſtles; and which was publiſhed in the Nicene councell. He ſetteth downe alſo, how that THEODOSIVS baniſhed certaine Biſhops from *Conſtantinople*, for that they were of the diuelliſh and abhominable ſect of the Arrians. In the Weſt, there was no neede of any ſuch care or diligence; for this Arrian peſtilence had not ſo much infected thoſe parts: as we haue alreadie declared in the liues of the three ſonnes of CONSTANTINE the great, CONSTANS which raigned in that part, tooke great care to preſerue and defend the auncient Catholike faith; and after him IOVIANVS and VALENTINIANVS. So as, aſwell in matters concerning religion, as alſo the warres and ciuill gouernment, THEODOSIVS ſhewed himſelfe a ſingular and maruellous good prince, and was ſo much feared and honored by all nations that the King of the Perſians, notwithſtanding that he had ſlaine the Emperour IVLIANVS, and obtained ſo many victories; in great humilitie, ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Conſtantinople*, entreating a perpetuall league and *The death of Athanaricus.* *The King of Perſia ſued to Theodoſius for peace.*

and peace with THEODOSIVS: and he seeing with how great submission that King sued for peace, graunted it him. THEODOSIVS liuing in this prosperitie, the better to assure the succession of the Empire to his posteritie, made one of his sons whose name was ARCADIVS, his equall and companion therein: notwithstanding that he was but a child, and very young. In this meane while liued GRATIAN in *France*, from thence making prouision and sending direction to all parts; as into *Africa*, *Spaine*, *Britannie*, and *Germanie*; and as he was a man very remisse and soft spirited (as the most part doe write of him) he waxed much more, after that hee had taken THEODOSIVS for his companion; depending much vpon his diligence and valour: so as he became ill beloued of his men of warre. And this disliking also encreased; for that he seeing that THEODOSIVS had entertained the Gothes which serued ATHANARICVS into his pay and wages, drew to his seruice certaine companies of Alanes, and respected and honored them so much, that he sometimes apparelled himselfe after their fashion, and made them his guarde; wherewith the Romane and Italian souldiers were highly discontented.

Gratianus ill beloued by his men of warre.

In *Rome* and in all *Italie* the Empire was of no absolute authoritie: for therein was the young VALENTINIAN, brother to GRATIANVS; who for that he was very young and of little discretion, a noble man called PROBVS had the charge of the gouernment, which had been Consul, and was then Prefect of the citie. These matters gaue occasion to the legions which were in *Britannie* to presume to rebell, and to chuse an excellent captaine, whose name was MAXIMVS for Emperour, and they did so; and as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, mauger the said MAXIMVS. But afterwards hauing accepted the name, hee determined couragiously to proceede and so with all expedition possible, hee went into *France*; and forasmuch as GRATIAN was ill beloued of his armie, the greatest part of his men of warre forsooke him, and calling MAXIMVS Emperour, went to his campe. Whereupon GRATIANVS finding himselfe vnable to fight with him, purposed to retire into *Italie*, where his brother was. MAXIMVS being aduertized thereof, vsed such meanes that GRATIANVS fell into his hands. Which was this, he caused a rumour to be spred abroade, that GRATIANVS his wife was comming to see her husband with a good companie of souldiers, and to goe with him into *Italie*, and sent some messengers before with counterfeit letters, which aduertised him thereof. After this, hee sent a valiant and subtill captaine called ANDRAGATHIVS, to the end that hee should put himselfe in a horselitter, with some chosen souldiers, and goe to meete GRATIAN, faining to be the Empereresse, and so take him and kill him. This cunning Champion performed what his Lord had committed to his charge, and at *Lions* in *France*, in passing the riuer *Rhodanus*, he came to ioyne with him; some going before and telling him that the Empereresse was neere at hand. The goodnes and sincerite of GRATIANVS were the occasion that hee suspected nothing, neither discouered the deceit, vntill he came so neere, that he saw it with his eies, where being compassed about with ANDRAGATHIVS his souldiers, he was there by his commaundement slaine. In this manner ended the life and raigne of the Emperour GRATIANVS, being of the age of nine and twentie yeeres; fifteene yeeres after that his father made him Emperour and his companion; whereof eight yeeres were in his father's time, more in name then effect; and of the other seuen yeeres, three were with his Vncle VALENS who was slaine by the Gothes, and the rest with THEODOSIVS whom he chose for his companion, and with his brother VALENTINIAN;

Maximus chosen Emperour by the legions in Britannie.

Gratianus slaine by Andragathius, through the procurement of Maximus.

LENTINIAN; who for that he was a child was not regarded. He died (after PROSPERVS his computation) in the yeere of our Lord three hundred, foureſcore and ſeauen. This prince was endued with many excellent vertuous: for he was valiant, noble and diſcreet, and aboue all, a Catholike and a very deuout Chriſtian: but he had a fault, which was, that he was too ſoft ſpirited, remiſſe, and negligent, taking little care for the gouernment: which (as is ſaid) was the principall cauſe of his ruine. And truely this is a great and daungerous fault in Kings and princes: for as their principall charge and office is to gouerne and rule, and they therefore are called, *Reges*, failing to performe their office and dutie they make themſelues hated, odious and vnworthie of the power and dignitie which they enioy.

THE LIFE OF THEODOSIVS THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

After that Gratianus was dead, the whole burthen and care for both peace and warre, appertaining to the Empire, reſted vpon Theodoſius. The firſt enterpriſe that he vndertooke, was in Italie againſt the tyrant Maximus, who made the Emperour Gratianus to be ſlaine. And beſieging him in Aquileia, made him die like a traitor, together with a ſonne of his. And hauing triumphed in Rome, he reſtored the empire to Valentinian. And returning to Conſtantinople within ſhort ſpace after, he vnderſtoode that Valentinian was ſlaine; and that onely two (to wit) Arbogaſtes and Eugenius, vſurped the Empire. Whereupon returning againe into Italie, he fought with theſe two tyrants, and ouercame them both, more by miracle and by the eſpeciall grace of God, then through his power or any humane wiſedome. After this

victorie, the whole charge of the Empire both East and West, rested vpon him alone; but he calling his sonne Honorius, inuested him in the Empire of the West, and to Arcadius he left the Empire of the East: but because they were both children, and very little, he gaue them two tutors, men no lesse valiant in armes in the warres, then politike in peace. After this, happening to be excommunicate and absolued by S. Ambrose Bishop of Milan, for certaine cruelties committed in Thessalonica, falling grieuously sicke, he dyed at the age of fiftie yeeres.

SIxe yeeres raigned THEODOSIVS in companie with GRATIANVS, when GRATIANVS was slaine by the commandemẽt of MAXIMVS, who as a tyrant and vsurper proclaimed himselfe Emperour: and by reason of GRATIANS death, all the care and trouble both for warre and peace rested vpon THEODOSIVS, who was very sufficient, and well able to support the same. For although that young VALENTINIAN was in *Italy*, yet he had neither power nor the hart to reuenge the death of his brother GRATIANVS; but knowing that MAXIMVS came with a great armie, and was alreadie entred *Italy*, he abandoned it, and went to *Constantinople* to intreate aid of THEODOSIVS: Who taking compassion of the two brothers, the one slaine by treason, and the other wrongfullie dispossessed of his Empire, of his naturall and accustomed valour, he resolued to go into *Italy* to reuenge the death of the one, and to restore the other to his estate, by pursuing and destroying the new and mightie tyrant. Whereupon leauing his sonne ARCADIVS in *Constantinople*, taking VALENTINIAN with him, he made preparation for his departure, raising the greatest and best forces that he was able, and began to march through *Gallia Cisalpina*, which is now called *Lombardie*, where MAXIMVS alreadie was in the citie of *Aquileia*, hauing made ANDROGATHIVS generall of his armie to make head against THEODOSIVS.

This ANDROGATHIVS was a politick and a valiant man in the warres, and he, which slue the Emperour GRATIANVS, who with great care and diligence had taken all the streights, riuers, bridges and passages, whereby THEODOSIVS might passe: and afterwards changing his mind, thinking that THEODOSIVS peraduenture would haue passed his armie by sea, he drew his forces from the mountaines, and from those places which he had left them to guard, and embarked them aboord a great number of ships and barks, purposing to ouerthrow him, and to take him prisoner vpon the water. The valorous THEODOSIVS being aduertised hereof, marched by great iournies, and finding the passages open, entred with his troupes into the plaines of *Lombardie*, and besieged the citie of *Aquileia*, wherein the vsurping Emperour was, before that ANDROGATHIVS could ouertake him; and compassing the citie round about, those which were within it with him of meere feare hauing guiltie consciences, deliuered him into the hands of THEODOSIVS, without staying for any assault, or fight, and he iustly made him (as a traitor and a rebell to his Prince) to be put to death. The like was afterwards done by a sonne of his, called VICTOR, whom his father had created and entituled Emperour, to auoid the perils & troubles that might ensue. When ANDROGATHIVS which was his Generall, being vpon the sea with a very mightie nauie, vnderstood of the taking and death of MAXIMVS, he was so ouercome with sorrow and despaire, that he cast himselfe ouer-boord out of his galley wherein he was, into the sea, and therein was drowned, and his people wanting a leader, yeelded themselues to THEODOSIVS: And so without either death or bloud-shed God gaue him a very great victorie; and from *France, Britanny, Germany*,

Maximus and his sonne Victor put to death by Theodosius.

Androgathius drowned himselfe in the Sea.

many and *Spaine*, came Ambassodours vnto him, yeelding him their obedience, with great humilitie and deuotion. Hauing perfourmed this enterprise, he went with young VALENTINIAN to *Rome*, the principall head of the Empire, where they were receiued with a solemne triumph (as RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS report) whither he sent for his young sonne ARCADIVS from *Constantinople* where he left him, to the end that he might be knowne and honoured in *Rome*: wherein he remained certaine daies reforming the abuses and disorders therein, and he inflicted great punishment, and did great iustice vpon certaine euill and wicked persons. And, as he was a deuout and good Christian; so he tooke great care to reforme the abuses in the Church and in religion. And finallie, setting all things in good order, he returned to *Constantinople*, to gouerne the Empire of the East, and to VALENTINIAN he left all the West, leauing him an armie & power sufficient to defend the same, which is no small argument of his goodnes and loyaltie, that being of power able (if he had would to haue made himselfe onely Monarch and lord of the whole) yet he held it for greater honour and greatnes to reconquer the Empire, and to restore it to him, to whom in right it did appertaine, then to hold the same himselfe. THEODOSIVS being returned to *Constantinople*, VALENTINIAN went for *France*, to the end to be neere at hand if any occasion should be offred: where liuing in prosperitie and void of care, a Captain of his, whose name was ARBOGASTES, practised his death, who was a man of a hautie stomack, politike, venturous, and of great power, by reason of the place and authoritie which he held neere about the Emperour, whom PAVLVS OROSIVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS do call Comes, or Earle: for in those times we find that name and dignitie, and before that also, and these were those which were Gouernours and Captaines of Prouinces, and sometimes were the Emperours companions, to which were cõmitted matters of the greatest importance: In like manner as the auncient Consuls, when they went to make a conquest of any countrey, had with them Legates, which is as much as, Lieutenants. This ARBOGASTES resolued with himselfe to kill VALENTINIAN, thereby to aduance an Emperour of his making, although it prospered ill, not daring to vsurp it himselfe, for that he was of base parentage, a stranger borne, and an Infidell, and for other causes which in the historie are not mentioned. Finallie, he practised with one EVGENIVS, who of a Grammarian and a Rhetorician, being for that cause well beloued and esteemed, came to beare armes and to follow the court, and was now highlie regarded and of great account, promising him to kill VALENTINIAN, and to make him Emperour, letting him to vnderstand that it was a matter possible and easie to be done. EVGENIVS accepted what this wicked man offred him, and ARBOGASTES vsed such meanes that he corrupted the Eunuches which waited in VALENTINIANS chamber, and agreed with them that they should strangle him in the night, and giue it out in speech that they found him dead in the morning, and they did so. VALENTINIAN being in the citie of *Vienna* in *France*, sleeping in his bed, was by these Eunuches strangled, and they published abroad, that he had hanged himselfe eighteene yeeres after that his brother had nominated him Emperour. The manner of his death was kept so secret, that it was bruted abroad that he had hanged himselfe: so as PROSPERVS in the addition which he made to EVSEBIVS his booke of times writing his death, saith, that he died in that manner.

Theodosius triumphed in Rome.

Arbogastes practised to kill the Emperour Valentinian.

Valentinian strangled by his Eunuches.

Presentlie so soone as his death was knowne, before that the treason was discouered, ARBOGASTES nominated and made EVGENIVS Emperour. What these

Eugenius made Emperour by Arbogastes.

these two men did, being of greatest authoritie, was generallie approued by all men; and by meanes of their reputation, and through their cunning, large promises and great gifts, they leuied a great number of men of warre, aswell Barbarians as Romanes, and so became Lords of all the Prouinces: And although that EVGENIVS bare the name of Emperour, yet all was ordred and disposed accordinglie as it pleased ARBOGASTES.

Within short space THEODOSIVS was aduertised of this fact, for which he was very sory, and therewith much troubled, seeing how dangerous a warre lay before him; but accounting it a great dishonor and a shame to suffer such a matter to passe vnpunished, with the greatest expedition and diligence that could be made, he mustred vp his men of warre, and with all possible speed, departed from *Constantinople*, leauing his sonne ARCADIVS therein, and HONORIVS also, whom he then made Emperour, appointing him to be equall and companion with his brother. But as a good and deuout Christian, the first prouision that he made, was to fast and to pray, that it might please God to giue him victorie against those infidels and tyrants; and so he sent to a Monke which was accounted a very holie man, whose name was IOHN, dwelling in the citie of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, to pray for him: who sent him word that he should haue the victorie, but should dye in *Italy*, and neuer returne to *Constantinople*. THEODOSIVS being come to the confines of *Italy*, the tyrants had so great forces, and had taken so good order for all matters concerning the warres, that all passages were stopt in the Alpes, and at the foote thereof were EVGENIVS and ARBOGASTES, with their whole armie; so as THEODOSIVS was much troubled and distressed, aswell after that he had passed those passages and mountaines, as when he was entred into *Lumbardie*, where he found himselfe inclosed about with enemies, which on euery side stopped the comming of any victuals to his camp; they hauing besides this, a greater number of men then he had, and no lesse experienced and valiant in the warres then his were. But the valiant Emperour vsing the best meanes that he could in all things, as a faithfull Christian expected and hoped for his best relieſe from God, to whom with teares he made his continuall supplications. Truly the danger and extremitie wherein he was, and the multitude of his enemies was so great, that all writers affirme, that he had been vtterlie lost, if God in a battaile that ensued, had not shewed a manifest and apparant miracle. The night before the battaile he spent altogether in prayer, without either eating or sleeping: and the next day seeing himselfe charged on euery side, he set his men in very good order to fight; and with great courage and boldnes, attended the comming of his enemies, and presentlie in the beginning a captaine of theirs called ARBICIVS came ouer to his side with his whole charge, which was a good signe of his good successe: and the battaile beginning where Romanes fought against Romanes, they fought at euen hand, most cruellie killing and wounding one another. The other battailions and squadrons which were auxiliaries of sundrie nations, those of THEODOSIVS his side had the worse; so as at the first charge tenne thousand Gothes which were in his pay were slaine: which when he saw and considered, he lifted vp his eies to heauen, and with a true faith and stedfast hope shedding many teares, prayed to the Lord that he might not be ouerthrowne in so iust a cause. At that instant a Captaine of his called BARBARIVS, with a great troupe of souldiers came to the rescue of certaine squadrons which in shew were euen ouerthrowne; and he came with such courage, that they which were in a manner vanquished, recouered strength and heart, in such manner, that without retiring,

they

they fought moſt valiantly for the victorie; but the enemies were ſo many, that it ſeemed impoſſible for them to defend themſelues. At that inſtant it pleaſed God to ſend them ſuccour from heauen, which was, that ſuddenly there aroſe ſo violent a winde and tempeſt, as the like thereof had neuer been ſeene by any man then liuing; which without annoyance to the Emperours people, did beate in their enemies faces with ſuch force, that it wholie bereaued them of their ſight; ſo as they were not able to march forwards: and the winde was ſo ſtrong and ſo mightie, that all the arrowes, ſtones, darts, and launces, which they ſhot and hurled, were thereby borne backe againe, and they which threw them were therewith wounded, in ſuch manner, that it moſt plainly appeared to be miraculous, and the eſpeciall gift of God. Which the moſt Chriſtian Emperour perceiuing, rendring thankes to God for the ſame, incouraged and animated his people, ſo as within ſhort ſpace hee obtained a complete victorie. For his enemies ſouldiers tooke no other care, but how they might ſaue themſelues by flight: but EVGENIVS perſeuering obſtinate in his treaſon, was taken fighting, and brought to THEODOSIVS, who commaunded him to be ſlaine: yet ſome write that he killed him himſelfe. All writers affirme, that ARBOGASTES ſeeing himſelfe ouerthrowne, fled from the battaile, and finding no certaine place of refuge, with his owne ſword did cut his owne throte. So as THEODOSIVS obtained a moſt glorious victorie, followed the execution, and had the ſpoile of his enemies Campe. Of this battell & the ſtrange accident that happened therein, we haue for teſtimonie, not onely Chriſtian and godly authors, more then a few, as well ſuch as liued at that time and neere vnto it, as alſo one CLAVDIANVS a Heathen Poet of that age, who reciteth the ſame in heroicall verſe moſt excellently, in the third and fourth Conſulſhip of HONORIVS the ſonne of THEODOSIVS.

A miraculous tempeſt.

A great victorie obtained by Theodoſius.

Eugenius ſlaine in the preſence of Theodoſius.

Arbogaſtes did cut his owne throte vvith his owne ſvvord.

After that THEODOSIVS had obtained this victorie, there was no man either in the Eaſt or Weſt that durſt oppoſe himſelfe againſt his power; ſo as all the Princes of the Empire ſent him their Ambaſſadours to congratulate his victorie: and many barbarous nations did the like, and ſo hee became abſolute and onely Lord of the whole Empire. And ſeeing that he was free from warres, he came to *Milan*, whereof S. AMBROSE was Archbiſhop, where he remained all the reſt of his life time, applying himſelfe to ciuill gouernment; whereof in the warres he neuer left to haue all poſſible care. Being thus in *Milan*, acknowledging himſelfe to be but mortall, and knowing how vnſound and diſeaſed hee was in bodie, he purpoſed to prouide for matters to come: wherefore he ſent to *Conſtantinople* for his ſonne HONORIVS; to whom (by the aſſent and good will of all men) he aſſigned after his daies the Empire of *Italy* and of all the Weſt; and to his other ſonne ARCADIVS, the Empire of the Eaſt; and into *Africa* and the prouinces thereof, he ſent a principal man of great wiſedome and experience called GILDVS to goueme the ſame, and he himſelf tooke care for and had the ouerſight of the whole. With ſuch proſperitie was the world gouerned (as PROSPERVS writeth) the ſpace of three yeeres: for ſo long time liued THEODOSIVS in *Milan*, in companie with the great Doctor S. AMBROSE, with whom there happened a notable matter, which becauſe it is an example of humilitie, I meane to declare in a more large manner then ordinarie, which is alſo written by THEODORETVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS, RVFFINVS, and CASSIODORVS.

Theodoſius made his ſons Arcadius and Honorius Emperours.

THEODOSIVS being in *Theſſalonica*, a very rich, a very populous and a noble citie in the prouince of *Macedonia*, there happened a great tumult among the people, againſt the Magiſtrates and gouernours of the citie; and their furie and preſump-

tion grew to be so great, that they slew the Iudges and all those which tooke part with the Emperour in the gouernment. Which when THEODOSIVS vnderstood, notwithstanding that he was very vertuous, yet did hee much desire to execute his displeasure against them, and not without iust cause: but hee did therein so farre exceede the bounds of reason, that hee made his souldiers put to death seuen thousand persons of the common people, without making any difference betweene the faultie and the faultlesse. Which punishment was held for rigorous and very cruell; although the offence were very great, chiefly against a Prince so iust and so much admired in al his actions. Amongst those which reproued him therefore, the holy Doctor S. AMBROSE then Bishop of *Milan* was one; and the Emperour afterwards comming to that citie, and being receiued as to his estate appertained, the next day he meant to haue gone to the Church to haue done his deuotion and to pray, as of custom he vsed, nothing thinking of what he had done at *Thessalonica*, whereof it was thought that hee had long before repented. But S. AMBROSE to the end that his punishment should be as publike as his offence, with great authoritie and boldnes set himselfe in the Church doore, and told the Emperour that hee should not enter thereat: and making a learned oration vnto him, wherein with the authoritie of a Bishop, hee opened vnto him his fault and offence; concluding with excommunicating him, and forbidding him to come into the Church. All which speeches the Emperour heard, with great patience, and returned to his palace, obeying the excommunication and prohibition, and so remained eight moneths without comming any more to the Church; at the end whereof, a priuate seruant and Captaine of his (whose name was RVFFINVS) finding the Emperour melancholike, and discontented for that hee was so long excommunicated, offered to goe to S. AMBROSE to get him absolution, perswading him to come to the Church, and he would goe before to obtaine his leaue. The Emperour, although he much doubted thereof, did so. But RVFFINVS was not onely denied of his request, but was highly reprehended by the Bishop, as a minister and counsellor of the Emperours crueltie: which when hee perceiued, he sent to aduertise the Emperour thereof, and to aduise him not to come thither, for that at that time he should by no meanes be receiued. The Emperour met with the messenger vpon the way, and hearing what message hee brought, answered; Yet truly I will goe to see what penance my Pastor will lay vpon me for my offence. And so went forwards vntill that hee came to the Church doore, and went not in, but came where S. AMBROSE was, whom hee requested to absolue him, and to permit him to come into the Church there to heare the diuine seruice. When S. AMBROSE saw the Emperour, and heard what hee said, imagining that he came of purpose to goe into the Church, which hee was resolued to withstand, vntill that he were absolued, or had done some open penance for the great crueltie which he had commaunded to be done, hee asked him wherefore he came so as a tyrant, contemning and violating the lawes? Whereto the Emperour mildly answered: I come not to breake the lawes, neither thy commaundement, neither will I passe ouer the threshold of this doore: but I come to request thee to loose the bands wherewith thou hast bound me, and that thou wilt pray to God to forgiue me my sinnes, and not shut the doores of his Church against me, which God openeth to all sinners which heartily repent. What repentance hast thou shewed (quoth the Bishop) for so hainous an offence? and with what salue hast thou healed so mortall a wound? Thou (quoth the Emperour) art to instruct me, and to shew me what I ought to doe, and thou shalt see that I will accomplish

what

what thou ſhalt preſcribe. The Biſhop ſeeing the Emperours mildnes, thinking it a ſufficient penance for him to be excommunicated from the Church the ſpace of eight moneths, with faire and charitable ſpeeches ſaid; Thy penance THEODOSIVS ſhall be this, that (ſeeing that thou to follow thy owne will and to execute thy wrath, diddeſt commit ſo cruel a murder) thou ſhalt preſently proclaime and eſtabliſh a law, that no man, whom thou ſhalt adiudge or condemne to die, or any thy ſucceſſors, ſhall be executed within thirtie daies after that thou haſt pronounced the ſentence of death againſt him. At the end of which thirtie daies, thou ſhalt be againe demaunded, whether thou doeſt hold thy commaundement for iuſt: for by that time being free from paſſion, thou wilt iudge of thy ſelfe whether thou haſt iuſtly iudged, or no. When THEODOSIVS heard this, hee preſently commaunded that law to be written & made it to be proclaimed: and he himſelf obſerued it ſo long as he liued, wherof much good enſued. This law being made, the Emperour came into the Church, where making his prayers and doing his deuotion, he receiued the Sacrament: and from thencefoorth loued the Biſhop very deerely, and vſed his counſell in many matters: For as he was haſtie and cholerick, this law was a bridle to reſtraine him from being too extreme in puniſhing offenders. THEODORETVS reciteth one example thereof, which was, that the citizens of *Antioch* hauing committed a great offence, and made a great vprore in the citie, THEODOSIVS commaunded great puniſhment to be inflicted vpon the malefactors, which was not preſently executed, by reaſon of this law: and afterwards he altered his opinion, which hee attributed to the counſell of S. AMBROSE, whom hee loued ſo much, that to enioy his companie and counſell, hee ſtaid in *Milan*, and therein made his abode al the reſt of his life time. From thence he ſent to *Conſtantinople* for his ſonne HONORIVS, who came to *Milan*; and within a little while after, THEODOSIVS fell ſo extremely ſicke, that after care taken for his ſoules health, he diſpoſed of the Empire, ordaining his ſonne HONORIVS to haue the gouernment of *Rome*, and of all the prouinces of the Weſt: and ARCADIVS to rule *Conſtantinople* and all the Eaſt. And for as much as theſe his two ſonnes were very young, and not of fit yeeres to gouerne, hee left with them as their tutors and gouernours, two very ſufficient men both in warre and peace, the one called RVFFINVS, and the other STILICO; RVFFINVS to be with ARCADIVS in the Eaſt, and STILICO with HONORIVS in the Weſt: and into *Africa* and the prouinces thereof he ſent GILDVS, to gouerne the ſame as Lieutenant to the two Emperours, to whom hee gaue that charge. After that hee had ſet all things in order, his diſeaſe ſo much encreaſed, that hee could not endure it any longer: wherefore recommending his ſoule to God, he departed out of this preſent life, as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR ſaith, which here maketh an end of his hiſtorie, & the moſt part of the other authors, in the fiftith yeere of his age, and the eleuenth of his raigne, accounting from the death of GRATIANVS, raigning alone, and with GRATIANVS other ſixe yeeres; ſo as in all he raigned ſeuenteene yeeres; and in the yeere of our Lord, three hundred, ninetie and ſeuen. This Emperour, according to all authors that write of him, was of conſtitution of bodie, countenance, and geſture, very like to the Emperor TRAIANE, as by TRAIANES ſtatues and pictures, which in that time were remaining, might eaſily be perceiued, and might be imagined by that which was written both of the one and the other: And they write, that he was not onely like vnto him, and did reſemble him in bodie and geſture; but that hee did imitate and excell him in vertue and good conditions, and had the ſame qualities, and was naturally ſo inclined; ſauing that

A penance laid vpon the Emperor Theodoſius by Saint Ambroſe.

Theodoſius made Stilico and Ruffinus tutors and ouerſeers to his two ſonnes Honorius and Arcadius, and Gildus to be their Lieutenant in Africa.

Anno Dom. 397.

Theodoſius likened to Traiane.

Theodosius his conditions and qualities.

if TRAIANE were spotted with any vice, THEODOSIVS was free from it. It is written that TRAIANE was a little too much giuen to the drinking of wine, but we reade that THEODOSIVS was most temperate, in eating and drinking. TRAIANE was very desirous of triumphs, glorie and honour; THEODOSIVS despised them and held them for things of no moment: but he euer sought to obtaine the victorie, and in all battailes and skirmishes was both valiant and politike, euer giuing thankes and honour vnto God as a good Christian. In conclusion, THEODOSIVS was of admirable valour, force and courage, very politike and expert in the warres, of an excellent wit and iudgement in ciuill gouernment, a louer of iustice and equitie, merciful, pitiful, and of a most noble inclination, although somewhat hastie and cholericke against malefactors; but hee was presently appeased and easily entreated. And to moderate this passion, besides S. AMBROSE his law concerning matters of death, he vsed of custome (knowing his owne hastie condition) not to determine of any thing, vntill that he had repeated ouer the foure and twentie letters of the Greeke Alphabet: for in that space his wrath would bee asswaged. He was much honoured and beloued by all men, especially by such as were honest. He was exceeding liberall, continent, and shamefast, very circumspect and carefull, indifferently well learned and seene in historie. He much desired to know the acts of the ancient, and greatly honoured learned and wise men. He was well spoken, and of a pleasant and merrie conuersation, framing himselfe with great discretion to the qualitie of those persons with whom he discoursed, maintaining the maiestie of his estate and the authoritie of his person; and had also other excellent conditions and vertues too long to recite. THEODOSIVS when he died left two sonnes (of which we haue alreadie spoken) and one daughter.

Theodosius his children.

His sonnes ARCADIVS and HONORIVS were Emperours, both which he had by his first wife whose name was FLACILLA, an excellent and a most religious woman; his daughters name was PLACIDIA GALLA, which hee had by his second wife, who was the daughter of the Emperour VALENTINIANVS the first.

THE

THE LIFE OF ARCADIVS AND HONORIVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND THE ONE AND fiftith Romane Emperours.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Empire being vnder the gouernment of Theodosius his two sonnes, and so vnder the tutors ordained by him, that is, Ruffinus and Stilico, which ought to haue taken care for the youngmen, and to haue gouerned them as fathers: but they not only neglected the tutele of the youthes committed to their charge (nothing caring that they should bee acknowledged for Emperours) but sought to make themselues absolute princes, but they both came to an euill end. For Ruffinus who was Arcadius his tutor in the East, his treason being discouered, had his head striken off and set ouer one of the gates of Constantinople. And Stilico, who was Honorius his tutor in the West, notwithstanding that he went against the Gothes, yet he temporized, to the end to bring his treason to some effect; which being in the end discouered, he was slaine by Honorius his commaundement: which was the beginning of the vtter ruine of the Romane Empire, which was in a manner wholy destroyed by the Gothes. In which time Arcadius, who had very peaceably enioyed his Empire the space of certaine yeeres, died in Constantinople. But sundrie barbarous nations ouerranne all Honorius his Empire, he lying in Rauenna making small shew to be an Emperour; being very negligent, when there was neede of great care and diligence. Neuertheless giuing charge of the warres to sundrie of his captaines, he freed his estate (excepting Spaine which was conquered

conquered by the Gothes, the Vandales and other ſtrange nations.) In which time he fell ſicke and died in Rome, without leauing any heires of his body: for he had no children by any wife; when he had held the Empire in a manner eight and twentie yeeres.

TRuely I am afraid that thoſe which ſhall reade this Hiſtorie, will reproue me for ſpending more time about the life of THEODOSIVS, then I vſe to doe in writing the liues of other Emperours; but he that ſhall duly weigh and conſider his vertues and excellencies, will iudge that I haue been rather too briefe, then otherwiſe. Wherefore holding the time and labour herein ſpent for wel employed, let vs come to ſpeake of his ſonnes, in whoſe Hiſtorie I can vſe no greater breuitie, then in that of their father, conſidering the great and ſundrie accidents which happened in thirtie yeeres; for ARCADIVS raigned little leſſe: and ſo likewiſe from henceforth we ſhall be conſtrained to write more at large, according to the alterations of eſtates and other matters, whereof we ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake.

THEODOSIVS left the Empire in ſuch ſubiection, ſo peaceable, and in ſuch quiet to his ſonnes ARCADIVS and HONORIVS, that if the wickednes of their tutors had not altred and troubled it, they might eaſily haue ruled and ſupported the ſame. But thoſe which were put in truſt to ſee that all ſhould be well, were the cauſe that the Empire was moleſted, in ſuch manner, that it plainly appeareth, that they were the occaſion of the totall perdition of the Empire, or at the leaſt, the beginning thereof. For ſo ſoone as THEODOSIVS was dead, GILDVS which was Gouernour of *Africa*, and of the prouinces therein, and RVFFINVS and STILICO in their gouernments, each of them practized to get the Empire for himſelfe, and to diſpoſſeſſe the ſonnes of their ſoueraigne Lord; and each of them ſhewed his determination ſo ſoone as he had opportunitie thereto. ARCADIVS with his gouernour RVFFINVS went to *Conſtantinople*, whither he commaunded his fathers dead body to be brought to be buried with great ſolemnitie. HONORIVS remained in *Italie*, with STILICO: and ſo they began to raigne without any contradiction or reſiſtance, in the ſame order as their father had left them. So ſoone as GILDVS, gouernour of *Africa*, vnderſtood that THEODOSIVS was dead, he tooke no longer care to conceale his determination, but preſently ſhewed it openly in his actions; and beginning to make himſelfe Lord of all that countrie, not with the title of Comes or Earle, as vntill then he held (which as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, was then giuen to gouernours of prouinces) but as abſolute Lord thereof, without acknowledging any ſubiection or dutie to HONORIVS, or to ARCADIVS. This GILDVS had a brother whoſe name was MASTELZERIVS, a very good and loyall Chriſtian, who to the vttermoſt of his power reſiſted his brothers proceedings. But GILDVS was alreadie ſo mightie and of ſuch power, that MASTELZERIVS whom ſome call MASTELZEZ was driuen to flie into *Italie*, and ſo he remained ſole and abſolute Lord of all *Africa*. And GILDVS vnderſtanding that his brother was gone to the Emperour (like a cruell tyrant) made two of his ſonnes which were his Nephewes and left in *Africa*, to be ſlaine, nothing regarding how neere they were to him in bloud. MASTELZERIVS came into *Italie*, and making relation to HONORIVS, or to ſay better, to STILICO, of what was happened (whoſe wiſedome and courage was very great, although grounded vpon diſloyaltie) had an

Each of thoſe men vvhich Theodoſius left for tutors ouer his ſonnes ſought, particularly to make himſelfe an Emperour.

The title of Earle to whom it was giuen.

Gildus put two of his brothers ſonnes to death.

an armie giuen him, and all things thereto needefull, and ſo was ſent againſt his brother, as againſt a common enemie. And MASTELZERIVS aſwell to perfourme his dutie, as to be reuenged of the death of his ſonnes, with the greateſt expedition that he could make, departed towards *Africa*, although with ſmall forces, truſting in the equitie of his cauſe, in the friendſhip that he had in that countrey, and aboue all, in the help and power of God, which he dayly implored with teares, and moſt deuout prayers. And, as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth, comming to an Iland called *Capraria*, neere to *Naples*, he caried with him from thence certaine deuout religious men which liued there, in whoſe prayers he repoſed greater truſt, then in the ſtrength of his whole armie: with which he made ſo many faſtings and prayers, that it ſeemed that God heard him; for he preuailed without any battaile or bloudſhed, which happened in this manner. Comming vpon the coaſt of *Africa* with the ſmall forces which he brought, with great courage he went to land, and entrenched his armie and fortified the ſame, and ſent abroad to giue notice of his arriuall, and of his power in all places, frō which he thought his friends and ſouldiers would haue come to ioine with him: but his brother came againſt him with threeſcore and tenne thouſand men very well appointed. MASTELZERIVS ſeeing himſelfe in this diſtreſſe, was no way diſcouraged, neither made any doubt of the victorie, aſſuring himſelfe that to obteine the ſame, it lay in the hand of God, and not in the multitudes of men and horſes. And hauing a determination to paſſe by a certaine port, by that meane to auoid his enemie and brother, but conſidering with himſelfe how hardlie it was to be perfourmed (as PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth) he made his prayers, and praying, fell aſleepe and dreamed, that within three daies he ſhould obteine the victorie. Hereupon MASTELZERIVS remained there vntill the third day, and then with inuincible courage ſallied out of his trenches againſt his enemies, which thought of no ſuch matter, but rather dayly expected to haue had him in their hands, and they comming foorth againſt him, he went towards them, before his troupes, aduiſing and perſwading them to yeeld obedience, and not to beare armes againſt him: for he was ſent thither to them by the Emperour their ſoueraigne Lord. And as an Enſigne-bearer would haue charged him, and thoſe which were with him, he ſtept to him and wounding him, ſmote his colours to the ground; with which one onely blow, it pleaſed God that he ſubdued and pacified all the reſt: for there was not any one that made any reſiſtance, but all the Enſigne-bearers and ordinarie ſouldiers came ouer to him, and yeelded their obedience; and the ſouldiers of that countrey fled, and ſo did his brother, and he had the victorie, as we may ſay, miraculouſly, for ſo all men accounted the ſame.

Maſtelzerius vvent vvith an armie againſt his brother Gildus.

Maſtelzerius his victorie againſt his brother Gildus.

This GILDVS ſeeing himſelfe abandoned by his ſouldiers, fled to the ſea ſide, and embarking himſelfe aboord a ſhip did ſet ſaile, thinking to haue eſcaped, and hauing ſailed ſome ſpace, it pleaſed God that the wind came contrarie, and he for ought that he could do was driuen to land, where he was taken, and by his brothers commaundement had his head ſtriken off, in requitall of the crueltie which he had ſhewed to his ſonnes, and for his treaſon againſt his Lords: MASTELZERIVS remaining without controulement victorious, and maiſter of his brothers Camp. But afterwards ſeeing himſelfe mightie, as of cuſtome, in proſperitie men grow inſolent, hauing no ſuch feare of God before his eies as he ought to haue had, he purpoſed and attempted to haue the Empire of *Africa* to himſelfe, without any regard of the Emperour HONORIVS, who had ſent him thither, which his diſloyaltie his captaines could not indure, and therefore they ſlue him. Theſe

Gildus taken and beheaded by his brothers commaundement.

Maſtelzerius ſlaine by his ſouldiers, and the cauſe.

two

two brothers being dead, *Africa* remained for a ſpace in quiet ſubiection to the Emperours. Theſe warres aforeſaid are excellentlie well written in verſe by CLAVDIANVS. While as theſe matters paſſed in *Africa*, ARCADIVS was not idle in *Conſtantinople*: for his gouernour RVFFINVS vnwilling any longer to conceale his wicked purpoſes, ſought by all meanes to bring ARCADIVS into ſome diſtreſſe, that he might vſurp the Empire; and to that end ſollicited the Gothes and other nations to make warre in the Empire. Which being diſcouered, ARCADIVS procuring it, although but a boy, he was ſlaine by certaine companies of Italian ſouldiers, which ſtriking off his head, ſet it ouer one of the gates of the citie of *Conſtantinople*. This RVFFINVS, as ſome ſay, was borne in *Britannie*. Others ſay, that he was a Frenchman, a man of great iudgement, and an excellent Captaine, but diſloyall, and ill inclined. His goods ARCADIVS gaue to an Eunuch of his called EVTROPIVS, who was very priuate with him. Againſt this RVFFINVS (declaring his doings) the aforeſaid CLAVDIANVS wrote two bookes in heroicall verſe, and by his death ARCADIVS remained at libertie, and Lord of his Empire in the Eaſt with greater quietnes, then his brother HONORIVS: for STILICO who gouerned in the Weſt, was farre more cunning and ſubtile then RVFFINVS, and was very valiant, and a moſt expert man of warre: and as he had as wicked or a worſe intent then he, ſo he knew better how to couer the ſame as well by his wit, as the great power which he enioyed. For beſides that he was HONORIVS his gouernor, or tutor, he was twiſe his father in lawe: for HONORIVS had his daughter to wife, hauing been firſt contracted to another daughter of his, which died vnmaried. This STILICO was by birth a Vandall, and hauing purpoſed to make a ſonne of his called EVCHERIVS Emperour, by his great (although malitious) wit, he concealed the ſame, vntill time of better oportunitie: whereto he thought that the beſt and moſt aſſured way was, to bring the Emperours into neceſſities, deſtreſſe and dangers, to the end that he only might be the meane to redreſſe and recouer all loſſes. For he had ſo prowd a heart, and ſo great power, that he was perſwaded, that ſo often as it pleaſed him, he was able to remedie all matters, and that the need which the Emperour ſhould haue of him, would open the way to his purpoſes. And to that end by deuiſes and ſecret practiſes, he ſollicited many nations to make warres vpon the Empire: as the Alanes, whoſe originall I thinke we haue deſcribed, which according to PTOLOMY was of *Getland*, and after MARCELLINVS and PLINY, was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, who at that time inhabited part of *Germany*: and the Sweuians, a moſt fierce people of the ſame *Germany*, and the Vandales borne alſo therein, called *Vandales*, after the name of a Riuer of that name in *Scythia*, from whence they firſt deſcended, as is aboue declared, which by PLINY and PTOLOMY are called Vandalines: and thoſe Burgundians which we now call Burgonians, of which CORNELIVS TACITVS ſaith, that they were of the ſame Vandales, & all one nation. They were called Burgundians, for that in times paſt being driuen out of *Germany* by DRVSVS and TIBERIVS NERO, in the time of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, they were conſtrained to dwell in the fields, and ſuburbs of cities called Burgi, or Burghes, and thereof tooke their name of Burgundes or Burgundians, but they were very famous by many authors. He hauing mooued theſe nations, and procured them to make warre, ſometimes by letters from certaine perſons which promiſed to aid and aſſiſt them; and ſometimes by cauſing diſpleaſures and violences to be offred them, the more to incenſe them: He vſed yet another policie, which was, that the Gothes, called Viſogothes, which (as we haue

Ruffinus Arcadius his tutor ſollicited the Gothes to inuade the Empire.

The death of Ruffinus.

Stilico father in law to Honorius.

Stilico his practiſes and treaſon againſt Honorius.

The Alanes, and their originall.

The originall of the Vandals.

haue ſaid) for the ſpace of 21. yeeres had ſerued in the Emperours pay, and had ſerued faithfullie euer ſince that the Emperour THEODOSIVS had receiued them into his ſeruice, after the death of ATHANARICVS their King; he found a meane to caſſiere them, and that they ſhould be ill intreated, & had in contempt. Which they tooke for ſuch a diſgrace, and in ſuch ſcorne, that they preſentlie determined to mutine: and doing ſo, choſe a Noble man of their owne nation for their King, whoſe name was ALARICVS, and began to inuade the countries of *Hungarie* and *Auſtrich*. Matters ſtanding in theſe termes, STILICO his drift was that the Gothes, as men which knew, and had good experience in *Italie*, ſhould go to make a conqueſt thereof; and as the other nations, as Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians, ſhould inuade *France*, he ſhould haue the charge to defend *Italy*: and HONORIVS being thus diſtreſſed, ſhould defend *France* in perſon, where he ſhould be either ſlaine or ouerthrowne, or at the leaſt be ſo oppreſſed, that he ouercomming the Gothes which he held to be eaſily done, would make himſelfe Lord of *Rome*, which was the head of the Empire, and afterwards would do the like by all the reſt, which happened not as he expected: but of his treaſon aroſe the deſtruction and totall decay of the whole Empire, and of himſelfe alſo. Eight yeeres were expired ſince the death of THEODOSIVS, and that HONORIVS and ARCADIVS raigned, when STILICO, and another Noble man, whoſe name was AVRELIANVS were choſen Conſuls, and the Viſogothes which were put out of pay, began to make open warres in *Hungary*, and *Auſtrich*: and this warre which in the beginning ſeemed to be of ſmall importance, their force and power in ſhort ſpace increaſed in ſuch maner, that all the world ſtood in feare of them. For as PAVLVS OROSIVS an Author of that time, PAVLVS DIACONVS and others do write, So ſoone as the Gothes were in a mutinie, a certaine King whoſe name was RADAGASIVS, ioyned with them, with two hundred thouſand other Gothes, all moſt fierce men of warre. But it is true, that they write not how, or from whence came ſo great a number of men; neither what this King RADAGASIVS was. It ſeemeth that then it was a thing ſo publikely knowne, that no man was ignorant, or ſtood in doubt thereof, and therefore needleſſe to be repeated, by reaſon whereof we are now ignorant thereof: but they moſt conſtantly affirme, the number of the men of warre to be ſuch as is alreadie ſpecified.

Alaricus King of the Gothes.

The warres of the Gothes.

Radagaſius King of the Gothes.

ALARICVS and RADAGASIVS comming together, without finding any reſiſtance or force able to offend them, ouerranne and ſpoiled all *Thracia*, *Hungarie*, *Auſtrich*, *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the frontiers thereof, in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed that diuels, and not men had paſſed that way: for they left nothing ſtanding, but the earth and the aire: which S. HIEROME, who liued in that time, writing to PAVLVS and EVSTACHIVS plainly expreſſeth in theſe words: The brute beaſts haue alſo endured the wrath of the Lord in this warre: for the cities being laid waſte, and the people thereof put to the ſword, the like is done by the very fields; ſo as they lie bare, deſolate, and deſert; whereof the prouinces of *Thracia* and *Slauonia*, and the countrie wherein I was borne beare true record: whereby it ſeemeth that nothing remaineth but the earth, the aire, the buſhes and the woods, for all the reſt is ſpoiled and deſtroied. After theſe inhumane ſpoiles, ALARICVS and RADAGASIVS reſolued to come into *Italy*, diuiding their armies into ſundrie troupes: for it was impoſſible that ſo huge an armie ſhould be able to march together. When theſe newes were knowne in *Rome*, there fell ſo great a terrour among the citizens, and generally ouer all *Italy*, that they all held themſelues for loſt and dead men.

The cruell warres which the Gothes made in the lands of the Empire.

Radagaſius came into Italy

RADAGASIVS being arriued in *Italy*, and hauing paſſed the *Apennine* mountaines, came to the mountaines *Fieſole* in *Tuſcane*. There came in the behalfe of the Empire againſt RADAGASIVS two Captaines, which ſerued the Emperour HONORIVS, the one of which was called VLDINVS, and the other SARRA, with a great number of Gothes and Hunnes in the Emperours pay, which made head againſt RADAGASIVS, and ſtopped the paſſages in the mountaines againſt him, and cut off his victuals, whereof he ſtood in great want, conſidering the greatnes of his armie. Theſe Hunnes and Gothes which came to the aide of the Romanes, PAVLVS OROSIVS, who, as wee may ſay, was an eye witneſſe, and alſo PAVLVS DIACONVS and others, write of their comming: but they write not how, or from whence they then came; although it bee alreadie declared from whence they were: but neuertheleſſe they were a great defence of *Italy*; ſo that the Lord abated the pride of RADAGASIVS, through hunger, thirſt, and the want of neceſſaries. But herein the authors diſagree: for PROSPERVS ſaith, that RADAGASIVS was ouerthrowne and taken priſoner, STILICO leading a great Armie againſt him. But PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS, after they haue ſpoken of the two Captains VLDINVS & SARRA, ſay, that RADAGASIVS and his hoſt were ouerthrowne through pure hunger and thirſt, without any battaile, and that they were taken priſoners like ſheepe. But howſoeuer it happened, for it might be that there was a battaile, and the reſt alſo, the truth is, that hee and his armie were ouerthrowne in this iourney, and all taken priſoners by HONORIVS his ſouldiers, in ſuch ſort that S. AVGVSTINE who liued in that time, whoſe reports are to be beleeued, in his booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, affirmeth, that in one only day RADAGASIVS loſt aboue one hundred thouſand men; and all authors affirme, that a great number of them died of hunger: and that there was not a ſouldier among the Romanes but had a droue of captiues, as if they had been ſheepe; and that they were ſo cheape, that for a peece of gold, which is now worth but a ducat, a man might haue bought a whole companie of them. And there fell ſo great a mortalitie and ſicknes amongſt them, that within ſhort ſpace they in a manner all died. And their King and Captaine RADAGASIVS was likewiſe taken priſoner and put to death by HONORIVS. HONORIVS his vertue and valour is much commended in this matter by PAVLVS OROSIVS; but (as by the hiſtories it appeareth) hee ſeemed to be of very little worth, a very negligent and careleſſe Prince, chiefly in matters concerning the wars, & at that time lay in *Rauenna* where he held his Court, which in thoſe daies was a great and principall citie. And his brother ARCADIVS lay in *Conſtantinople*, from whence he ſent aide and ſuccors to his brother. This feare being paſt, within a little while after ALARICVS entred *Italy*, who was a man of greater wit & courage then RADAGASIVS was, & his ſouldiers were better trained and of greater experience; againſt whom STILICO couragiouſly oppoſed himſelfe, & the war began between them in the marches of *Rauenna*, and ALARICVS was ouerthrown in battell by STILICO: for in thoſe daies, STILICO for valour and policie in the wars, had not his equall in the world. But his purpoſes being ſuch as we haue ſaid, he would neuer throughly ouerthrow ALARICVS, but ſometimes would make ſhew to be careleſſe, & leaue open the waies for him to paſſe; ſo as ALARICVS well perceiued that STILICO had no meaning to ouerthrow him; and this war continued betweene them (as ſome authors write) the ſpace of three yeeres.

Vldinus and Sarra Captains for Honorius againſt Radagaſius.

The Hunnes aided the Romanes.

Radagaſius and all his hoſt defeated.

A ſtrange and wonderfull accident.

The death of Radagaſius.

Rauenna.

Alaricus came into Italy.

Stilico the moſt excellent Captaine of his time.

The cõming of the Alanes, Hunnes, Vandales and Burgonians.

About the ſame time the Alanes, Hunnes, Vandales and Burgonians entred the lands of the Empire, making warre vpon the ſhoare ſides of the riuer *Rhine*, wher-

of

of a new feare seised the hearts of the people. When ALARICVS vnderstood these newes, he sent to HONORIVS to haue peace, and some countrie in *France*, wherein he and his people might inhabite, promising to defend that prouince against those nations, and therewith aduertising him that STILICO did cunningly prolong the warres against him. The Emperour beginning to be iealous of STILICO, and notwithstanding that hee was also certified by others of his treason, yet for the present he dissembled the matter, and agreed with ALARICVS, granting him his request, and taking securitie of him, sent him into *France*. Whereof it was imagined that two great benefits would haue ensued; the one was, the peace and quiet of *Italy* through his absence; the other was, the defence of *France*, wherein the Vandales, Hunnes, Alanes and Burgonians were alreadie entred; which all men affirmed to be aboue two hundred thousand men. But STILICO his treason marred all: for notwithstanding that he did that which HONORIVS commaunded in suffering ALARICVS and the Gothes to begin their iourney in peace, and gaue them such things as were needfull, accordingly as the Emperour had appointed; yet as a man which altogether repined against peace, and chiefly that to ALARICVS should be committed the defence of *France*, he resolued to breake and scatter all those troupes, and had such meanes thereto, as I will tell you, whereof ensued his owne totall destruction, and the ruine of the whole Empire, which happened in this manner.

A league betweene Alaricus and Honorius the Emperour.

Alaricus going for France.

ALARICVS, free from any suspition (according to the agreement) went for *France*: but STILICO secretly practised with a Captaine in his armie which was a Iew, whose name was SAVL, that he with his companie, faining some displeasure, or particular quarrell, vpon an Easter day when the Gothes mistrusting nothing (being Christians celebrated diuine seruice) should then set vpon them, and kill so many of them as he could: for by these meanes he was assured that the wars would begin againe, and therewith would his power and authoritie also begin, which with the peace was at an end. The Iew put this secret practise in execution, and the Gothes being suddenly set vpon, receiued great hurt and dammage: but he presently paid for it; for the Gothes in great haste putting themselues in armes fought with him; and there was SAVL slaine with the greatest part of his souldiers. ALARICVS being herewith highly offended, returned against STILICO his armie, and STILICO faining to stand in great feare, made shew not to dare to fight, but sent to the Emperour for new succours; who being aduertised of that which STILICO thought to be most secret, and what had happened, concerning the Iew SAVL, and standing in great feare of STILICO, sent certaine persons to the armie, which finding oportunitie thereto should kill both him & his sonne: which was performed accordingly, and his treason was disclosed, and the cause wherefore they were put to death. But herein although the Emperour HONORIVS vsed a good policie, yet hee was retchlesse in prouiding for the rest: for hee sent not any such Generall to commaund his armie as the case required. So as the King ALARICVS either beleeued that the iniurie which SAVL had done to him, was done by the Emperours consent, or else he knew and saw his time and oportunitie: and thereupon finding no resistance, marched directly with his whole armie towards *Rome*, the head and Empresse of the world. And making most cruell warre by fire and sword, he drew neere vnto it, in the yeere one thousand, one hundred and threescore, after the foundation thereof: and the Romanes standing vpon their guard, he could not take it at the first assault; wherefore hee besieged it, which siege continued two yeeres. Of the besieging of *Rome*, and how

The treason of Stilico.

The death of Stilico.

Alaricus returned against Rome, besieged and tooke it.

ALARICVS tooke it in the end, many authors write that it was so: but in what manner it was taken, and what exploites were done during the time of the siege, they write so briefly that in a manner they say nothing thereof. But that it was taken, PAVLVS OROSIVS in his seuenth booke, PAVLVS DIACONVS in the life of HONORIVS, IORNANDES in his historie of the Gothes, S. AVGVSTINE in his booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, S. HIEROME in his epistle *ad Principium*, as a matter which happened in his time, auerre the same: and so doth S. ISIDORE in his historie of the Gothes. PROCOPIVS a Greeke author, and others of latter time, as I could gather out of their writings, say, that ALARICVS marching with his armie towards *Rome*, with a determination to doe that which afterwards he did, as to a Christian, although fierce and cruell, there came a Monke which very boldly (ALARICVS giuing him audience) admonished and counselled him to desist from his enterprise, and to consider that hee was a Christian, and that for the loue of God hee should moderate his furie, and not seeme to reioyce in the slaughter of men, and the shedding of humane bloud; and sith that *Rome* had not done him any offence, he should not goe thither. To whom they say, that ALARICVS made this answere: I let thee vnderstand, man of God, that I goe not of my owne will and desire against the great citie of *Rome*, but I assure thee, that there daily appeareth vnto me a man, who doth vrge and importune me thereto, saying, Get thee to *Rome* and destroy it, euen to the ground. Whereat the religious man being greatly amazed, durst say no more. This I finde written in the Annales of *Constantinople* annexed to the historie of EVTROPIVS: whereby it plainly appeareth, that the affliction of *Rome* was the especiall punishment of God. PAVLVS OROSIVS likewise affirmeth the same, saying, That in like manner as God drew the iust LOT out of *Sodome*, when he inflicted so great punishment vpon that citie; so did hee draw Pope INNOCENT the first out of *Rome* when ALARICVS came to besiege it; who went to *Rauenna* to see the Emperour HONORIVS. Yet PLATINA writeth, that this misfortune happened in the time of Pope ZOZIMVS: but it may be that it began in the time of the one, and ended in the time of the other. S. HIEROME liued also in those daies out of *Rome*, being then gone to doe penance in *Bethlehem*.

A vision appeared to Alaricus.

But returning againe to the matter, ALARICVS held the citie of *Rome*, strictly besieged round about; where betweene the besiegers and the besieged, were many skirmishes, and many men were slaine in those two yeeres space; and the famine was so great in *Rome*, and they endured it with so great patience and constancie, that Saint HIEROM saith, that when the citie was taken, there were very few men therein that could be slaine or taken prisoners, for that extreame hunger had consumed them, and had constrained them (in horrible manner) to eate the flesh the one of the other; so as the mother did not spare the child which she held at her breast, but through hunger, lodged the same againe in her wombe, from whence not long before it issued. These are the words of Saint HIEROM. But in what manner *Rome* was taken, the authors agree not: for PROCOPIVS saith, that ALARICVS seeing that he could not take it by force, resolued to vse some stratagem, and faining that he would raise the siege, made a kinde of truce, and secretly sent into *Rome* three hundred prisoners in which he reposed much trust, hauing first instructed them what they had to doe; setting them at libertie and promising them great rewards. The which one day at a certaine hower, making shew as though they went to see the citie, met all together at a port according to their appointment, which port they tooke and held in despite of those which

Famine in Rome in the time of the siege.

had

had the guard there; and the Gothes running thither vpon a ſodaine, through that port entred, and ſurpriſed the citie. Others affirme, that by the commaundement and policie of a woman, which was a great ladie of that citie, a port was giuen to the Gothes, in at which they entred. And that ſhe did this of pittie, to ſee the great famine which raged within the citie; imagining that the enemies could not doe ſo great hurt in *Rome*, as the Romanes did to themſelues, as we haue ſaid. Some authors there are, which ſay, that the citie of *Rome* was taken by force of armes, for that thoſe which were within it, were not able to man the walles, or to make any longer reſiſtance. But howſoeuer it was, all authors affirme that ALARICVS before he entred the ſame, commaunded vpon paine of death, that no man ſhould be ſo hardie, as to touch any of thoſe which had withdrawne themſelues into the Churches and temples, chiefly of Saint PETER and Saint PAVL Apoſtles; which was afterwards duely obſerued. But all the reſt of the citie was robbed and ſpoiled, and many thouſands of people ſlaine, and many taken priſoners; among which was a ſiſter of the Emperours, whoſe name was PLACIDIA, whom ATHAVLPHVS one of the moſt principall men among the Gothes, and neere kinſman to King ALARICVS tooke, and had in his keeping; and afterwards married her. The next day after that they had taken the citie, in diſgrace and diſdaine of the Empire, and to make themſelues merrie, they choſe one ATALVS for Emperour of *Rome*, and the ſame day they carried him vp and downe the ſtreetes in the habit of an Emperour; and the next day they made him ſerue like a ſlaue. Three or fower daies the Gothes remained within *Rome*, which being paſt, ſetting fire in ſundrie parts of the citie, their King ALARICVS and they departed.

The taking of Rome.

Placidia ſiſter to the Emperor Honorius taken priſoner.

Rome ſet on fier by the Gothes.

All this while the Emperour HONORIVS was in *Rauenna*, ſo careleſſe, that when the newes was ſodainly brought to him that *Rome* was loſt (nothing remembring the citie whereof he was Emperour) he thought that they had told him of a French-man, whom they called ROMA, which was one of thoſe which were men maintained by the Emperours to fight man to man, one with another, after the manner of the Gladiators in *Rome*, whereat the Emperour greatly marueiled that he ſhould be ſo ſoone dead or taken; for it was but a little while ſince that he ſaw him fight with others: whereby it plainely appeareth how careleſſe and retchleſſe he was. This was the firſt time that *Rome*, after that it grew to be mightie, was taken by the barbarous nations: for when the Gaules tooke it, it was of no ſuch account; being in the beginning but of ſmall power. After this time that ALARICVS tooke it, the Romane Empire daily declined, and the citie of *Rome* was afterwards oftentimes taken and deſtroyed, whereof we will declare the moſt notable accidents, to the end that the reader may know and perceiue how weake, and of how ſmall power the Empires and mightie kingdomes of the world are: and how that *Rome* which was the queene and empereſſe of the vniuerſall world, in time became a ſlaue to all the nations thereof. ALARICVS departing from *Rome* would haue ſailed into *Sicilia*, but a tempeſt returned him into *Italie*, and he died in the citie of COSENZA; and the Gothes after that hee was dead, choſe ATHAVLPHVS for their King, who (as we ſaid) married with PLACIDIA the Emperour THEODOSIVS his daughter. Which ATHAVLPHVS ſo ſoone as he was King returned towards *Rome*, with a determination to haue wholy deſtroyed the ſame, to haue rooted out the name thereof, and to haue left it deſolate; which his cruell determination he altred at his wiues interceſſion, who with teares entreated the ſame. When ATHAVLPHVS departed

When the Romane Empire began to decline.

The death of Alaricus King of the Gothes. Athaulphus made King of the Gothes in place of Alaricus.

Athaulphus would haue deſtroyed it but forbare through the entreatie of his wife Placidia.

ted with his armie from *Rome*, it is not written, whether he placed therein any gouernour, or left it at libertie to the Emperour. For his wife PLACIDIA was a meane to bring HONORIVS and ATHAVLPHVS to some agreement, and concluded a truce betweene them. And ATHAVLPHVS consummating his nuptiall rites with her, which vntill then were not solemnized, he went out of *Italie*, and marching with his armie through *France*, to the citie of *Barcelona* in *Spaine*, and taking the same and the territorie thereof, hee staied there a certaine space. What end he made, you shall heare hereafter.

The Emperour Arcadius died in Constantinople.

Anno Domini. 410 413.

In the time of these troubles in *Italie*, ARCADIVS liued in peace in *Constantinople*, and in the easterly parts free from troubles: for the authors write not of any warres of any importance that hee waged, or of any aduersitie that befell him; for it pleased God to lay his scourge vpon the prouinces of the West onely: and so hauing raigned thirteene yeeres, in the one and thirtith of his age, he died in *Constantinople*. Others say, that he held the Empire a great while longer; alledging that he died after the taking of *Rome*; but PROSPERVS and others affirme, that he died before it. Some say, that it was in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred and tenne: others say, foure hundred and thirteene. And he seeing death neere at hand, and that he could not liue, and that his sonne THEODOSIVS whom he left behinde him for his heire, was but eight yeeres old; he tooke a daungerous course, but it prooued very profitable, which was: That leauing his son CÆSAR, and his successor, hee ordained by his last will HISDIGERDVS King of *Persia* and of *Parthia* for his tutor; who at that time was a friend and in league with the Empire; notwithstanding that the house of *Persia* was euer a capitall enemie thereof. When the King of *Persia* vnderstood what ARCADIVS had ordained, he accepted of the gouernment and of the protection of the child, and speedily sent one ANTIOCHVS an excellent man, and a great warrier to *Constantinople*: who with the goodwill and consent of HONORIVS, who was not a little glad of the friendship of *Persia*, gouerned the East Empire, with great fidelitie, and discretion; and so conserued the same in peace and iustice, vntill that young THEODOSIVS sonne of the Emperour ARCADIVS, came to age. ARCADIVS being dead, whether before or after the sacke of *Rome*, the name of Emperour rested in HONORIVS, and in his Nephew the young THEODOSIVS.

Arcadius made King of Persia tutor of his son.

Antiochus a Persian gouernour of the yong Emperor Theodosius.

A relation of what happened after the death of the Emperour ARCADIVS.

ALl things being in such confusion, that the Gothes, Vandales, and other nations inuaded and made a conquest of the lands of the Empire; and the Emperour HONORIVS lying in *Rauenna*, taking no sufficient order for the same: In the Ile of *Britannie* also a great Lord borne in the same Iland, whose name was GRATIANVS rebelled, and tooke vpon him the title and ensignes of Emperour, with the consent of some of the men of warre in the same Iland. But his presumption had an euill end, for within few daies after, the same men of warre slew him. But they setting all dutie apart, determined to make another souldier among themselues Emperour, whose name was CONSTANTINE, who was a man of greater courage and of more witte, then GRATIANVS; and he drawing all the armie out of *England*, went into *France*, with a conceit to haue made himselfe Lord thereof; and to that end, made peace with the Vandales, Sueuians and Alanes, which alreadie were in *France* marching towards *Spaine*: for

Gratianus rebelled and took the title of Emperour in England.

The souldiers slue Gratianus and in his place made Constantine Emperour.

The Vandales Sueuians, and Alanes tooke their way towards Spaine.

for the Burgonians made their abode in that part which is now called *Burgundie*. This peace betweene CONSTANTINE and theſe three nations could not well be concluded: for CONSTANTINE drew to him many men of warre of *France*, and growing mightie made a full account to become Lord of *Spaine* alſo, before that thoſe Barbarians ſhould be able to come thither. Whereupon he ſent thither certaine gouernours, with a competent number of ſouldiers, and many townes in *Spaine* were of the mind to haue obeied his commaundement; holding it for better to ſerue him, then thoſe nations which were comming thitherwards. But two noble men, rich, and of great authoritie, whoſe names were (as ſaith PAVLVS DIACONVS) DIDIMVS and VERODIANVS borne in *Valentia*, withſtood them, and found meanes to driue them out of *Spaine*. And thereupon with the aide of their kindred, friends, and acquaintance they went to the Pyrenæan Mountaines, with a determination not onely to defend the paſſages againſt CONSTANTINES armie, but alſo againſt all the other nations which we haue before named: vſing all meanes to retaine *Spaine* in the obedience and ſeruice of the Emperour HONORIVS; which they continued along time, although with great trouble, effuſion of bloud, and daunger. CONSTANTINE holding himſelfe herewith greatly iniured, aſſembled together a certaine number of the moſt actiue and beſt tried ſouldiers that hee had, and made his ſonne CONSTANS their captaine, who by ſome authors is called CONSTANTIVS; whom for this purpoſe, he tooke out of a Monaſterie wherein he was a Monke, and making him CÆSAR, ſent him againſt the two brothers. His people were of ſuch power and ſo expert in the warres, that they ouerthrew, and killed the two Spaniſh brethren, and entred *Spaine*, which was the ruine thereof: for the men of warre which came with CONSTANS, after that they had robbed and ſpoiled the countrie, and had vſed all kind of hoſtilitie, returned to the Pyrenæan Mountaines; and driuing the Spaniards from thence which garded the paſſages, tooke vpon them the defence thereof, and were well able to haue performed the ſame. But CONSTANS going to *Arles* a citie in *France* to ſpeake with his father, who then lay there, thoſe which had the guarde in the Mountaines came to an agreement with the Vandales and the other ſtrange nations, and ſold to them the paſſages, ſuffering thoſe Alanes, Sueuians, and Vandales to paſſe into *Spaine*, which there made ſuch hauocke and did ſo much harme, as can hardly be expreſſed: eſpecially neere vnto the Pyrenæan hilles where they found greateſt reſiſtance. From thence they marched into the maine land to the citie of *Valentia* (againſt which they bare an old grudge) which citie they deſtroyed, and the countrie round about it; and then went to the citie of *Aſtorga*, which they entred by force of armes; and paſſing further made great ſpoile in all *Galicia*. And afterwards croſſing through *Caſtile* they came to the citie of *Toledo*, which by reaſon of the ſcituation and naturall ſtrength thereof, and the valour of the inhabitants, they could not take; notwithſtanding that they beſieged it for a certaine ſpace, and were conſtrained to raiſe their ſiege with ſhame and diſhonour, from that citie which for wars and feates of armes hath euer been famous in that countrie, through whoſe example many townes in *Spaine* continued their alleagance to HONORIVS; notwithſtanding that he ſent neither ſouldiers, captaines, nor reliefe. This people did much harme in the territorie of *Toledo*, and paſſing forwards they followed the riuer *Tagus*, ſtill ſpoyling the countrie vntill they came to the citie of *Lisbon*, in *Portugall*: which in thoſe daies alſo was very famous, and giuing an aſſault thereto, it was ſo well defended by the inhabitants,

Didimus and Verodianus oppoſe themſelues againſt Conſtantine.

Conſtantine made his ſonne Conſtans Ceſar, and ſent him into Spaine.

Strange nations ſacked Spaine.

Lisbon.

that they could not take it, but came to a compoſition: and they receiuing a great quantitie of treaſure raiſed their ſiege, and returned the ſame way that they came, making warre on euerie ſide. And by reaſon of a great famine and ſcarcitie in the land (as OROSIVS writeth) they laid downe their weapons for a ſpace, and fell to tilling of the earth, as inhabitants of the countrie; diuiding what they had gotten amongſt thoſe nations, and their captaines or Kings, Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes. The Empire being in this eſtate, ATHAVLPHVS and the Gothes poſſeſſing *Narbona*, *Barcelona*, and the marches thereof, which in name were confederates with HONORIVS, the tyrant CONSTANTINE and his ſonnes poſſeſſed the reſt of all *France*. The young Emperour THEODOSIVS being a child, was bred vp in *Conſtantinople*, vnder the protection of the King of *Perſia*, and of *Antiochus* whom he had ſent. But of his houſe and perſon a very vertuous and honorable noble man tooke charge, whoſe name was ANTHEMIVS, who was his Pretorian Prefect. This child was bred vp in all learning, and became a vertuous prince and a good Chriſtian. Now his Vncle HONORIVS, which then lay in *Rauenna*, bethought himſelfe how he might make to the Weſt Empire, as free from the ſlauerie of theſe tyrants and barbarous nations, as was the Eaſt; and to that end he made an excellent man, whoſe name was CONSTANTIVS, generall of his armie againſt thoſe tyrants and Barbarians. Which CONSTANTIVS vntill then was an Earle, borne in *Rome*, deſcended of the noble and auncient Romanes; who like a perfect Romane, with a pickt and ſelected armie, entred *France*, and fighting with the Emperour CONSTANTINE the tyrant, ouerthrew him, and beſieged him in the citie of *Arles*, and at length getting him into his hands, ſmote off his head. And it happened ſo well with him, that within few daies after that the death of CONSTANTINE was publiſhed, young CONSTANS ſonne of the ſaid CONSTANTINE, whom his father had made CÆSAR, was ſlaine in the citie of *Vienna* in *France*, by the hands of a captaine of his whoſe name was GERONCIVS. And the ſame GERONCIVS, who alſo ſought to haue made himſelfe a tyrant, and to haue created one MAXIMVS a friend of his Emperour, was alſo ſlaine by thoſe ſouldiers which in *England* rebelled with CONSTANTINE; with a determination to returne to the ſeruice of HONORIVS. And GERONCIVS being dead, they diſpoiled MAXIMVS of his Imperiall robes, and ſent him in exile into *Spaine*. In this manner was *France* freed from theſe tyrants, by this excellent man CONSTANTIVS; & the armie reduced to the ſeruice of the right Emperor HONORIVS. After this, HONORIVS ſpeedily ſent Captains and ſouldiers into *Britannie*, which held for CONSTANTINE, from the firſt beginning of his tyrannie, and they recouered and reduced the ſame to obedience and ſubiection. And in *France*, a man of great parentage and authoritie in that countrie (as ſay PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS) ſought to make himſelfe Emperour; but he was preſently ſlaine: and in the like manner another brother of his, called SEBASTIAN; both which rebelled (as it ſeemed) without any occaſion or reaſon, but onely that they deſired to die with the name and title of Emperours.

Anthemius was gouernour of the young Emperour Theodoſius.

Honorius made Conſtantius generall of his armie.

Conſtantius put the tyrant Conſtantine to death.

Conſtantius his victories.

This CONSTANTIVS Generall for the Emperour HONORIVS, being of great power in *France*, ATHAVLPHVS king of the Goths which lay in *Barcelona*, and was Lord of all the countrie round about, and had there liued in peace and quiet the ſpace of three yeeres, at the entreatie of PLACIDIA to whom hee was married, which was HONORIVS his ſiſter; began to ſtand in ſome feare of the power of the Emperor and of his Generall CONSTANTIVS, knowing that they had

The deſeignes of Athaulphus.

had fortified the Alpes, to the end that hee should not any more returne into *Italy*. Whereupon he determined to aduenture to make himselfe Lord of al *Spaine*, and perswaded a Romane Captaine whose name was ATTALVS, to take vpon him the name and title of Emperour, and to goe with a fleete which he would giue him, to seise vpon the countrie of *Andaluzia*, which was then called *Betica*; and to doe the like by so much as he should be able in *Africa*, and he would also make warre in his owne person. ATTALVS very vnwisely accepted his offer, and presently sent into *Africa* an armie with Iudges and gouernours, as though hee had been the peaceable Emperour thereof, and began to make warre in *Spaine*. Against whom, HONORIVS sent a wise and a valiant Captaine called HERACLIANVS, who driuing all ATTALVS his Iudges and gouernours out of *Africa*, leauing the countrie in peace, with a Nauie came to seeke him himselfe; and finding him, fought with him in a battaile by Sea and ouercame him. And hee flying to the shore in *Spaine*, was taken by the Spaniards, and sent to CONSTANTIVS, who was Generall for HONORIVS, who was then in *France*; and he presently sent him prisoner to HONORIVS; and HONORIVS made his hand to be striken off, and sent him in exile into the Ile of *Lippari*, neere vnto *Sicilia*. And to HERACLIANVS for the victorie which he obtained against him, was giuen the Consulship and the gouernment of *Africa*. But as in prosperitie pride and ambition increaseth, and men are then farre more excessiue therein, then in time of aduersitie: so this HERACLIANVS seeing himselfe fauoured and in great authoritie, thought that hee might also be an Emperour. And as he was in possession of *Africa*, PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that taking another Captaine for his sonne in law and companion in his rebellion, whose name was SABINVS, a most subtill fellow and very valiant, he assembled (to goe into *Italy* against HONORIVS and to make a conquest thereof) the greatest Nauie of all manner of shippes that I euer read of. For OROSIVS affirmeth, that hee gathered together (if there be no error in the figures) foure thousand and seuentie sailes of all sorts little and great; which without comparison was the greatest in number that euer was seene vpon the Sea: for we doe not reade that XERXES or ALEXANDER euer armed so great a Nauie. With this great fleete, fraught with souldiers, armes and victuals, he came to the coast of *Italy*, and set his men on land to march directly to *Rome*, being many in number, but neither so well experienced and trained as were the Romanes; which in the fields by HONORIVS his commaundement attended their comming, led by a good Generall called MARINVS, with the title and dignitie of an Earle: who had ranged his Romanes in very good order, with a resolution to die or to ouercome, and not to suffer themselues to be besieged, as they were by ALARICVS. HERACLIANVS, who thought to haue amazed the world with the name and number of his fleete, and that he should haue found no resistance, was so discouraged when he saw MARINVS his armie, that hee presently fled to the Sea; and embarking himselfe aboord one of his ships, returned by flight into *Africa* with that onely ship; from whence he came with so many as is before said. He being arriued, and his base cowardize discouered, the ordinarie Garrisons vpon a day mutined and slew him. And his sonne in law and companion SABINVS, altring his determination, fled to *Constantinople* to entreate the young Emperour THEODOSIVS, nephew to HONORIVS, to take compassion of him: from whence within a little while after he was brought to HONORIVS, and hauing his life graunted, was condemned to perpetuall exile. And so through the prudence and good happe of HONORIVS, all these tyrants were defeated which rebelled against

Attalus called Emperour.

Heraclianus ouerthrew and tooke Attalus prisoner.

Heraclianus rebelled in Africa.

An incredible great Nauie by Sea.

Heraclianus came into Italy

Heraclianus his shamefull flight.

The death of Heraclianus.

gainſt him. As wee haue alreadie related in ſo plaine manner as I poſſibly haue been able; which trulie was not without great paine and difficultie: for matters which paſſed in the time of ARCADIVS, and afterwards in the time of HONORIVS were ſo many and ſo diuers, and many times ſo many accidents happened together, and the Hiſtoriographers treate of them ſo confuſedly, that in writing them I am much troubled, as well in collecting and abbreuiating them, as in relating them, in ſuch ſort as the readers may vnderſtand and comprehend the ſame; and to recite them in order as they paſſed and happened one before another, which hath been my principall care from the beginning, and by the grace of God ſhall be, vntill I haue ended. All the victories and aboue recited good haps of HONORIVS, after ſo many aduerſities and warres which he had in his time, the authors attribute to the care which hee had of the Chriſtian faith and religion. For in thoſe times through the diligence and endeuour of a Captaine of his called MARCELLINVS, with the aſſiſtance of his great Captaine CONSTANTIVS, he procured concord and an vnitie in all the Churches of *Africa*, and of other prouinces; wherein were many contrarieties and erronious opinions concerning the Chriſtian faith. And truly S. AVGVSTINE was a ſpeciall good meane to bring this to paſſe, who at that time was Biſhop of *Hippo* in *Africa*; which the Emperour CHARLES the fift in his iourney and conqueſt of *Tunis* tooke from the mightie and moſt cruell tyrant BARBAROSSA, but his ſonne PHILIP the ſecond within few yeeres after againe loſt the ſame.

HONORIVS then ſeeing himſelfe free from thoſe tyrants, and the moſt part of the prouinces of his Empire in peace, and obedient, reſolued to driue the ſtraunge and barbarous nations out of thoſe countries which they held in *Spaine* and in *France* about *Narbona*; and thought it beſt to begin with the Gothes, which were the moſt mightie and moſt warlike people of all other nations, and poſſeſſed ſuch part of *Spaine*, as is aforeſaid: for theſe being defeated, he iudged it an eaſie matter to make an end of the reſt. The King ATHAVLPHVS, as he deerly loued his wife PLACIDIA, much deſired peace with HONORIVS, and ſo by all meanes ſought the ſame: which when his men of warre perceiued, which were of a farre contrarie opinion to him, they ſo much abhorred him that they ſlew him: but the authors ſet not downe in what manner. And they preſently choſe a great man among themſelues for their King, whoſe name was SEGERICVS; and for that they ſuſpected him as they did ATAVLPHVS, they handled him in the ſame manner, as they did their laſt King. And hauing ſlaine theſe two their Kings, they choſe one VVALIA for their King, conceiuing that he would be a great enemie to the Romanes, with whom they deſired to haue cruell warres; they hauing the Emperors ſiſter PLACIDIA in their power which was then a widow, whom they entreated honourably and honeſtly.

The Gothes ſlew their King Athaulphus.

Segericus King of the Gothes ſlaine by his ſouldiers.

VValia King of the Gothes.

This VVALIA beginning to rule his kingdome and gouernement, held it for neceſſarie and ſound counſell to hold peace and friendſhip with HONORIVS, but taking warning by his predeceſſors (to ſatisfie his people) he rigged vp a great fleet, which he ſent to make a conqueſt of *Africa*, which in peace held for HONORIVS: and as it pleaſed God ſo to worke for HONORIVS, without that he ſhould ſet his hand thereto, ſuch a tempeſt tooke them vpon the ſea, that the whole fleet was in a manner loſt and caſt away. Which misfortune, together with the newes of the comming of CONSTANTIVS, generall of the Emperours armie with great power, did much aſſwage the fiercenes and furie of the Gothes; and VVALIA tooke ſo good order with them, that of their owne accord and conſent,

ſent, a treatie of peace was made with HONORIVS, which was concluded vpon cõdition, that PLACIDIA ſhould be rendred to the Emperour, and that VVALIA and his forces ſhould faithfullie aid CONSTANTIVS, to driue the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians out of *Spaine*, which had alreadie made themſelues Lords of the greateſt part thereof. This being concluded, hoſtages were giuen in the behalfe of VVALIA, and PLACIDIA was deliuered, whom HONORIVS afterwards gaue to wife to CONSTANTIVS, in reward of his ſeruices and victories obtained by him, and making him CÆSAR, he proclaimed him for his ſucceſſor. And then began CONSTANTIVS his warres in *Spaine* againſt the Barbarians, King VVALIA aſſiſting and ſeruing therein with his Viſogothes, as we will preſentlie declare.

Honorius made peace vvith VValia King of the Gothes.

Conſtantius made Cæſar, and ſent generall into Spaine againſt the Vandales.

While theſe matters (whereof we haue ſpoken) were a doing, the Barbarians tooke and were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of *Spaine*, eſpeciallie the Vandals, which conquered a great part of *Betica*, from whom that countrey tooke the name of *Vandaluzia*: and afterwards in proceſſe of time, leauing out the letter *V*, it came to be called *Andaluzia*. And the Sueuians and Alanes held *Merida*, and a great part of *Luſitania*, which is now *Eſtremadura*, and part of *Portugall*: and in *Galicia* and *Leon*, they inioyed great part from the beginning, and had diuided theſe countries amongſt them by lot. CONSTANTIVS the Imperiall generall being come into *Spaine*, and with him the Gothes, according to the agreement, the firſt warre that they made was againſt the Alanes neere to the citie of *Merida*, where was fought betweene them a very cruell battaile, wherein the Alanes were ouerthrowne, and CONSTANTIVS had the victorie, and the King of the Alanes, called ACHACE, was ſlaine in the battaile. This victorie obtained by CONSTANTIVS, ſtrooke ſo great feare into the harts of the reſt of the barbarous nations, that they preſentlie in great humilitie ſued for peace, and ſent to intreate HONORIVS to graunt them truce, and ſome place in *Spaine* wherein they might liue. While theſe accidents happened in *Spaine*, HONORIVS went to *Conſtantinople*, to viſit the Eaſterne parts, wherein his Nephew the yong THEODOSIVS ruled, who was now come to riper yeeres; and being at libertie free from his tutors, there happened ſome controuerſie betweene him and the King of *Perſia*. And it happened, that as CONSTANTIVS was buſied in the warres of *Spaine*, and HONORIVS out of *Italy*, a principall man, borne and inhabiting in *Rome*, being of the auncient Nobilitie thereof, named TARTALLVS, aſſiſted by a great part of the Romane people, and by many townes in *Italy*, rebelled and tooke the name and title of Emperour, and began to leuie ſouldiers. But the loyall ſubiects which held with HONORIVS, fighting with him, he was by them ouerthrowne and ſlaine. But diſloyaltie and treacherie was then ſo much in vſe, that another whoſe name was ATTALVS did the like, who putting on the Imperiall Robes, and taking the Enſignes, was called Emperour, and began to leuie great forces in *Italy*. When the Imperiall generall CONSTANTIVS, being then in *Spaine*, heard theſe newes, after the victorie aforeſaid, putting the Vandales, Sueuians and Alanes in good hope to obteine what they deſired, and giuing it out that he went into *Italy* to conferre thereof with the Emperour, the better to keepe them in peace in his abſence, he departed out of *Spaine*, and came into *Italy*: the like did the Emperour HONORIVS, who (as I ſaid) was aduertiſed thereof in *Conſtantinople*. When the comming of HONORIVS and CONSTANTIVS was knowne in *Rome*, the people aroſe in great furie, and apprehending the tyrant ATTALVS, ſent him to *Rauenna*, to the Emperour HONORIVS, whither CONSTANTIVS

Conſtantius his victorie againſt the Alanes.

Honorius went to Conſtantinople.

Tartallus rebelled in Rome.

Attalus rebelled, and tooke vpon him the name of Emperour.

Honorius and Conſtantius returne into Italy.

was

was alreadie come, with his wife PLACIDIA, where ATTALVS by HONORIVS his commandement had his hand ſtriken off, and was baniſhed to *Conſtantinople*, wherein HONORIVS in the opinion of the world ſhewed too great patience and clemencie.

Attalus baniſhed.

HONORIVS being in *Rauenna*, whither his brother in law CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR was alreadie come, and hauing conſideration of his worthie ſeruices, and how profitable he had been to the Empire, made him with very great ſolemnitie to be called AVGVSTVS, Emperour, and his equall and companion in the Empire of the Weſt, and made a long ſet Oration in praiſe of his vertues, and there the two Emperours by mutuall conſent (to the end that VVALIA King of the Gothes ſhould continue in their ſeruice) conſigned vnto him the citie of *Tholoſa* in the kingdome of *France*, with all the countrey neere adiacent, called *Aquitania*, which they then named *Baſconia*, and is now called *Gaſconia*.

Honorius made Conſtantius his companion in the Empire.

Aquitania. Gaſconie.

After the feaſts and Coronation of CONSTANTIVS, HONORIVS went to *Rome* to pacifie ſome commotions which were therein, and the new Emperour CONSTANTIVS determining to go into *Spaine* to make an end of the war which he had there begun, commaunded for that purpoſe ſouldiers to be muſtered. Surely the valour and wiſedome of this excellent Captaine and Emperour was ſuch, that if God had permitted him life he had freed *Spaine* from the barbarous nations, but death ſtayed his iourney, ſo that he neuer came thither. Whereof when HONORIVS was aduertiſed, he was extremely ſory, and in his place ſent into *Spaine* a famous and valiant Captaine, called ECIVS, who tooke charge of the armie which CONSTANTIVS had leuied, and marching thitherwards, by the way ouerthrew the Burgonians which attempted to haue entred *France*. The like he did by the Franckes, which afterwards entred and inhabited therein. And being come into *Spaine*, his principall care was to finde out the Alanes, which after their ouerthrow by CONSTANTIVS, did not chooſe them any King, but ioyned with the Sueuians, which were Lords of all the countrey about *Lisbon*. But ſo ſoone as they knew that CONSTANTIVS was dead, they returned to *Merida*, and the Vandales and Sueuians were now growne ſo ſtout, that they would neither require, nor accept peace, but came to the aid of the Alanes, and began to make warre againſt ſuch Cities as held for the Emperour. ECIVS being come into *Spaine*, ſeeing that all made head againſt him, and hauing no ſufficient armie to encounter them, protracted the time for certaine daies, and leuied more forces, which by HONORIVS (without reaſon) was imputed to him for cowardize, and he ſent the Earle CASTINVS to be generall, and his ſucceſſor, diſplacing ECIVS from his charge. But CASTINVS perceiuing how the world went, approued the iudgement of ECIVS, and in the ſame manner prolonged the wars, vntill that BONIFACIVS who was gouernor of *Africa*, (whom we reade S. AVGVSTINE for his vertue to haue much loued) came into *Spaine* to his aid, bringing very good troupes with him, and they two together began the warre, and obteined many notable victories againſt the Barbarians; and ſo handled the matter, that it was held for certaine that they would haue freed the countrey. But this commaund is ſuch a thing as can neuer be well ſhared: for theſe two excellent Captaines fell at ſuch variance, that BONIFACIVS would not ſtay any longer, but returned to his gouernment of *Africa* (as PROSPERVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS haue written, yet EVTROPIVS differeth from them) and CASTINVS remaining alone, the Emperours partie began to grow weake in *Spaine*.

The death of Conſtantius.

Ecius made generall in Spaine againſt the Vandales and the reſt.

Callinus ſucceeded Ecius in his charge.

Boniface came into Spaine in aid of Callinus.

Whilſt theſe matters paſſed in the Weſt, HONORIVS his nephew THEODO-

SIVS,

SIVS, Emperour in the East, being now of sufficient age, was freed from his tutors: and as he was a good Christian, his chiefest care was for the seruice of God, and for the defence of his holie Church. Whereupon he fell at variance with BARRABANVS King of *Persia*, who succeeded ISDEGERDVS which had been his tutor (as is before said) for that he was giuen to vnderstand that BARRABANVS persecuted the Christians which liued in his dominions, whereof THEODOSIVS had admonished him, requiring amendment: but seeing he could not obtaine it, he sent ARDABVRVS an excellent Captaine against him, who fought a battaile with NASIVS generall of the Persians, and therein ouerthrew him, and made great slaughter of his people, and afterwards entred the countrey, and did great harme and spoile therein. And by another way THEODOSIVS sent another Captaine called GRATIANVS against ALAMANDER King of the Sarrazins, which came in aid of the king of *Persia*: this King was likewise ouerthrowne in battaile by GRATIANVS, and a very great multitude of his people were slaine, and he himselfe escaped by flight. And in another place another Captaine called ARSOBVIDA ouerthrew the Persians also, so as this warre was made to the great aduantage of the Romanes, and with hurt and dammage to the Persians, vntill that BARRABANVS ceassing to persecute the Christians, a peace was treated and concluded betweene him and THEODOSIVS. This happened in the time that I told you that the Emperours partie began to wax feeble and weake in *Spaine*, which weakenes increased by reason of the death of HONORIVS, who as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, died of an infirmitie in *Rome*, hauing raigned sole Emperour of the West about fifteene yeeres after the death of his brother ARCADIVS, in whose companie he raigned other thirteene yeeres; so as the whole time of his raigne was eight and twentie yeeres, besides two yeeres in the time of his father. HONORIVS left no heires of his bodie, for by two wiues which he had which were the daughters of STILICO, he had neuer any child. And a little before he died, he fell so farre at dissension with his sister PLACIDIA, that she went to *Constantinople* to her Nephew the Emperour THEODOSIVS, with her two sonnes which she had by the Captaine and Emperour CONSTANTIVS, of whom we haue alreadie treated: her sonnes were named HONORIVS, and VALENTINIANVS: this VALENTINIANVS was afterwards Emperour: He died in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Sauiour Christ 427.

Warres betweene the Emperour Theodosius, and Barrabanus King of Persia.

Theodosius his victories.

The death of the Emperour Honorius.

Anno Domini. 427.

HONORIVS (as before is touched) was a vertuous and a very good Christian, very noblie minded, and very pitifull. He did one notable thing, which was the part of a charitable and good Christian, which was, to abolish the Gladiators or Sword-players, which (as it is written) did vse in *Rome* vpon pleasure most cruelly to kill one another. He much loued his ease, and so we see, that in his owne person he neuer followed the warres; and in his gouernement was very negligent. But in the end by his Captaines he so much preuailed, that excepting *Spaine*, he brought all the rest of his Empire to quiet subiection in his life time, although after great rebellions, warres, and troubles.

Honorius put downe the Sword-players called Gladiators.

A few yeeres before his death died the great Doctor S. HIEROME, being of the age of fourescore and twelue yeeres, in *Betheleem* in *Iewry*, where Christ was borne, who departing out of this life, went to enioy the life euerlasting.

The death of S. Hierome.

THE LIFE OF THEODOSIVS THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND TWO AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR, AND OF HIS Cosen germane VALENTINIAN the second.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the death of Honorius, Theodosius lawfully succeeded in the Empire, who perceiuing that many went about to make themselues tyrants of the West Empire, resolued to make his cosen Valentinian, Caesar, in these parts. Who within a small time after, making himselfe Lord of all Italie, was by the consent of Theodosius, and of the people, called Emperour. All the while that these two Emperours liued, there were so cruell and bloudie warres made by the Barbarians, as Hunnes, Gothes, Vandales and such like nations, that the whole world seemed to haue been turned vpside downe. But aboue all other, the warres of the Hunnes was most daungerous and of longest continuance, for they hauing conquered Hungarie, would haue gone into France. Against which, Valentinianus continually sent fresh supplies, vnder the leading of his generall called Ecius. But Theodosius his Empire in the East was in farre better rest and quiet. For the West Empire was continually infested with cruell warres, whither Theodosius neuer left to send new supplies of captaines and souldiers. By reason whereof, Attila King of the Gothes, thinking

thinking to finde the Empire of Conſtantinople vnfurniſhed of men of warre to defend it, inuaded the ſame: whereupon Theodoſius recalled thoſe captaines which he had ſent into Sicilia to the aide of Valentinianus, and encountred the Gothes; and during the time of that warre, which on the Gothes ſide was managed very coldly, by reaſon of ſome ſuſpitions and iealouſies among themſelues; Theodoſius falling ſicke died of the plague, when hee had raigned two and fortie yeeres, whoſe death was bewailed by the whole Empire: for he was a very good man and much beloued in his life time.

GReat in truth are the accidents and wars, happie, and infortunate, which haue happened in the Romane Empire in the ſpace of fourehundred and ſeauentie yeeres (little more or leſſe) that we haue written thereof, as the reader may eaſily perceiue. But notwithſtanding that we haue ſometimes ſeene it in diſtreſſe, troubled, and in daunger to haue been loſt in the whole, or in part; yet in the end, although thoſe aduerſities continued for a ſpace, we haue ſeene how it hath been deliuered from thoſe calamities, by ouercomming them and redreſſing them by ſome meanes. So as we may ſay, that it hath been cured of thoſe infirmities wherewith it was oppreſſed, and recouered the loſſes which it ſuſtayned, vntill the time, whereto we are now come. But through the ſecret iudgement of God, from henceforth matters ſucceeded not in any ſuch manner, but the loſſes multiplied, and the forces diminiſhed. And although that ſometime through the valour of ſome excellent Emperours and their captaines, the Empire enforced it ſelfe to recouer the auncient maieſtie thereof, and was both honored and feared; yet it could neuer attaine to the former: and this alſo was very ſeldom. So as from henceforth, at ſundrie times and by diuers accidents, the Emperours loſt prouinces and countries, and in them began kingdomes and particular dominions; and of thoſe countries which the Empire loſt, aroſe great and mightie monarchies: and as principalities and kingdomes multiplied, ſo great and more ſtrange were the accidents which happened, which I cannot relate, neither am I bound thereto: for my purpoſe and intent was, not to write a generall hiſtorie, but onely of the Emperours, and that briefly and in ſumme. Wherefore as briefly as I ſhall be able, I will diſcouer the ſubſtance, and hold on my way, writing ſuch things as ſhall be of greateſt importance in the hiſtorie of the Emperours, leauing that of other Kings and kingdomes which in proceſſe of time ſhall preſent themſelues to others, which either alreadie haue, or hereafter ſhall take that charge vpon them. For this which I haue alreadie taken in hand, will be enough for my ſmall abilitie, which I pray God, I may be able to bring to any reaſonable good end, and honeſt ſatisfaction of thoſe which ſhall reade the ſame.

The declining of the Romane Empire.

The originall of the kingdomes.

By the death of HONORIVS, in reaſon, and of right, the whole Romane Empire appertained to his Nephew THEODOSIVS, then ſole Emperour, who then was in *Conſtantinople*, and held the Eaſt Empire, as by that which is alreadie ſaid may eaſily be vnderſtood; although that in the time of HONORIVS, there be no notable mention made of his doings aſwell for his few yeeres, as for that the Empire of the Eaſt was in better reſt and greater quiet, then the Weſtern Empire, which then was infeſted and turmoiled. When it was commonly knowne that HONORIVS was dead, ſome which meant to continue their allegeance held for THEODOSIVS, as reaſon and their dutie required. But the greateſt potentates, began to make themſelues Lords of the Empire or of part thereof. In *Africa* was BONIFACIVS (as we ſay) gouernour of that prouince, who in the beginning

The alterations and chaunges vvhich happened through the death of Honorius.

held himselfe neuter. In *Spain* the Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes, thinking that CASTINVS who was generall for the Empire against them, should not be able to withstand them; began vpon a sudden to bee discontent with that which they held; and so tooke armes and would haue more. The Gothes which were Lords of *Barcelona*, *Narbona*, *Toloſa*, and all the countries round about, by the leaue and permission of HONORIVS, as his allies and friends; tooke the same resolution as the rest did. And the Burgonians in like manner which dwelt vpon the *Rhines* side, and the Franques which had been driuen out of *France*, resolued to returne thither againe. The Hunnes also a most fierce nation, whose originall was in *Scythia*, as was that of the Gothes, desirous to leaue the sterilitie of their countrie; departed thence in great numbers, and came to the confines of *Pannonia Inferior*, which now is called *Hungarie*: so that into all those nations and into sundrie others, the death of HONORIVS did put new thoughts and conceits; although that they all did not presently put them in execution: of all which as it shall bee most fit for my purpose, I will hereafter make particular mention. The state standing in these termes, as THEODOSIVS prouided not for his comming into *Italy*, or to send some noble personage with his power and authoritie; there was a principall man in *Rome* whose name was IOHN, who by meanes of his dignitie and riches, was of great power. He by the counsell and direction of CASTINVS (although in secret) which, as wee haue said, was an Earle and Generall in *Spaine*, rebelled, and tooke the name of Emperour, and ECIVS whom HONORIVS deposed from the gouernment of *Spaine*, was also of his counsell, and fauoured and assisted him in his proceedings.

The Hunnes entred Hungarie.

This Tyrant IOHN hauing made himselfe Lord of *Rome*, and of the greatest part of *Italy*, great part of *France* holding for him alreadie, and all that part of *Spaine* which was vnder the gouernment of CASTINVS; the same ECIVS and CASTINVS as they were both enemies to BONIFACE gouernour of *Africa*, seeing that hee tooke not part with IOHN, perswaded him to declare him for an enemie; yet they discouered not themselues as then, to the end the better to bring the other to confusion. Wherefore CASTINVS, from *Spaine* where he then was, with a great fleete and a great number of souldiers sailed into *Africa*, spreading a rumour that he fled thither for feare of the Vandales, from which in no part of *Spaine* he could liue in safetie. Vnder colour whereof, and writing very louing letters to BONIFACIVS, setting his men on land, he seised on many cities in the coast of *Africa*, and so liued for certaine daies in counterfeit peace and friendship with BONIFACIVS; yet BONIFACE was not free from suspition of him. Hereof are at this day epistles extant, written to him by S. AVGVSTINE, who then was Bishop of *Hippo*, and the answers thereto; discouering the suspition. And CASTINVS afterwards manifesting his ill meaning, S. AVGVSTINE sought meanes to reconcile them: but his godly endeuour taking no effect, they fought a battaile, which although it were very cruell and bloudie, CASTINVS was therein ouerthrowne and fled to his ships, and with such of his souldiers as hee could gather together, (being put to flight) he returned with shame and dishonour into *Spaine*. Which when IOHN the vsurping Emperour vnderstood, hee sent for him, to the end to leaue him for his Lieutenant in *Italy*; and assembling together the old Captaines and souldiers which remained since the time of HONORIVS, with the greatest power that he was able to leuie, and a very strong fleete, he made preparation to passe into *Africa*. Some authors write, that hee went thither in person, and that after many battailes he was slaine by BONIFACIVS. So writeth BLONDVS in his

Castinus came against Boniface in Africa.

Castinus ouercome in battell by Boniface.

booke

booke of the declining of the Romane Empire, and GVIDO of *Rauenna*, and ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in his *AEneades*, & other moderne authors, which in my opinion are deceiued, or at the leaſt, I know not what ancient authors they follow therein. Whereof that which I finde written, is, that THEODOSIVS being aduertiſed of the great Commotions in the Weſt Empire, and daring not to leaue the Eaſt, thought it his ſafeſt courſe to nominate his coſin germane VALENTINIAN, CÆSAR, who was the ſonne of PLACIDIA, ſiſter to the two Emperours ARCADIVS and HONORIVS, and wife to the excellent Captaine and Emperor CONSTANTIVS. And after ſome time and accidents which happened, with ſuch troupes as he thought good, he ſent him into *Italy* with his mother PLACIDIA, whoſe vertue and wiſedome was ſufficient to gouerne the whole, vntill the young CÆSAR came to age fit for the gouernment. Before this, the vſurper IOHN ſent his Ambaſſadors to THEODOSIVS, requeſting him to allow of his election, and to be pleaſed to accept him for his companion in the Empire. Whereto THEODOSIVS his anſwer was, to command his Ambaſſadours to be apprehended as traitors and rebels. And hee ſent commaundement to ARDABVRIVS or ANDABVRIVS, an excellent Captaine of his, that with the greateſt power that he could, he ſhould take his paſſage by Sea into *Italy*, before PLACIDIA and her ſonne, and ſhould ſeeke to defeate the tyrant IOHN. And ARDABVRIVS preſently put the matter in practiſe: but there befell him ſuch a ſtorme vpon the Sea, that his ſhip was driuen from the reſt of the fleete, and arriued where he was taken and carried priſoner to *Rauenna*. And his ſonne ASPAR within few daies after being aduertiſed hereof (who alſo came in the ſame fleete) after that the tempeſt ceaſed and that the Seas were calme, ſet his men on land, and vſed ſuch meanes, that paſſing through certaine lakes or meares of water, which are, or were neere to *Rauenna* (where the vſurping Emperor IOHN then was, and held his father priſoner: which was held for a matter impoſſible, and ſo it is written for a wonder) hee by force of armes entred the citie, which nothing ſuſpected any ſuch miſhap, and he not onely did ſet his father at libertie, but tooke the Emperour IOHN the vſurper priſoner, and ſmote off his head. In this manner writeth Biſhop PHRECVLPHVS in his hiſtorie of the death of the tyrant IOHN, who wrote the ſame aboue ſeuen hundred yeeres ſince; with whom PROCOPIVS agreeth, an author of aboue a thouſand yeeres continuance; CASSIODORVS in his tripartite hiſtorie declareth it at large; and PROSPERVS and IORNANDES of little leſſe antiquitie; and alſo PAVLVS DIACONVS. And although they all briefly paſſe it ouer, yet they ſignifie that hee died in *Italy*, and not in *Africa*. And PLATINA, CVSPINIANVS and other diligent moderne authors follow them therein: whereby it is to be preſumed, that they were deceiued which wrote that he was ſlaine by BONIFACIVS in *Africa*; although it be not to be doubted, but that he went into *Africa*, and was there ouerthrowne. And holding this for the moſt certaine, let vs proceede to the reſt, wherein in a manner all agree in the taking of *Rauenna*; and that after that they were entred, ASPAR and his ſouldiers tooke and executed cruell reuenge. Fiue yeeres did IOHN enioy the name of Emperour before his death; and was commended for his vertue and good conditions by the authors, ſo as they condemne him not for any thing, but onely for making himſelfe a tyrant, in vſurping the Empire: whereof the greateſt fault is laid vpon CASTINVS and ECIVS, which perſwaded him thereto. This victorie being obtained, within ſhort ſpace after it came PLACIDIA with her ſonne VALENTINIANVS the new made CÆSAR into *Italy*, through whoſe comming and the death of the aforeſaid IOHN, in a ſhort

Theodoſius made his coſine Valentinian, Ceſar.

Theadoſius ſent Andaburius againſt Iohn the tyrant.

Andaburius taken priſoner by Iohn the tyrant.

Iohn the tyraut put to death by Aſpar ſonne of Andaburius.

Phreculphus in his 2. tome, fift booke and ſeuenth chapt.

Procopius in his 4. booke of the warres of the Vandales.

Caſſiodorus in his 12 booke 18. chap.

The comming of Placidia and Valentinian into Italy.

ſhort ſpace there followed a great alteration: for being come to *Rauenna*, and vnderſtanding that CASTINVS came from *Spaine*, with forces as he was able, to put himſelfe into *Rome* with ECIVS, who held the ſame againſt VALENTINIAN; PLACIDIA ſent ARDABVRIVS againſt him, or after ſome others, BVRGVNDIVS, and it may be both; which fighting a battel, CASTINVS was ouerthrown, and eſcaping from the furie, his owne ſouldiers mutined, and deliuered him to the Emperours Generall, who ſent him to *Rauenna*. The like happened to ECIVS in *Rome*: for the ſouldiers and citizens aroſe and apprehended him, and hee was brought priſoner alſo to *Rauenna*. This is that ECIVS whom ſome call ACIVS, ſo much commended by the writers of thoſe times for one of the beſt Captaines in the world; and in truth ſo had hee alreadie ſhewed himſelfe in all his actions, but he ſhewed it much more afterwards. And no leſſe great was BONIFACIVS which gouerned *Africa*. And ARDABVRIVS was very famous for his victories, as wee haue ſaid, againſt the Perſians; and ſo was CASTINVS alſo. Theſe Captaines being brought priſoners, and the neede of ſuch men in the Empire conſidered, as well in *Spaine* againſt the Vandales and the reſt, as in *France* againſt the Gothes and Burgundians, which alreadie inuaded that kingdome, and againſt the Hunnes which were in *Pannonia*. After many allegations *pro & contra*, PLACIDIA vndertooke to procure her ſonne VALENTINIAN to pardon them their liues: and ſo CASTINVS after ſome few daies impriſonment, was baniſhed. And Ecius hauing put in ſecuritie for his fidelitie, was made Generall of the armie in *France* againſt the Gothes; who tooke ſuch order that the Hunnes came no further forwards: for he had great friendſhip amongſt thoſe nations, and was borne in thoſe parts; and in the time of his diſgrace with HONORIVS, he liued amongſt them.

Ecius made Generall againſt the Huns and Gothes.

VALENTINIANVS being in full poſſeſſion of all *Italy*, was with the good will of all men, and by the conſent of his Coſen THEODOSIVS called Emperour, and AVGVSTVS, and for ſuch obeyed and receiued by the Senate and people of *Rome*: and the Earle and generall ECIVS without delaying any time, vndertooke his charge of generall of the warres in *France*. And at that time that he came into *France* (as PROSPERVS and DIACONVS doe write) THEODORICVS by the death of VVALIA was King of the Gothes, and had beſieged a principall citie then called *Archilla*, after the taking of many other townes. But ſo ſoone as ECIVS came with his armie, he began the warres in ſuch manner, that to the loſſe of the Gothes the citie was relieued, and they raiſing their ſiege, retired themſelues into their Countries, and he euery where made ſuch head againſt them, that they could not take any other places either in *France* or *Spaine*. In the ſame time in the Ile of *Britanny*; which then was vnfurniſhed of ſuch garriſons as it was wont to haue, were great warres and troubles: for the Scots a fierce people, of which we haue alreadie made mention, and after whoſe names part of *Britanny* is called the kingdome of *Scotland* to this day, with other people called Picts, or Pictanians, whoſe originall was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, robbed and ouer-ranne all the land, and made themſelues Lords of a great part thereof. Wherefore ſuch of the inhabitants of that Iland as continued ſubiect to the Empire, ſent to ECIVS for ſuccour, certifying him that if reliefe came not within a ſhort ſpace, the whole Iland would fall into the hands of the enemie. When ECIVS vnderſtood theſe newes, he preſentlie ſent one Legion of his armie vnder the leading of a Captaine whoſe name was GALLIO, into *Britanny*; and he ioining with the inhabitants which ſent for aid, fought oftentimes with the Scots and Picts, and obtaining the victorie, compelled them to leaue that countrey in peace and quiet: and ſo they

The warres which Ecius made in France againſt the Gothes.

The running of the Scots into Britanny.

continued

continued, vntill that ECIVS ſtanding in neede of ſuccours to make head againſt the Burgonians, which alreadie had paſſed the *Rhine*, and began with great furie to inuade *France*, being feared to haue meant to paſſe into *Italy*, drew that legion out of *Britanny*, and left it in the borders of *Paris* in *France* to guard that countrey; and left another legion neere to *Tarragona* in *Spaine*, vnder the commaund of a Captaine called SEBASTIAN, to defend the ſame againſt the Gothes; and he with the reſt of his armie went to the warres againſt the Burgonians, with which he oftentimes came to blowes, and ouercame them in ſome battailes. But the Britains being abandoned by that legion which ECIVS ſent for out of that Iland, were ſo diſtreſſed, that if VALENTINIAN had not ſent commaundement to ECIVS to ſend back that legion which he had drawne out of *Britanny*, thither againe, they had been in great extremitie; but that legion comming to their aid, they were ſufficientlie able for that time to defend and ſupport themſelues in the Emperours ſeruice. While theſe things paſſed in *Britanny*, *France*, and *Italy*, BONIFACE grew daily more mightie in *Africa*, who although that he yet ſhewed not himſelfe to be againſt VALENTINIAN, but rather ſeemed to be of his partie, euer after that he was troubled by the vſurper IOHN, but yet he ſeemed to be a friend in ſuch manner, that he would not leaue any part of that which he poſſeſſed. Which VALENTINIAN and PLACIDIA perceiuing, determining to found his intent, ſent to commaund him to leaue his gouernement to a ſucceſſor whom they would appoint, and to come to them: which BONIFACE openlie refuſed to do, and leuied men of warre to defend him againſt the Emperour. It is true that ſome Authors write, that he was deluded by ECIVS, who ſent him word, that if he came into *Italy*, VALENTINIAN would put him to death, whereof he aduertiſed him as a friend: and he likewiſe told PLACIDIA, that BONIFACE would not come, but would rebell; ſo as they affirme that more for feare then for any euil intēt, he made himſelf a tirant, of which opiniō is PROCOPIVS. But howſoeuer the matter went, VALENTINIAN ſent preſentlie two Captaines againſt him, the one called MAHORCIVS or MABORCIVS; the other called GALLIO or GALBIO, he, who (as I ſaid) went to the aid of the Britains with a legion, which being arriued in *Africa* with great power, BONIFACE which was an excellent man of warre with a very good armie attended their comming, and knowing where they landed, went to meete them, and ſeeing his power equall, they came to a battaile, wherein BONIFACE through his great valour and policie gat the victorie, and the Emperours Captaines were ouerthrowne and ſlaine, together with a great number of their ſouldiers, and ſo BONIFACE became more mightie, and a greater Lord then before. The loſſe of this battaile and of men of warre greatlie increaſed the ſtrength of the enemies to the Empire: for firſt the Gothes followed the warres in *Spaine* with greater force then before, aſwell againſt the Emperours ſubiects, as againſt the Vandales and other nations inhabiting other parts of that countrey. And the Burgonians began to make a more reſolute reſiſtance againſt ECIVS, then before they had done. And aboue all, the Francks or Francons (a people of *Germany*) comming from *Franconia* (after ſome authors) ſo called after their name, as truly writeth AGATHIVS (although of their originall there be many fabulous opinions) ſeeing that ECIVS had enough to do againſt the Burgonians and the Gothes, and that the Emperour VALENTINIAN had loſt his armie in *Africa*, and that his coſen THEODOSIVS was buſied about matters of the Eaſt, they reſolued to inuade *France*; out of which alittle before they had been expelled by the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians, in the time of the

Boniface rebelled in Africa.

Maborcius and Galbio Captaines againſt Boniface.

A battaile vvherein the tirant Boniface prevailed.

The comming of the Francons or Frenchmen into France.

Emperours HONORIVS and ARCADIVS; and alſo by ECIVS, as we haue ſaid, when HONORIVS ſent him into *Spaine*. But now taking the benefit of the time, they came with very great power, and entred the prouince called *Senonenſis*, and the countries about *Orleance* and *Paris*, and preſentlie tooke thoſe countries. MARCOMVNDVS hauing been before this time their Captaine, and afterwards his ſonne FARRAMOND, was the firſt King of the Francques, whom CLODIVS ſucceeded, who at that time was their King. And in proceſſe of time their power increaſed ſo much, that *Gallia* from them tooke the name of *France*, and the King thereof is called king of the Francques or Frenchmen. Of theſe Frenchmen (which in truth were a warlike & valiant nation) ſome French Hiſtoriographers recite certaine fables, ſaying, that they deſcended from the Troianes, from one of HECTORS ſonnes called FRANCVS, and that from him they tooke their name. Others ſay, that they had this name for certaine franchiſes, priuiledges, and immunities which they inioyed in the time of VALENTINIAN the firſt. All which is fabulous and vntrue; for neither had HECTOR any ſuch ſonne, neither deſcended they frō the Troianes, neither is there any memorie of thoſe Francques, but from the time of the Emperour AVRELIANVS, which ouerthrew them about the yeere of our Lord two hundred and threeſcore, little more or leſſe. Neither obteined they this name in the time of the Emperour VALENTINIAN: for he raigned long afterwards, and they (as I ſaid) were ſo called two hundred yeeres before. But they were then a new people, of which neither CÆSAR, STRABO, PLINY, CORNELIVS TACITVS, POMPONIVS MELA, nor PTOLOMY, made any mention, neither were they then of any name, or knowne: which if it had bin otherwiſe, it had bin impoſſible but that ſome of thoſe authors, if not all, would haue left ſome memoriall of them. The Franques might begin to be knowne a little before the time of AVRELIANVS, the reſt is but winde.

The ſucceſſe of the French.

Gallia called France.

The antiquitie of the French.

And it is to be vnderſtood, that the Kings which in our time raigned in *France*, are not deſcended from this people: for in the houſe of *France* there haue beene two or three alterations and changes: the firſt was about the yeere of our Lord ſeuen hundred & fiftie, at which time King CHILDERICVS or CHILPERICVS was depoſed by Pope ZACHARY, that kingdome hauing cōtinued three hundred and thirtie yeeres in the line of the Franques. And PEPIN, father to CHARLES the great, being a Germane borne, was choſen King, and ſo the Franques then loſt the royall ſcepter. And in King PEPINS poſteritie it afterwards continued two hundred and eight and thirtie yeeres, vntill the yeere of our Lord nine hundred, foureſcore and ten, at what time LEVVES the ſonne of LOTHARIVS then raigning, was poiſoned; and for that he had no ſonnes, they ſought to haue made his brother CHARLES Duke of *Lorrain* their King. But a great and mightie man, whoſe name was IOHN CAPVTIVS, and borne in that countrey, hindred the ſame, and was of ſuch power, that he tooke CHARLES priſoner, and roſe with the kingdome, and in his poſteritie the kingdome continueth vntill this day, the next in bloud inheriting, for want of heires males. So as we are not to hold the Kings of *France* to be of the linage of the Francques, ſeeing they come not, neither are they deſcended from them. Herein do all good and true authors agree. But to returne to our hiſtorie, I ſay that the Frenchmen entred with ſuch force and furie, that they tooke all that they inuaded; which ECIVS conſidering, and the warres which the Gothes made in *Spaine*, notwithſtanding that he had oftentimes ouerthrowne the Burgonians, and was in hope ſhortlie wholie to haue ſubdued them, yet he reſolued to graunt them peace: which they humblie ſued for, to be the

The Kings of France deſcended not from the Francons.

The changes which haue happened in the royall houſe of France.

Ecius granted peace to the Burgonians.

better

better able to giue ſuccours to other places where neede required: but eſpecially to come againſt the Frenchmen, for they were a mightie and a valiant people.

In this time whileſt that ECIVS was thus troubled to defend the Romane Empire againſt ſo many nations, the new Emperour VALENTINIAN being ſtill in hope to recouer *Africa*, with a greater reſolution then at any time before, commaunded ſouldiers to be leuied in *Italie* and *Sicilie*; and with the aide of men and ſhips which his coſin the Emperor THEODOSIVS ſent him from *Conſtantinople*, he ſent an excellent Captaine called SISVLPHVS, againſt BONIFACE in *Africa*; who by PAVLVS DIACONVS is called SIGISVLDVS. And he brought ſuch an armie and vſed ſuch meanes, that taking land in *Africa* neere vnto *Carthage*, hee grew ſo ſtrong in that countrie, that BONIFACE durſt not abide his comming in *Carthage*, but went into *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, and the marches thereof, which now containeth the kingdomes of *Bugia*, *Argier* and *Oran*, and the countries bordring vpon *Spaine*. And yet not holding himſelfe there in ſafetie, he ſent to treate with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then was in the prouince of *Betica*, then called after their name *Vandaluzia*, to the end that he ſhould come from *Spaine* to relieue him, and hee would giue him townes and cities to poſſeſſe, if hee would helpe him to recouer what he had loſt. This ambaſſade came to GENSERICVS when he ſtood more in neede of helpe, then was able to ſend any: for the Gothes which had many times inuaded *Spaine*, taking the benefit of the time, when as all things were turned vpſide downe, THEODORICVS being their King and leader; and not contenting themſelues with what they held, and was giuen them in *Spaine*, entred, making a conqueſt of the countrie, & determined to make warre particularly againſt the Vandales; wherewith GENSERICVS was ſo oppreſſed, that hee was out of all hope to be able to defend himſelfe. Whereupon more of neceſſitie, then for any good will, he accepted the offer made by BONIFACE, and abandoning the prouince of *Vandalozia*, he paſſed the ſtreights of *Gibraltare*, as well with his people of warre, as of peace, women, children, goods, and cattell, and ſeiſed on the beſt part that he could, of all *Mauritania*; and hauing entred vnder the name and title of ſuccour, he made himſelfe abſolute Lord, robbing and ſpoiling the cities and townes with great crueltie. And this people thus abandoning *Andaluzia*, was the occaſion that THEODORICVS and his Gothes took great part therof, and ſo the Gothes continued Kings of *Spaine*. And althoug that at ſundrie times they had wars and battailes with the Alanes, & Sueuians, yet in the end the power of the Gothes preuailed: And from this THEODORICVS the firſt, is deſcended the roote and ſtocke of the Kings of *Spaine* vntill this day. The Vandales being barbarous and misbeleeuers (for they were of the ſect of the Arrians) held not promiſe nor league with BONIFACE in *Africa*, who had placed them there: but taking the cities vpon the coaſt which hee had giuen them, they entred and tooke the reſt in deſpite of him: wherefore he was conſtrained through neceſſitie, to become enemie to thoſe which hee had drawne thither for his ſuccour and reliefe, ſeeing that they tooke all. But as he was hated by the Emperour VALENTINIAN, and could hope for no ſuccours from any where elſe, as wiſe and as valiant as he was, he was not able to make ſufficient reſiſtance againſt all, but being too weake, was driuen to flie from place to place. But the prouince of *Carthage* and all the countries thereabout, were valiantly defended by the Generall SISVLPHVS, whom the Emperour VALENTINIAN ſent thither againſt BONIFACE. GENSERICVS King of the Vandales being ſo mightie in *Africa*, and finding SISVLPHVS of power able to make head againſt him, and fearing (as a wiſeman)

Valentinian ſent an armie againſt Boniface the tyrant in Africa.

The Vandales abandon Spaine and ſaile into Africa.

The Vandales made themſelues Lords of great part of Africa.

a wiſeman) the mutabilitie of fortune, ſent to entreate a peace with VALENTINIAN, vpon condition that he ſhould ſuffer him to enioy that which he had taken from BONIFACE, ſeeing that he was not poſſeſſed thereof himſelfe. The Emperour VALENTINIAN conſidering that ECIVS was much troubled in *France* againſt the French, new inhabitants therein; and that there was little aſſurance of the truce with the Burgonians; with a deſire to recouer that which was loſt in *Spaine* (for he was aduertiſed that his Generall SEBASTIAN, who was there in his ſeruice againſt the Alanes and Sueuians, had obtained certaine victories againſt them, and that they were ioyned with the Gothes, ſo as he was vnable alone to defend himſelfe againſt all) determined to graunt the Vandales in *Africa* that peace which they required, and taking ſecuritie and great promiſes of their King GENSERICVS, the peace was concluded betweene them; and VALENTINIAN relying more vpon that peace, then he ought to haue done, ſent for SISVLPHVS, commaunding him to come into *Italy* with his armie, without leauing or ſending any Garriſon to keepe *Carthage* or *Africa*. For his meaning was with all his whole power to haue reinforced ECIVS his armie, and to haue driuen out thoſe nations which were entred *France*, and to haue recouered, or at leaſt to haue preſerued that which he poſſeſſed in *Spaine*. SISVLPHVS being arriued in *Italy*, GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, as an ambitious impudent Infidell, went preſently to *Cathage*, and entred the ſame by force of armes. Fiue hundred, foure ſcore and fiue yeeres (as PROSPERVS reporteth) after that SCIPIO ſubdued it to the Romane Empire. The like he afterwards did by all the reſt, and in the end came to the citie of *Hippo*, wherein S. AVGVSTINE was Biſhop, and therein alſo, as ſaith POSIDIVS (a diſciple and familiar of S. AVGVSTINES) was BONIFACE, who had retired himſelfe thither; and holding it beſieged the ſpace of foureteene moneths (God hauing firſt taken away S. AVGVSTINE, being when hee died of the age of ſeuentie and ſixe yeeres) he tooke it, and put BONIFACE to death. Herein PROCOPIVS doth differ from other authors, who writeth that he raiſed his ſiege without taking the citie: and concerning BONIFACE, PROSPERVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS recount it after another manner, ſaying, that hee had his pardon, and went into *Italy*, where he died of a naturall infirmitie.

Valentinian graunteth peace to the Vandales in Africa.

Valentinian was ill aduiſed.

Genſericus King of the Vandales violated the peace.

Genſericus ſlew Boniface. The death of S. Auguſtine.

After the taking of *Hippo*, the power of GENSERICVS daily encreaſed, in ſuch manner that he made a full conqueſt of all *Africa*; and ſo the Vandales remained for a long time abſolute Lords thereof. Wherein this cruell King committed ſo many cruelties againſt the Biſhops and Prieſts, which held the true faith and would not become Arrians, as he was, as the like had ſeldome been ſeene: moſt cruelly putting many of them to death, and baniſhing others. The like he vſed towards all kind of people, committing incredible inſolencies and robberies, as many credible authors affirme, whereof VICTOR wrote a particular booke, which he intituled the Vandalicall perſecution, whereto I referre the curious reader: which booke is newly imprinted and annexed to EVSEBIVS his Chronicle, and to the tripartite hiſtorie. After this accident thus happened in *Africa*, VALENTINIAN had daily aduertiſements, that the Hunnes which alreadie were become Lords of *Auſtrich* and *Hungarie*, with the marches thereof, made preparation to come downe into *France*, and to that end had raiſed a great number of men of warre (TOTILAA moſt fierce proud man, being their King) againſt which their deſeignes he daily ſent new forces to ECIVS, who followed the ordinarie warres of *France*) by meanes whereof ECIVS could not ſend any ſuccours to thoſe of the Ile of *Britannie*, which newly had ſent to him for aide againſt the Scots and Picts:

The cruelties vſed by Genſerick King of the Vandales againſt the true Chriſtians.

Totila King of the Hunnes.

for

for which cauſe the Romanes and Britaines which inhabited *Britannie*, deſpairing of any other redreſſe, called to their aide, and ſollicited with faire promiſes, the Angles then called Saxons, a people of *Germany* inhabiting neere to the Sea ſide; which being inticed and allured thereto, partly for pay, and partly through the fertilitie and fruitfulnes of that countrie, came into *Britannie*, vnder the leading of their Captaine *Hengiſtus* (as ſaith BEDA) who aſſiſting the inhabitants, in ſuch manner ſubdued their aduerſaries, that they rebelled no more. But they afterwards growing ſtrong and ambitious, did the like in *Britannie* as the Vandales did in *Africa*: and making warre vpon the countrie and ſubduing the Britaines, made themſelues Lords of all the land, excepting that which is now the kingdome of *Scotland*. In this manner the Empire loſt this Iland, and the Angles remained Kings thereof; and afterwards it loſt the name of *Britannie*, and by them was called *Anglia*, and now is called *England*, which is as much to ſay, as the land of the Engliſh; & ſo from henceforth we wil call it. And their power ſo much increaſed, that in the time of AVGVSTVLVS, as wee will hereafter declare, they baniſhed and draue the Britaines wholy out of that countrie, ſo that none of them remained: but ſo well as they could came ouer into *France*, and inhabited that countrie which is now called *Britannie*, wherein before that time dwelled the Turones and Veneti, which through their thither comming is called *Britannie*; and ſo the dominion of that Iland reſted in the Kings of the Angles or Engliſh, and hath continued in them with great alterations, warres and troubles, which import not me to recite. Of all which, beſides BEDA, and other ancient and moderne authors not a few, POLIDORE VIRGIL an author of our time, with great care and induſtrie hath written a notable hiſtorie, of the beginning and ſucceſſe of all matters in *Britannie* or *England*. But to returne to our ſtorie of GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, I ſay, that being vnſatisfied with *Africa*, hee rigged vp a fleete and ſailed into *Sicilie*, and tooke great part thereof, robbing and burning the countrie: And truly hee had taken all the reſt of the Iland, if that VALENTINIAN (notwithſtanding that he was very tender and delicate, and in his perſon did nothing, neither would follow the wars) had not (as it cannot be denied) taken great care and vſed all poſſible diligence to prouide what was needfull, ſo farre as hee was able: who preſently ſent cõmandement to SEBASTIAN, his Generall in *Spaine*, to tranſport himſelf with the greateſt power that he was able, into *Africa*, and to make ſeiſure thereof, while as GENSERICVS was buſied in *Sicilia*. GENSERICVS was aduertized of this preparation, and vnderſtanding that without delay it ſhould be put in execution, reſolued to leaue *Sicilia*, and to returne to defend *Africa* which was of greater importance, and concerned him more: and ſo *Sicilia* eſcaped out of his hands. And SEBASTIAN forbare to goe into *Africa*. But he ſeeing himſelfe of greater power then before, and that his Lord was oppreſſed with warres and aduerſities (wherein thoſe men are ſeldome faithfull, which in proſperitie ſhew themſelues moſt ſeruiceable) and purpoſing to make himſelfe Lord of all that which the Emperour poſſeſſed in *Spaine*, was the cauſe that the Empire loſt the ſame, and he without obtaining his deſire, loſt both his life and honour. For moued by this ambition, as I ſaid, he treated with THEODORICVS, and the Gothes, and with the Alanes alſo, that they ſhould come to a peace with him, and that they ſhould diuide the land amongſt them, without yeelding any acknowledgement to VALENTINIAN. Wherewith in outward ſhew they ſeemed to be very well pleaſed, and yeelded to his propoſitions, which they obſerued for certaine daies: but afterwards vpon a ſafeconduct they ſlew him; and he being dead which

The Britaines called the Saxons to their aide.

The Angles or Saxons tooke the Ile of Britannie.

Britannie called England.

Britannie in France why ſo called.

Genſericus went to make warre in Sicilia.

The treaſon and death of Sebaſtian Generall for the Emperour Valentinian in Spaine.

was

was wont to defend the countrie, they tooke all *Spaine*, excepting ſome ſmall part of *Galicia* and *Biſcai*, which by reaſon of the inacceſſible ſteepnes of the mountaines, and the valour of the inhabitants, defended themſelues for a ſeaſon.

While as in *Spaine* and *Africa* theſe euents happened, ECIVS neuer deſiſted from warring againſt the French, and Burgonians & other nations in *France:* and VALENTINIAN leauing al things in the beſt order that he could in *Italy*, took his paſſage for *Graecia*, and went to *Conſtantinople* to ſee his coſin the Emperor THEODOSIVS; whoſe Empire as it pleaſed God was then better in peace and in more quietnes then the Weſt. At this meeting VALENTINIAN married with EVDOXA THEODOSIVS his daughter, and then preſently returned into *Italy*, to prouide for the defence of that which remained, and to recouer that which was loſt. Which the Emperor THEODOSIVS CONDOLEING ſent him two Captaines called ARIOBINDVS and ANSILA, with a very great number of ſouldiers, to the end that they ſhould reconquer *Africa*; and was very wroth with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, for the breach of the peace, and for the great cruelties which he had committed in that countrie. Theſe Captaines and men of warre ſailed into *Sicilia*, from thence to paſſe into *Africa:* but they ſo detracted the time and prolonged their departure in ſuch manner, that they ſpoiled the whole land of *Sicilia*, and it pleaſed not God that they ſhould proceede on their iourney. For ATTILA a mightie King of the Hunnes, which of long time had purpoſed to make himſelfe Lord of the Empire; after that, beſides *Hungarie*, hee had made a conqueſt of many cities in *Germanie*, drawing to him for pay and by faire promiſes and ſubtill meanes, an infinite number of people, part of which were called Turlingi, Tungri, Oſtrogothes, and Marcomanni, and other barbarous northerly nations, which like ſwarmes of Bees aroſe and came to him in that time: which (as PAVLVS DIACONVS recounteth) determined to inuade the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, knowing that the beſt and greateſt part of the men of warre thereof, were gone with the two Captaines aforeſaid into *Sicilia*. At this his entrie, he tooke many cities in *Thracia*, and in *Slauonia* alſo, and made ſo great ſpoile in that countrie, that the Emperour in great haſte ſent for ARIOBINDVS and ANSILA; which with a great armie (as I ſaid) were in *Sicilia*, to the end that they ſhould come and defend the countrie; together with other great forces which hee had commaunded to be leuied. And ſo hee began the warre and to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the force and furie of ATTILA; whereto this was a great helpe, that at that inſtant there began to grow ſome ſuſpitions and iealouſies betweene ATTILA and his brother BEDA, and enuie and emulation betweene the Kings which came with him; by reaſon whereof, the warre was not ſo terrible as before, although that they ſtill did much harme. THEODOSIVS Emperour of the Eaſt being in this care, and at warres with the mightie ATTILA, and his coſin VALENTINIAN in ſuch trouble, as is before ſaid, that the Vandales and their King held *Africa*, the Gothes and Alanes *Spaine*, and his Generall ECIVS in *France*, held warre with ſo many nations, and therein paſſed ſo many aduentures, that they would be too long to recite. And THEODOSIVS applying himſelfe in *Conſtantinople*, with great care and diligence to ſend greater reliefe and forces againſt the ſaid ATTILA, was ſtriken with the plague, whereof within few daies he died. Whoſe death was generally greatly lamented: for hee was a very good, pitifull and a very vertuous and Chriſtian Prince; as it plainly appeareth by many letters which at this day are extant, written to him by LEO Biſhop of *Rome*, who liued in his time. It is written of him, that he was very deuout and religious, and

Valentinian went to Conſtantinople, and married with Eudoxa the Emperor Theodoſius his daughter.

Ariobindus and Anſila Captaines ſent by Theodoſius.

Attila inuaded the Greeke Empire.

Theodoſius the ſecond died of the plague.

and ſpent much time in prayer; and that hee faſted two daies in the weeke, and exceedingly much honoured the Church and the Clergie. Finally, hee left nothing vndone which a Chriſtian was bound to doe, neither what was conuenient for an Emperour. He was very ſtudious and addicted to letters, and to Philoſophie, and made great Libraries, principally of the holie Scriptures. He was ſo pitifull and mercifull, that being one day reprehended for giuing ſo many malefactors their liues, he anſwered: I would to God that I could raiſe againe thoſe which I haue put to death. In concluſion, hee was accompliſhed with all vertues, and voide and free from all vices, ſo as he was not ſubiect vnto any, onely he was noted to be ſomewhat mutable and haſtie. He was married to EVDOXIA a very godly and diſcreete woman, the daughter of LEONCIVS, whom he married for her vertue onely: ſhe was called before that ſhe was married to him, ATANAIS, and with her mariage her name was chaunged. For this his goodnes and vertue, it pleaſed God that his raigne continued two and fortie yeeres, fourteene or fifteene being a childe, vnder the protection of the King of *Perſia*, in the time of his Vncle HONORIVS, as is alreadie written; and ſeuen and twentie with his coſin VALENTINIAN, and that for the moſt part hee enioyed the Empire of the Eaſt in peace and quiet: and died being about fiftie yeeres old: for almoſt ſo ſoone as he was borne, he inherited the Empire. He departed this world, according to MATHEVV PALMERVS computation in his additions to EVSEBIVS his Chronicle, and after PROSPERVS, in the yeere of our Lord, foure hundred, fiftie and three; and after ſome others, foure hundred and fiftie; and after the moſt common opinion, in the ſeuen and twentith yeere of the raigne of the Emperor VALENTINIAN, who then raigned in *Italy*, and liued in the citie of *Rome*.

The religion and vertue of Theodoſius.

An example of clemencie.

Anno Dom. 453.

THE LIFE OF VALENTINIAN THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THE THREE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR, and of his brother in lawe MARTIANVS.

THE ARGVMENT.

VAlentinian remaining alone in the Empire of the West, tired with many warres, and seeing that Attila molested the eastern parts, to please his sister Pulcheria, and to the end that that part should not remaine without an Emperour, he gaue the charge thereof to an old man called Martianus, who was a man of great iudgement, and very wise. In which time Attila determining to giue ouer his enterprise against Constantinople, being long and very hardly to be effected, came towards the western parts, with a determination to passe into France and into Italie: Against whom Valentinian made Ecius his generall, who ordinarily was his generall in France: hauing first concluded a peace with Genfericus King of the Vandales, wherein the new Emperour old Martianus entred also. This Ecius gaue Attila much to doe, and made him to know, to the great losse of his people how valorous a man he was in the warres; so as he compelled him to flie. For which victorie Valentinian began to haue Ecius in suspition, that he had an intent to haue made himselfe Emperour, and to that end had some intelligence with Attila, seeing that he did not throughly destroy him when he might: wherefore he made him to be slaine, which was the cause of the ruine of Italie, and of the West Empire. For Attila vnderstanding that Ecius was dead, returned into Italie, which Valentinian enioyed in peace, and being inuaded, there was not one of the Emperours that set his hand to rescue it, being vnable to leuie any sufficient armie to withstand the enemie. Whereupon hauing taken Aquileia, and comming towards Rome, at the entreatie of Pope Leo, he spared that citie, and so leauing Italie he returned into Hungarie, where marrying with the sister of the Emperor Valentinian, vpon his wedding day he gorged himselfe so ful with wine and

and meate, that in the night (nature being vnable to ſupport ſo great a charge, caſting vp abundance of blond) he died in his bed. Whoſe death yeelded ſome libertie to the Empire, notwithſtanding that the Weſt remained in a manner deſtroyed, whereof grew the greatnes of the Empire of the Eaſt, and of Conſtantinople. And one yeere after the death of Attila, Valentinian was alſo ſlaine by a ſouldier, whoſe name was Tanſillus, noleſſe to take reueng for the death of his captaine Ecius, then vrged by the hatred of one Maximus, whoſe wife Valentinian had forced, when he had raigned Emperour thirtie yeeres.

TRuely I know not whether the reading of that which I haue alreadie declared and am preſently to recount, ſhall make the reader ſo much to wonder, as it doth me which doe write the ſame. For mine owne part I can verefie, that no warres, alterations or changes of kingdomes, of all that euer I haue read in auncient or moderne hiſtories, ſeeme worthie of ſo great admiration as thoſe of theſe times, whereof we are now to treate. Neither doe I remember that I euer maruelled more at any thing then at theſe; conſidering the great and ſundrie calamities, of ſo many prouinces and cities, the battailes and effuſion of bloud, the alterations and falles of eſtates, the diuerſitie of people and nations which flocked togethers in them. And aboue al, I do moſt wonder at the infinit numbers of people which came out of the northren parts, ſo that it ſeemed that the earth did flowe with armed men. And likewiſe to conſider, what ſo great, rage, furie, pride, or ambition (for I can giue it no other name) might moue ſo many ſundrie nations, to abandon their owne countries, and to deſtroy and conquer the world, without being vrged, or moued thereto by any offence or iniurie receiued. But it was the iuſt iudgement and permiſſion of our Lord God whoſe counſels are vnſearchable, and whoſe prouidence cannot bee perceiued by the light of any humane eie. Let vs giue humble thankes vnto his diuine maieſtie, that although that for our ſinnes, he ſuffereth warres and troubles in theſe our times; yet they are not ſo generall, neither ſo miſerable and cruell, as thoſe which the people endured in that age, as the reader may plainly perceiue by that which is alreadie, and hereafter ſhall be expreſſed, which paſſed in this manner.

A conſideration of the calamities of theſe times.

The ſtate of *Italie* and of the Weſt, wherein VALENTINIAN raigned, ſtanding in ſuch manner, as is before ſaid, THEODOSIVS dying in *Conſtantinople*, leauing neuer a ſon to ſucceede him, and but one ſiſter, whoſe name was PVLCHERIA, a wiſe and worthie woman, who as ſhe bare a great ſway in the gouernment, and conſidered the wars with the Gothes, and in what ſtate the whole Empire of both Eaſt and Weſt ſtood; ſhe endeuoured to procure that ſome excellent man, both in peace, and war, might be choſen Emperor, whether he were deſcended of imperiall bloud or no. And it ſeemed that there was not any man in whom more noble and excellent qualities did concur, then in an old captaine called MARTIANVS, who although that he were but of meane parentage, yet with his age he was of great experience, and was a very valorous and excellent captaine. PVLCHERIA and thoſe which were of her counſell hauing taken this reſolution, concealed the death of THEODOSIVS for certaine daies, vntill they had taken ſuch order as was requiſit concerning the election of MARTIANVS. And notwithſtanding that he was old, PVLCHERIA tooke him for her husband, to the end to giue the greater aſſurance and authoritie to his Empire, and ſo he was ioyfully receiued by all men for their ſoueraigne Lord and Emperour. And VALENTINIAN likewiſe who then was in *Rome*, was well pleaſed therewith; aſwell for his deſerts, as

Pulcheria ſiſter to Theodoſius.

Martianus choſen Emperor of Conſtantinople.

also for that it was done by PVLCHERIA, of whose vertue and worthines there was a generall good opinion. ZONARAS an auncient author, whom some call IOHANNES MONACVS, writeth (as IOHN CVSPINIAN relateth) that PVLCHERIA married with MARTIANVS to giue the greater authoritie and reputation to his Empire: but first she tooke securitie of him, that they should both liue chast; for she was a maide, and had resolued to keepe her virginitie inuiolable: and that MARTIANVS accepted thereof, and they both obserued the same, which is a notable example. So soone as MARTIANVS was made Emperour of the East, the first thing that hee did, was to make prouision to reinforce the armie which THEODOSIVS had left, and to send against ATTILA fresh souldiers and a new generall. And the writers affirme, that if ATTILA had continued the warre which he began against *Constantinople*, he had without doubt come to confusion, by reason of the mutinies and contentions which began among his men of warre; which that politike and mightie King comprehending, and also for that (as they say) that a great Captaine of his counselled him to leaue that conquest, and to go from thence to make warres in the rest of *Germany*, and afterwards in *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*, where VALENTINIAN ruled; knowing that the Empire was diuided and vsurped by diuers nations, and therefore was very easie to be conquered. He resolued therefore to go into *Hungarie*, where by treason he slue his brother BEDA, who together with him was equall King, for that he suspected that BEDA was the cause of the dissension and discord, and to the end to make himselfe absolute Lord: so great was his pride, crueltie, and ambition. And after this giuing good pay to his old souldiers, and continuing them therein, and raising other new, he grew to be so mightie, that the Kings and Captaines of the Ostrogothes, and the Heruli, and other Nations which in the beginning came to aid and assist him as a friend, did now serue and obey him as their Lord. And the Authors affirme, that he raised an armie of fiue hundred thousand men, which were souldiers, and hazardours or aduenturers (so great was his fame and reputation at that time) with which armie comming out of *Hungarie* and *Austrich*, and the confines thereof, which were in his subiection, together with many other countries which he had taken in the last troubles, wherein the Empire was brought so low, he presentlie began to make a conquest of *Germany*, and tooke the most part thereof, and the best cities therein, as *Colein*, *Argentine*, *Spire*, *Constance*, *Basil*, and many other, making all possible hast to come into *France*, and into *Italy*, imagining that VALENTINIAN should not be able to protect and defend the same. Wherewith (such was his pride) he pretended not to rest contented, but to make himselfe sole Monarch of the whole world, through all which his name was greatly feared, and so he intituled himselfe King of the Hunnes, of the Medes, of the Gothes, and of the Danes, the terrour to the world, and the scourge of God. PRISCVS an Historiographer writeth (who being Secretarie to the Emperour VALENTINIAN, was sent Ambassador to him into *Scythia* before his comming into *Hungary*) that he was but a little man of stature, and had a large broad brest, a great head, little eyes, but very quick, a very little thin beard, and some gray haires therein, a flat nose, and was of a very swarth complexion; and that in his going and lookes he shewed the pride and greatnes of his mind. He greatly delighted in the warres, and was both politike and valiant therein, although he did not often vse to fight in battailes in person, but reserued himselfe for greater occasions. He was gentle and easie to be pleased, by those which humblie required pardon, and submitted themselues vnto him; and held

A notable example of chastitie.

Attila translated his warr from the East, into the West.

Attila slue his brother Beda by treason.

Attila his great power and armie.

Attila his title.

Attila his bodily constitution.

and

and maintained his faith and word, and defended thoſe which yeelded themſelues into his protection: but with all this, he was moſt proud, and deſirous to make himſelfe Lord ouer all others. VALENTINIAN the Emperour of *Rome* vnderſtanding ATTILA his ſucceſſe, determination and deſire, whereof of long time before he had ſtood in feare, did the vttermoſt of his power to reſiſt and make head againſt ſo great force and furie. The firſt prouiſion that he made, was to conclude a peace with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who was now alſo King of all *Africa*, to the end to haue his back in ſafetie from ſo mightie an enemie. This peace was very acceptable to GENSERICVS, and as to a thing which he greatlie deſired he gladlie yeelded: for at that time there was great diſſenſion and rebellion amongſt his Captaines and men of warre. This peace was concluded betweene them, vpon condition, that the King ſhould reſigne certaine prouinces and cities to VALENTINIAN, and MARTIANVS the new Emperour of the Eaſt was included in the ſame. This being ended, ECIVS which followed the ordinarie warres in *France*, was made generall againſt ATTILA, for that he was the beſt and moſt expert Captaine in his time, whom ATTILA had not forborne to haue ſeduced with many faire promiſes, putting him in mind of former friendſhip, but he for all that he could do, gaue no eare to him.

Valentinia made peace vvith Genſericus King of the Vandales, and of Africa.

Ecius made generall againſt Attila.

ECIVS vnderſtanding that ATTILA with his armie had alreadie paſſed the riuer *Rhine*, and knowing himſelf to haue no ſufficient army to make head againſt him, notwithſtanding that many new ſupplies were come to his aid, he therefore by all meanes and deuiſes ſought the friendſhip of THEODORICVS, whom ſome call THEODOREDVS King of the Gothes (who poſſeſſed the greateſt part of *Spaine*, and a great part of *France* alſo, and was a mightie Prince and very valiant, and at that time lay in *Tholouſe*) to induce him to aid and aſſiſt the Romanes, who franklie promiſed, and faithfullie perfourmed the ſame; which the Emperour VALENTINIAN had alſo before attempted. And although that ATTILA by his letters had ſued to the contrarie, promiſing him aſſurance of his eſtate; yet he (comprehending that ATTILA preuailing would aſwell ſeeke to defeate him afterwards as he did now the Romanes) raiſed all his whole power, and drew neere to ioyne with ECIVS, and made the Alanes and Sueuians which liued in *Spaine* to do the like. And with the like perſwaſion ECIVS concluded a peace with MEROBEVS king of the Frenchmen, and with GVANDARICVS king of the Burgonians, which of cuſtome were his ordinarie enemies, and with the Saxons and other nations; all which more for feare, and through the hatred which they bare to ATTILA, then for any good will to the Romanes, reſolued to take part with ECIVS, whoſe wiſedome and diſcretion was ſo great, that they all willinglie ioined with him; yet for all this ATTILA entred *France* with ſuch power and furie, that without finding any reſiſtance he tooke the greateſt part thereof before that ECIVS was in order to fight with him. But while as he made this ſpoile and conqueſt in *France*, the Kings and people aforeſaid ioyned with ECIVS in the fields called *Catalanes*, in the borders of *Tholouſe*: ſo as he had one of the greateſt and beſt armies that euer was ſeene aſwell for number, as goodnes of men, and his partie was held to be of no leſſe power then that of ATTILA. Wherefore the one armie drew neere to the other, and betweene them began a moſt cruell warre, wherein (as IORNANDES affirmeth) dyed foureſcore and ten thouſand men, before that they came to the generall battaile, whereof we will ſpeake preſentlie, either partie deſiring it, but chiefelie ATTILA, who held his power for inuincible, and ſo all nations attended the iſſue thereof: for it ſeemed that of the victorie de-

Ecius ſought the friendſhip of Theodoricus King of the Gothes, and of Spaine.

The Kings vvhich ioined vvith Ecius againſt Attila.

pended the dominion and empire of the whole world. And to say the truth, at this meeting were gathered together the best, and the greatest part of men of all *Europe*, and therein concurred about a million of people: wherefore it shall not be amisse that we describe this battaile more distinctlie then we do others, seeing that it cannot be said, that there was euer seene any that was greater or more bloudie. First then, there fought therein in proper person aboue ten mightie and warlike kings of the one side, and of the other. Of ATTILA his partie was ARDARICVS king of a people called *Gepidi*, and ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODOMIR brethren, and kings of the Gothes, or Ostrogothes, and the king of the *Marcomanni*, and others whose names I find not written, and the people alreadie named which were without number. Of ECIVS his partie, was THEODORICVS, (who was of greater power then any of the rest) king of the Gothes, Visogothes, and of *Spaine*, and his sonne THORISMVND, MEROBEVS, kings of the Francques, GVANDARICVS king of the Burgonians, SANGVIBANVS king of the Alanes, and the Captaines and kings of diuers other nations, which tooke his part, besides the Romane Legions and Captaines of the Empire. But ATTILA made small account of all these men: for he had alreadie theretofore ouerthrowne the greatest part of them, so as nothing made him to feare or to doubt of the victorie, but only the discretion and valour of ECIVS, who was their generall. Wherefore as he was an Infidell and superstitious, he commaunded his soothsayers and wizards to be called togethers, to the end that vsing their inchantments and sorceries, they should tell him what successe he should haue, and how he should speede in the battaile, and they sacrificing their beasts, told him, that he should lose the victorie, but that the greatest Captaine among his enemies should dye therein. Whereto giuing credit (although that it grieued him to thinke that he should be ouerthrowne, imagining that ECIVS should dye) he sought and procured it: for he made account that if ECIVS were dead, although he lost the day, yet he would raise new supplies, and preuaile against the rest, and so he disposed himselfe to fight. And as ECIVS and his partakers desired the same, the two armies came so neere togethers, that there rested nothing but to come to blowes, and so they fought, which as PROCOPIVS, IORDANVS, ALABIVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS, and others do write, was in this manner. Both parties being desirous to fight, the one armie being in the morning by breake of day in sight of the other, both Generals commaunded to marshall and raunge their troupes in order, and to forme their batailions, to the end to charge their enemies; but as their numbers were so infinite (notwithstanding all the diligence and expedition that could be vsed by either partie) it was past noone before they could set their men in order. ATTILA with all his carts and wagons which he brought for his cariage, made a kind of fort or sconce vpon the side of a hill, wherein he put the women and disarmed people of his armie, and of his whole armie made three battailions, reseruing to himselfe with his Scythians and Hunnes, the maine or middle battaile. And ARDARICVS king of the *Gepidi* with his countrymen, & many others in whom he reposed greatest trust, led the battaile on the right hand, and to ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODOMIR, brethren kings of the Ostrogothes, with their owne people and their most friends, he gaue the charge and leading of the battailion on the left hand.

The warres between Ecius and Attila.

How Attila set his armie in order.

And in this order he marched against ECIVS: who had somewhat prolonged the time, by reason of a great mistrust which he had conceiued of SANGVIBANVS King of the Alanes, doubting that he would haue gone ouer to ATTILA:

for

for he was aduertiſed that there had been ſome treatie betweene them; wherein ATTILA graunted to reſigne to him a citie, wherein he had lien, and which was taken from him. Wherefore ranging his armie into three ſquadrons alſo, in the middle ſquadron, he ſet the ſaid SANGVIBANVS, placing in the auaunt, and arriergward of the troupe, the moſt valiant men of the Romane legions, to the end that he ſhould not chuſe but fight. And to THEODORICVS with his ſonne THORISMVND with his Gothes and Spaniards, he gaue the leading of the ſquadron on the right hand: to the end that they ſhould encounter the Gepidi, which were a mightie people. And he tooke to himſelfe the leading of the left wing, taking with him MEROBEVS King of the French, with his people, and the Burgonians, whoſe King with the greateſt part of his forces were ſlaine in an encounter which happened the night before this battaile. With theſe troupes he placed himſelfe againſt the Oſtrogothes, which made the right wing of the enemies, chaunging it in this manner, for that hee imagined, that if the Viſogothes which were of his ſide, ſhould haue been placed againſt the Gothes which were of the other ſide (for that they were countrie men, and neighbours) they would not haue charged with ſuch furie as he deſired. In this order theſe two mightie armies marched the one againſt the other, with incredible courage and aſſured confidence, the one to ouerthrow the other. And ſo there began betweene them the moſt cruell and the moſt bloudie battaile that euer was. For although it may be ſaid, that in other battailes there hath been ſo great a concourſe of men that they could not well be numbred; but yet that they were ſuch men as were theſe which fought herein, or that it was ſo obſtinate and cruelly fought with the ſlaughter of ſo many men and effuſion of ſo much bloud as this was, I doe not remember that I euer read. For therein fought the flower (for valour and courage) of almoſt all the nations of the world: As the Romanes, the Scythians, the Hunnes, the Gothes, the French, the Germanes, the Spaniards, the Gaules, the Burgonians, and of each of theſe a very great number: So as in my iudgement, this may bee canonized for the greateſt and moſt fierce battaile that euer was. The firſt attempt was to get a little hill betweene the two armies, which either of the two generalles thought requiſit to be taken, thereby to haue the aduantage of the other. ATTILA ſent certaine troupes to take that hill, but to that effect, thither was alreadie come THORISMVND, THEODORICVS his ſonne with his people, which were Gothes and Spaniards; ſo as theſe heere by this his and all the reſt preſently gaue the charge, and the ſlaughter, the cries, and the ſound of the blowes with ſwords and launces, was ſuch, that it ſeemed that the firmament had rent in ſunder; ſo as no man could doe any other but fight. And they all fought with ſuch furie, that there was not any aduantage ſeene from noone till night, for ſo long it endured. What particular exploits were therein performed, cannot certainely be knowne (for the hiſtoriographers, which treate thereof) affirme that among ſo great a multitude of people it could not be ſeene nor iudged how things paſſed; for euery one applied himſelfe to ſtrike, and to kill, and there was not any ſquadron or troupe that ſtoode ſtill, or to looke on. But it is certaine, and they all affirme the ſame, that a little brooke which ranne where this cruell battaile was fought, grew ſo high with the blood of thoſe which were ſlaine, as it vſed to doe after ſome great raine had fallen. And the ſtreames of blood were ſo great, that they carried the dead bodies downe the valley. This ought not to be held for incredible, ſeeing that the number of the ſlaine was ſo great, that all authors agree that it exceeded the number of one hundred and foureſcore thou-

How Ecius marſhalled his troupes.

A battaile fought betweene Ecius and Attila, the moſt cruell that euer was fought in the world.

A ſtrange ſight.

ſand men; and they all lay dead in a ſmall circuit of ground. For in this fight there was no retraite, nor running away, but all died fighting. In this manner in the heate and furie of the fight, the night came vpon them, and parted them, but with great and apparant aduantage of ECIVS his ſide; for ATTILA his troupes began to giue ground, notwithſtanding that he vſed all poſſible meanes that they ſhould haue maintained the fight. And THEODORICVS King of the Gothes and of *Spaine*, charging too far in amongſt his enemies, was ſlaine. Some ſay that his horſe fell with him, and ſo he was troden to death by his owne men, and that his ſonne THORISMOND incurring the like daunger, was reſcued by his people. ATTILA perceiuing the defect and weaknes which was in his people, in the beſt order that he could retired to his fort or ſconce, which he had made of his carts and wagons, and therein fortified himſelfe that night, with thoſe which repaired to him from the battaile (for ſome were fled other waies) there expecting the next daies fortune. ECIVS went vp and downe the fields, as the greateſt Lord thereof, gathering his people together and ſetting them in order, to the end that their diſorder ſhould not incourage the enemie: for by reaſon of the multitude of people, and the darknes of the night it could not certainely be ſaid, who had the victorie; and ſo they paſſed that night without any certaine knowledge whether THEODORICVS were aliue or dead. The next morning by the breake of day the victorie was apparant and manifeſt: for ATTILA durſt not come forth of his campe; and ſo ECIVS and his ſouldiers had the ſpoile of the field and were Lords thereof. The armies were ſo neere togethers, that notwithſtanding that ATTILA held himſelfe for ouerthrowne, yet he neither durſt neither could retire, wherefore he reſolued to fortifie his campe and to defend himſelfe therein. And as THORISMVND found his father dead in the field, he with his Gothes and Spaniards was ſo extreamely enraged, that he purpoſed to haue aſſaulted ATTILA in his campe, to reuenge the death of his father, by his deſtruction. For all writers affirme that he might haue done it, if ECIVS would haue conſented thereto, and haue giuen him ſuch aide as he might haue done. And they alſo write, that ATTILA was in ſuch deſpaire, when he vnderſtood that they ment to aſſault him, ſeeing the ſmall forces he had to defend him, that he reſolued rather to kill himſelfe then to come into his enemies hands. But the wiſe and valiant captaine ECIVS, knowing both the ambition and the power of THORISMVND, THEODORICVS his ſonne, and how mightie the Gothes were, was in great doubt, that they hauing wholy defeated ATTILA and his armie, would haue conuerted their armes againſt the Romanes, which would haue been ill able to haue defended themſelues againſt them: and that therefore it was moſt profitable (the time conſidered) to giue ATTILA meanes to eſcape, to the end that the Gothes and French-men ſhould not be freed from the feare of him. And to that end without diſcouering his conceite, he counſelled THORISMVND, that ſetting all other matters aſide, he ſhould goe to take poſſeſſion of his kingdome of *Spaine*, before that the Alanes, the Sueuians or any other nations ſhould cauſe any alteration therein, or rebell againſt him. And that before this, he ſhould not attempt any other enterpriſe, for it was vncertaine whether he ſhould be able to bring his purpoſe to effect or no. THORISMVND deeming this to be the counſell of a father, and a friend (as in deede it was profitable for him) accepted his aduiſe, and without any delay preſently departed towards his countries; aſwell thoſe which he held in *France* as thoſe in *Spaine*. And ECIVS for the conſideration aforeſaid forbare to aſſault ATTILAES campe, and ſo he

Theodoricus King of the Gothes ſlaine.

A great victorie obtained by Ecius againſt Attila.

and

and the kings which were with him had meanes to escape, and abandoned what in *France* he possessed. But the counsell of this great Captaine (although that to this effect it seemed profitable) afterwards fell out cleane contrarie: for it was the cause of his owne death, and of great hurt (as hereafter shall be declared) to the Romane Empire.

ATTILA being in this manner departed out of *France*, by long iourneies as a man ouercome, went with his armie into *Hungarie*, and the countries there adiacent, of which he was in peaceable possession; where relieuing his people, he rested certaine daies. From whence (they say) the Hungarians are descended, forming their name from the Hunnes and another nation called *Catti* or *Gatti*; and so they were called *Hungary*, and *Pannonia* is now called *Hungaria*; although that neither in *Hungary*, neither in other prouinces are obserued the limits and bounds which in ancient times they held. For as there haue been great chaunges and alterations in the names; so haue there been likewise as great in their limits and confines. But seeing this concerneth me not, without producing any example this shall suffice for an aduertisement to the reader. ECIVS hauing obtained so great a victorie, leauing all that which in *France* the Romanes enioyed, and ATTILA had possessed, and the French and Burgonians in amitie and friends; hee came to *Rome*, where the Emperour VALENTINIAN expected the issue of the battaile. This victorie freed all *Italy* from feare, and purchased to ECIVS the greatest honour possible. He entring *Rome* with great solemnitie and incredible ioy of all sorts of people: within few daies after (as the most of the authors which I follow doe write) VALENTINIAN began to suspect, that he had a determination to haue made himselfe Emperor, and that he had intelligence with ATTILA. The suspition growing (as he said) for that ECIVS after the battaile did not throughly bring ATTILA to confusion. And as EVTROPIVS particularly relateth, VALENTINIAN was so highly incensed against ECIVS by MAXIMVS a gentleman of *Rome*, that he made him to be slaine. Which (they say) MAXIMVS did to the end to be reuenged of VALENTINIAN (as afterwards he was) for rauishing his wife; which iniurie he dissembled, and made no shew to vnderstand, vntill that hee had oportunitie to effect that which afterwards he put in execution, which was to kill the Emperour; which he neuer durst to attempt so long as ECIVS liued. ECIVS being slaine at this time (although that PAVLVS DIACONVS seeme to be of opinion that it was afterwards) with him ended the whole force and power of the West Empire, which PROXIMVS a discreet and noble Romane gentleman gaue VALENTINIAN well to vnderstand. Who being demaunded by the Emperour, (as PROCOPIVS writeth) whether hee had not followed the best and most profitable counsell, by putting ECIVS to death, answered: Whether the Emperour hath put ECIVS to death with reason or without reason, I dare not determine: but this I dare affirme, that by killing him, thou hast with thy owne left hand cut off thy right. And truly he was a true prophet, as the historie hereafter will make manifest.

Ecius had in suspition by Valentinian.

The death of Ecius.

The saying of Proximus to the Emperour Valentinian.

While as these things passed in the Westerne parts, the Emperour MARTIANVS raigned in great prosperitie in *Græcia* and the East: for he was a very wiseman and a louer of peace; and so he maintained and preserued the same with the Persians and other nations, without losing any iot of his confines: but rather in all treaties which he had with them, had euer the aduantage and got ground. And sent aide and men of warre to serue VALENTINIAN in the warres with ATTILA aforesaid: so as MARTIAN liued in prosperitie and well beloued. But returning

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ning to our Weſterne hiſtorie(thus it went)ſo ſoone as ATTILA vnderſtood that ECIVS was dead (the feare of whom made him to containe himſelfe within *Hungarie* and *Germanie*) he reſolued without any delay, ſetting all other matters apart, to come againſt *Italy*, which onely in peace and entier, held for VALENTINIAN. And comming downe with a very mightie armie, with ſome of thoſe kings before named, which after that he was driuen out of *France* he had ioyned with him, he deſcended with great furie, taking by the way all the cities and countries as he paſſed, putting all to fire and ſword. And in this manner he entred poore *Italy* through the prouince of the Venetians now called *Friuli*, robbing and ſpoiling all places: where there came againſt him a Captaine ſent by VALENTINIAN with a great and mightie armie, with which ATTILA fought a very cruell battaile: but the imperiall generall and armie were both ouerthrowne, with great loſſe and ſlaughter of men; and ſo ATTILA marching forwards, tooke many cities, which put all *Italy* in ſuch feare, that the inhabitants in no part thereof held themſelues in ſafetie from the power and rage of ATTILA. And this his comming and the feare of him was the cauſe of the originall of the mightie and famous citie of *Venice*, which in thoſe daies begun to be builded (according to the moſt part of the beſt Hiſtoriographers) by people which flying from the rage and perſecution of ATTILA, reduced themſelues to dwell in certaine little Ilands, with their wiues, children, and goods, where that citie now ſtandeth, imagining that there they might liue in ſafetie: and there fortifying themſelues in the beſt manner that they could, for ATTILA his armie did conſiſt of landmen only, and afterwards they reſolued to continue there, notwithſtanding that the feare was paſt, and began to ſet orders in their gouernment and iuſtice. And hauing happie ſucceſſe, they grew in proceſſe of time to ſuch greatnes, that they in a manner became abſolute Lords of the ſea, and gat many Ilands, kingdomes and noble cities, and are vntill theſe our daies the honour & credit of all *Italy*, and preſerue their libertie inuiolate, calling their citie *Venetia*, after the name of the prouince from whence they came, which was the maine land vpon the ſhore ſide neere to *Venice*: which for that it appertaineth not to my hiſtorie, I will paſſe ouer with ſilence, referring the reader to BLONDVS and SABELLICVS, and other authors which treate thereof at large. ATTILA hauing taken all the countrey behind him, beſieged the citie of *Aquileia*, which at that time was of great power, whereinto beſides the inhabitants, and ſuch as were borne therein entred many Romanes, and others of the Emperours ſouldiers which eſcaped from the battaile wherein their generall was ouerthrowne, and they ſo valiantlie defended the ſame, that ATTILA beſieged it three yeeres, and could not take it, holding it for a great diſhonor to raiſe his ſiege before he had it, in which time he did much harme in all the countrey round about with his men of warre, and there were many conflicts and ſlaughters betweene the beſiegers and the beſieged.

Attila his comming into Italy. Forum Iuly.

The beginning of the citie of Venice.

Some are of opinion that it is called Venetia of theſe words Venite qua, vſed by thoſe which were firſt there to induce the reſt which were on land to come thither.

The ſiege of Aquileia.

During the time of this long ſiege, GENSERICVS king of the Vandales made himſelfe peaceable Lord of all *Africa*. And the French with MEROBEVS their king grew mightie in *France*, and enlarged their dominion, and the Burgonians in the countrey now called *Burgundie* did the like. And the Gothes, Alanes, and Sueuians in like manner in *Spaine*, and in ſuch part of *France* as is aforeſaid. And the Emperour VALENTINIAN neuer came to relieue *Aquileia*, and as little did MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, either through cowardize, retchleſnes, ill gouernment, or want of power ſufficient for ſuch an enterpriſe, ſtanding in feare of ATTILA and his power, who at the end of three yeeres that he had held

held the ſame beſieged (reſolutely aſſaulting it vpon a day with his whole power, without any intermiſſion, withdrawing ſuch as were wearie and tired, and ſetting others in their places) he tooke it by force of armes; and after that he had ſacked it, and put all thoſe to the ſword which he found therein, he made it to be caſt to the ground, without leauing any one houſe or building that might be inhabited, it hauing bin one of the richeſt and moſt noble cities of that time: for *Aquileia*, and *Rauenna*, after *Rome*, were the moſt principall in that age. ATTILA hauing thus like a ſauage barbarian deſtroyed *Aquileia*, marched forwards with great expedition, and within very few daies tooke many excellent cities and townes; among which, were *Mantua*, *Breſcia*, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, and all their confines. The like he did by *Milan* and *Pauia*, and other neighbor townes: and went to the citie of *Rauenna*, which for that the Emperours held their courts therein, was the moſt excellent and famous citie in all *Italy*, which yeelded to him without any aſſault. From thence he marched into *Tuſcane*, with a determination to haue made no ſtay vntill he came to *Rome*, and wholie to haue deſtroyed the ſame, and ſo in ſpeeches he gaue it out. At that time LEO the firſt of that name was Pope, who at the requeſt of the Emperour VALENTINIAN, accompanied with many Senators, went to ATTILA, intreating him for pities ſake to ſpare *Rome*, and not to deſtroy that citie, which intreatie he made with ſuch diſcretion and wiſedome, and it pleaſed God to giue ſuch efficacie to his ſpeeches, that notwithſtanding that ATTILA was the moſt cruell and inexorable Prince in the world; yet the Popes ſupplication did ſo much preuaile with him, that he not only gaue ouer his iourney to *Rome*, but determined to depart out of *Italy*, and to returne to his auncient ſeate in *Hungary*, requiring firſt a great ſumme of money to be leuied vpon the citie for a ſigne and acknowledgement of Soueraigntie. And the ſtate of *Rome* was now come to this point, that they durſt not denie any thing that ATTILA required, and they held it for a very great good hap, that ATTILA would forbeare to put his cruell determination in execution. Some Authors write (whether true or falſe I will not maintaine) that all men wondring at this ſodaine alteration of ATTILA his purpoſes, and ſome of his fauourites asking him the cauſe thereof, he anſwered, that he durſt not denie the Popes demaund: for whilſt he ſtood talking with him, he thought that he perceiued two old men ſtanding behind him with vnſheathed ſwords in their hands, threatning to kill him if he performed not what he required, and that he therefore durſt do no other, which was held for a miracle. After this agreement ATTILA returned into *Hungarie*, wherein he was held for the greateſt and moſt mightie Prince of the world, and was ſo much feared, that MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* ſent to ſue for peace with him, and therewith ſent him preſents and money to obteine the ſame. And he to the contrarie ſent to the Emperour VALENTINIAN, requiring him to ſend him his ſiſter HONORIA for his wife, threatning, that if he ſent her not, he would againe returne into *Italy*, and deſtroy *Rome*. Whereto VALENTINIAN agreed by the conſent of his ſiſter, for ſhe by meanes of an Eunuch had written and receiued letters to and from him, procuring him to require her to wife whatſoeuer happened, which ſhe did for that her brother conſtrained her to liue a maid, lockt vp to her diſgrace, and to the diſhonor of the Emperour her brother: and he fearing ATTILAS diſpleaſure, ſent him his ſiſter, according to his requeſt, and he tooke her to wife, together with others, which as a barbarian he held. This his mariage was the cauſe of his death: for he holding a royall feaſt, and bankets at his wedding, dranke and ate that day ſo much,

Aquileia taken and razed by Attila.

Cities taken in Italy by Attila.

A great miracle, if true.

Attila had Valentinians ſiſter to wife.

much, that waxing drowſie, and being ouercome with ſleepe, he laid him downe, muſling or groueling vpon his face, and nature being oppreſſed with what he had eaten and drunken, ſuch aboundance of bloud guſhed out at his noſe, and with ſuch vehemencie, that in the ſpace of an houre he was choked therewith, and ſo he ended, ſhedding his owne bloud, which had made ſtreames and riuers of humane bloud, and had ſlaine a greater number of men, and vſed greater crueltie, then any King or Captaine that euer was before him. The death of ATTILA gaue libertie to ſome Kings and Nations which were vnder him, and had ſerued him in all his warres, and there enſued great warres betweene them and his ſonnes. But the Empire could neuer recouer the prouinces and countries which it had loſt in *Germany*, in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *England*, and in *Africa*; although that in *France* and *Spaine* it held ſome part: and ſo it ſo much declined and fell to ſo meane eſtate, that from henceforth we ſhall write of the Emperours and ſuch accidents as happened in *Italy*, as additions annexed to the Empire of the Eaſt, principallie naming the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, wherein conſiſted the ſtrength and power of the auncient Empire. For after fiue or ſixe Emperours, and ſome of them tyrants (as we will ſhortly declare) AVGVSTVLVS being the laſt of them; for the ſpace of three hundred and thirtie yeeres the weſterne Empire was wholie loſt, and that which in *Italy* remained was ſubiect to the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, which ruled the ſame by their gouernors (called Exarchi) (vntill the time of Pope LEO the third, in which time through the negligence and baſenes of the Greeke Emperours, the Imperiall ſeate was tranſported to the Weſt, as when time commeth we will ſpecifie. The next yeere after the death of ATTILA, the Emperour VALENTINIAN was ſlaine in *Rome*, by the ſecret practiſe and treaſon (as it was afterwards knowne) of MAXIMVS: and he which executed this murther was a valiant ſouldier, which had ſerued the excellent Captaine ECIVS, whoſe name was TRANSILA, who did it in reuenge of the death of his Captaine. And ſo ended VALENTINIAN after that he had raigned thirtie yeeres; fiue and twentie in the companie of his father in lawe THEODOSIVS the leſſer, and fiue with MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, who by reaſon of his death remained ſole Emperour, which happened in the yeere of our Lord (after the moſt writers) foure hundred fixe and fiftie. He left not any ſonne that might ſucceede him, but two daughters by his wife EVDOXIA.

The death of Attila.

The end of the Empire in the West.

The death of the Emperour Valentinian.

Anno Domini. 456.

THE

THE LIFE OF MARTIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

PResently vpon the death of the Emperor VALENTINIAN in *Rome*, as PROCOPIVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS and some others doe write, MAXIMVS for that he was a Romane citizen, of high parentage, noblie descended, and of great authoritie in the citie, presently vsurped the name of Emperour; and was possessed of *Rome* and of all *Italie* also. And the better to assure his tyrannie, he vsed such meanes, that (more by constraint, then for any good will) he married with EVDOXIA, which had been VALENTINIANS wife, and daughter to the Emperour THEODOSIVS the lesser. To whom after that he had her in his power, thinking thereby the better to winne her loue, he discouered and confessed that he had caused her husband to be slaine: with this addition, that he did it languishing for the loue of her, which did nothing asswage her discontentment, but rather so much incensed her, that she resolued to be reuenged on him by any meanes howsoeuer. And imagining that from *Constantinople*, or from the Emperour MARTIANVS, she should not haue any redresse, she secretly wrote to GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then raigned in *Africa*, very effectuallie recommending her vnto him, and earnestlie intreating him to set her at libertie, and to deliuer her from the power of MAXIMVS, who was a tyrant and a traitor. GENSERICVS to take the benefit of the time, and in hope to make himselfe

Maximus vsurped the name of Emperour.

Lord of *Italy*, or at leaſt to rob it and to haue the ſpoile thereof, employing his whole power, raiſed the greateſt armie that he was able, and vſing all poſſible expedition ſailed into *Italy*, ſo mightie, that the authors affirme, that he brought with him three hundred thouſand men in his armie: againſt whoſe power MAXIMVS was neither able, neither durſt to make any reſiſtance, notwithſtanding that he attempted ſo farre as he could: wherefore being altogether hopeleſſe and in deſpaire, he reſolued to flye, and to abandon *Rome*, but by the way he was ſlaine by a Romane Captaine called VRSVS. When GENSERICVS arriued in the coaſt of *Italy*, there was ſo great feare in *Rome*, that all the principall citizens thereof abandoned the citie: wherefore Pope LEO ſeeing the calamitie likely to fall vpon it, reſolued to hazard his life for the ſame, and knowing how great crueltie GENSERICVS had vſed againſt the Biſhops in *Africa*, as an heretike (for he was an Arrian) before that he came to *Rome*, he went forth to meete him, and in great humilitie intreated him for the honour of Chriſt to mitigate his furie, and to content himſelfe with the pray and wealth of *Rome*, without ſpoiling and ſacking the Churches and Temples. But this cruell king forbare not to march to *Rome*, and with his whole armie to enter it, and robbed and ſpoiled without any difference aſwell the ſacred, as the prophane. And being in *Rome* buſied herewith the ſpace of foureteene daies, he departed from thence, carying away with him infinite wealth, and rich priſoners; and ſo *Rome* being the head of the world, and Queene of all Nations, was ſpoiled, diſhonored, and ſacked by the Vandales, hauing alreadie at another time bin ſpoiled by the Gothes, as abouc is expreſſed: a wonderfull example, to induce a man to make little account of the power and riches of this world. And leauing the citie thus deſtroyed (notwithſtanding that at the intreatie of Pope LEO he commaunded that no edifice or buildings ſhould be ſet on fire, neither any man to be ſlaine or tortured) he led with him from *Rome* the Empereſſe EVDOXIA, and her two daughters which ſhe had by VALENTINIAN, which he afterwards caried with him into *Africa*. After that GENSERICVS departed from *Rome*, he did the like in many other cities in the marches thereof, as he had done therein, and deſtroying the citie of *Capua*, for that it made ſome reſiſtance, he went to *Naples*, and beſieged it, thinking to haue woon it by aſſault. But the inhabitants ſo manfullie defended it, that he was driuen to raiſe his ſiege, and ſo returned into *Africa*, loden with the ſpoiles and wealth of *Italy*, where he maried one of the Emperour VALENTINIANS daughters, which he brought with him from *Rome* to his ſonne TRASIMVNDVS, who ſucceeded him in his eſtate. This befell in the ſixth yeere of the raigne of MARTIANVS, being the next yeere after the death of VALENTINIANVS. GENSERICVS with his armie hauing left *Rome*, and being departed out of *Italy*, the principall Senators and Romane Gentlemen which through want of forces and of an Emperour, had abandoned the citie, preſentlie returned, and by common conſent choſe for Emperour of *Rome*, *Italy* and *Sicilie*, (for now in a manner all the reſt of the ſtate was vſurped) an auncient noble Romane Gentleman, both for age and bloud, of the order and dignitie of Senator, whoſe name was AVITVS: which when the Emperour MARTIANVS vnderſtood, as a gentle and religious Prince, he was very glad thereof, and allowed and ratified his election, in hope of better order to be taken in the gouernement; and ſo it ſeemed that there was good hope to haue preſerued the Empire in that ſtate wherein it then was. But all was marred through the death of MARTIANVS, who was poiſoned in *Conſtantinople*, by the practice and deuice of ARDABVRIVS, and his father ASPAR, which were his Captaines,

Genſericus came into Italy with 300000. men.

The death of Maximus.

Rome ſacked by Genſericus.

The Empreſſe Eudoxia, and her two daughters caried into Africa.

Auitus choſen Emperour by the Romanes.

Martianus poiſoned in Conſtantinople.

Captaines, which happened in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, nine and fiftie, he hauing raigned seauen yeeres. This MARTIANVS was a vertuous and a iust Prince, and preserued and enlarged the East Empire. *Anno Dom.* 459.

THE LIFE OF LEO THE FIRST, BEING THE FIVE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR, AND OF THOSE WHICH IN HIS TIME tooke vpon them the name of Emperours.

THE ARGVMENT.

WHen Martianus was dead, some which had bin the causers thereof sought to haue vsurped the Empire, wherein failing to effect their desires, they made Leo Emperour, being a Greeke borne, who in the beginning of his Empire bare himselfe so valorously, that there was not any enemie so hardie, as to make warre against him. But in the West Empire many tyrants arose, and many Emperours, which for that they lined not long, were the cause of great mutations and commotions: and the Vandales aduentured to come into Italy, against which Leo sent a good and a worthie fleete, vnder the conduct of a Captaine called Basiliscus, who encountring them, ouerthrew them. In the meane time Leo in Constantinople was driuen to fight against some which sought to haue vsurped, which being ouercome and slaine, he had much to do to rescue Rome, which was sacked and spoiled by many vnder the name of Emperours, which for that they lined not long, or were deposed from that dignitie by others which were more mightie then they, were the causers of very great troubles in the Westerne Empire, in the middest of which tumults ensued the death of the Emperour Leo in Constantinople, when he had raigned seauenteene yeeres.

PResentlie so soone as MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople* was dead (whose death was greatly bewailed) the principall men therein began to consult about the choosing of a new Emperour, and ASPAR who wrought the last Emperours death, sought to haue bin his successor, but he preuailed not, forasmuch as he was of the sect of the Arrians: for as the Ca-

tholike Christians were of the stronger side, they would not consent to his election. But seeing that he could not obtaine the Empire for himselfe, he bare a great sway in the election of another, which was an excellent man both in peace and warre, which was a Tribune, whose name was LEO, a Greeke borne, and the first that euer was Emperour of the Greeke nation, and as most authors write, was borne in the citie of *Bessica*. But ASPAR first made this bargaine with him, that when as he should afterwards be in full possession of the Empire, he should then make his sonne ARDABVRIVS CÆSAR, although it followed not so. This being concluded, LEO was chosen and obeyed for Emperour, and gouerning the Empire in good order and with good successe, in the beginning thereof he wan great credit and reputation, so as neither *Africa*, *Asia*, nor *Persia* durst to stirre against him; but in the West in *Italy* and in *Sicilia*, there were great alterations, and many were Emperours, more in name, then in power or authoritie comparable to the Auncient. And that old and mightie king GENSERICVS neuer desisted from infesting *Italy*, comming himselfe in person, and sending his fleets to rob and spoile the countrey: so that (as EVTROPIVS relateth) he destroyed and laid wholie wast many cities, and in the end became sole and absolute Lord of all *Sicilia*. In the first yeere of the raigne of LEO died in *Rome* AVITVS, which (as we said) raigned therein: and the Romane armie being then neere to *Rauenna*, chose and nominated for Emperour a good man of warre, whose name was MAIORANVS, whereto the Emperour LEO gaue his consent. This MAIORANVS was a good Prince, and an excellent Captaine, for the time that he raigned: for he tooke great care, and vsed great diligence in defence of *Italy* against the Vandales, and GENSERICVS their King; and to that purpose raised a great armie, and remained for the most part of his time vpon the sea side, to the end to be the better able to send relieue and succour where most neede required. And this prospering well with him, and seeing himselfe mightie and strong in men and munition, he resolued to haue sailed into *Africa*, in hope, and with intent to haue reconquered the same; but he could not accomplish that good worke: for death surprized him, when he had raigned three yeeres and od moneths. Some say, that he died of a disease: and others say, that the same armie that chose him, slue him. In place of MAIORANVS rose vp another Emperour, which was a principall man, called SEVERIANVS, who besides the ordinarie warres against the Vandales, was yet troubled with another against the Alanes: which with GEORGE their King departing from *Spaine*, where they had of long time inhabited together with the Gothes, resolued to come into *Italy*, thinking to haue conquered the same, and to haue made themselues Lords of certaine places in *Lumbardy*: against which SEVERIANVS commaunded an armie to be leuied, and made a valiant man whose name was RITHINER generall thereof, who was by linage a Goth, but now made a citizen of *Rome*, and receiued into the degree and dignitie of a Romane Gentleman. And the King of the Alanes comming with the Romane Generall neere to the citie of *Bergamo*, to a battaile, which of either partie was very cruell, in the end the Alanes were ouerthrowne, and their King was slaine therein. After this victorie and other matters which happened of lesse account, SEVERIANVS died in *Rome*, when he had ruled the Empire in *Italy* almost foure yeeres, and in his place was chosen a very excellent man of war, sent thither by the Emperour LEO, to succour and protect *Italy* against the Vandales, who was called ANTHEMIVS, and was sonne in lawe to the late Emperour MARTIANVS, LEO his predecessor. And there presentlie arose against ANTHE-

The death of Anitus.

The death of Maioranus chosen Emperour.

Seuerianus chosen Emperour.

The death of Seuerianus.

Anthemius chosen Emperour.

MIVS

MIVS (intituling himselfe Emperor) a Captaine whose name was GERVANDVS, who was Prefect and gouernour of the prouince of *Narbone*, which was all that in *France* remained subiect to the Empire. But ANTHEMIVS speedily sent his Captaines against him; and being by them taken, hee was condemned to perpetuall exile, and ANTHEMIVS established in his place a friend of his which was a good Captaine, called BELIMER, to gouerne the countrie of *Gallia Narbonensis*. This rebellion was scarsely ended, when in *Rome* another principall man arose and would also haue rebelled, whose name was PATRICIVS: but ANTHEMIVS pacified that matter, with as great facilitie as the rest.

Gervandus was called Emperour.

Whilest that there were such alterations, and Emperours died in this manner in *Italy*; the Emperour LEO gouerned *Græcia* and the East very valorously and in peace. But the old and valiant GENSERICVS King of the Vandales in *Africa*, seeing the alterations and troubles which daily happened in *Italy*, throughly resolued with himselfe to inuade it and to make himselfe Lord thereof; which was a thing that he long desired, as a man which had tasted the sweetnes of the wealth and richesse of *Rome*. Whereupon hee mustred vp his valiant Vandales, and the countrie inhabitants of *Africa* and other nations; and armed and rigged the mightiest armie and Nauie that he euer before had leuied. Whereof when LEO was aduertised, and knowing that ANTHEMIVS had not power sufficient to defend himselfe against GENSERICVS; and that if ANTHEMIVS sped ill, his estate was not assured (at the least *Slauonia*, and those countries which bordred vpon *Italy*) he therefore resolued to employ his whole power against GENSERICVS, in defence of ANTHEMIVS; who of his side made all the prouision of men and armes that possibly he was able, for the defence of *Italy*: and had rigged vp an excellent fleete for the Sea. When LEO had prepared and armed his armie and fleete, hee made one BASILISCVS a great man in his countrie, Generall thereof, who was his brother in law, being brother to his wife the Empereresse, and was also brother in law to ANTHEMIVS: for ANTHEMIVS had married his sister. BASILISCVS with his great fleet departing from *Græcia*, safely arriued in *Italy*; and ioyning with the fleete which ANTHEMIVS had prepared, they went in quest of GENSERICVS, who with no lesse a fleete was come vpon the same coast. These two Nauies being come within sight the one of the other, and GENSERICVS knowing his enemies men of warre to be farre more readie and expert in Sea seruices then his were, would gladly haue auoided the fight; but he was so soundly charged by BASILISCVS, that he could not chuse but come to blowes: and as the battaile was fearefully begun, so was it cowardly maintained. And he seeing his disaduantage, would haue gone out of the fleete, whilest as the ships were fighting one with another, and did attempt to haue done so: which the rest of his fleete perceiuing, they all presently turned their backes, and hee was apparantly ouerthrowne, and lost many of his ships and much people; and so very shamefully fled into *Africa*. Whom BASILISCVS pursued, and tooke land but two hundred and fourescore furlongs from *Carthage*, and (as PROCOPIVS reporteth) if he had presently gone thither he had easily taken the same. And GENSERICVS being without forces (as he then was) he might haue taken all that prouince: for alreadie in the other side towards the East, another Captain whom LEO had sent thither, whose name was HERACLIVS, had taken the citie of *Tripoli*, and other townes: but through ignorance, or as some say, BASILISCVS being corrupted with a great summe of money by GENSERICVS, he forslowed the warres, and was content to retire his armie into *Sicilia*, and there to recouer what GENSERICVS possessed. Whilest

Genserius King of the Vandales came againe into Italy.

Genserius ouerthrowne in a battaile by Sea.

as the Emperor LEO his Captaines and ſouldiers performed theſe ſeruices, himſelfe was not idle in *Conſtantinople:* for ASPAR and his ſonne ARDABVRIVS had raiſed great inſurrections therein. And as they were chiefe in making him Emperour; ſo were they of great power and authoritie in his Court, and in the gouernment of the Empire: beſides that, both the father and the ſonne had euer been principall men, and were very mightie. This ASPAR perceiuing that BASILISCVS the Emperors General proſpered wel in al his actions, began to feare to fall from that dignitie which he then enioyed; imagining that the Emperor being out of feare of GENSERICVS, would make ſmall account of him: and to the end to auoide this, he determined whileſt as BASILISCVS was in the warres, to importune and vrge him to nominate and make his ſonne ARDABVRIVS, CÆSAR, according to his former promiſe when he was choſen Emperour; which he had hitherto deferred, by entertaining them with ſome apparant reaſons. But now ASPAR (as a mightie man) ſo audaciouſly importuned him to hold his word, that taking hold of the Imperiall robe which the Emperour then ware, he ſaid, LEO thou oughteſt to performe what thou haſt promiſed me: for hee that weareth this robe ought not to lie. Whereto the Emperour anſwered: And much leſſe ought he to endure that any man vſe violence or force him. ASPAR perceiuing the Emperors determination, reſolued to make his ſonne CÆSAR by force of armes, and accounting himſelf of ſufficient power thereto, gaue him the name of CÆSAR: and leuying ſuch forces as hee was able, the warre began betweene him and the Emperour. Some ſay that LEO nominated him CÆSAR, and that the Catholike Chriſtians would not yeeld thereto: for that ASPAR and his ſonne ARDABVRIVS were both Arrian heretikes: whereof enſued great tumults. But howſoeuer the matter went, it is certaine that they tooke armes againſt their Soueraigne, and that their men of warre fought one partie againſt other. Wherefore in great haſte LEO ſent to recall his Generall BASILISCVS from *Sicilia*, to the end that with his armie and fleete he ſhould come to his aide: but before that he could come, the Emperour was in great daunger, and likely to haue been vtterly loſt and ouerthrowne. But being come with his armie, notwithſtanding that there were many skirmiſhes within the citie of *Conſtantinople*, and that in apparance it ſeemed that the matter went in a manner at euen hand (for ASPAR and his ſonne were excellent men of warre, very rich and of great power) yet in the end LEO his partie preuailed, and the two tyrants were taken and put to death by the Emperours commaundement: and ſo was hee freed from this daunger and ſeruitude. But there preſently enſued other troubles with the Oſtrogothes, which had accompanied ATTILA in his warres. For BALEMIR and THEODOMIR Kings of thoſe Gothes, with all their whole power, after many battailes fought betweene them and the ſonnes of ATTILA (which I write not for that it appertaineth not to our hiſtorie) reſolued to make warre in the Eaſt Empire: and beginning in *Slauonia*, they put the Emperour LEO to great care and trouble. But he as a wiſe Prince and a louer of peace (ſeeing that there was no other remedie) gaue to them *Hungarie* and *Auſtrich*, and taking hoſtages and great aſſurance of them, concluded a peace; which at that time was very neceſſarie and profitable for the Empire, although nothing honourable. He alſo graunted vnto them *Seruia*, *Miſsia*, and *Walachia*.

Speeches vttered by Aſpar to the Emperor Leo, with his anſwere.

Aſpar made Cæſar by his father Ardaburius, by force

Aſpar and his ſonne Ardaburius ſlayne by the commandement of the Emperour Leo.

In this meane ſeaſon, after the ouerthrow of GENSERICVS, the Emperor ANTHEMIVS liued in peace in *Italy*. But as there is no ſtabilitie in humane eſtates, and that in the time of chiefeſt proſperitie, there happen the greateſt deſaſters and calamities;

lamities; RITHINER, who (as we said) ouerthrew the Alanes and slew their King neere to the citie of *Bergamo*, being growne prowd and vainglorious, by reason of that so famous a victorie, forgetting the fauours and rewards which ANTHEMIVS had bestowed vpon him: first in marying him to his owne daughter; and then making him gouernour generall of *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, resolued to rise and rebell against his father in law, and Soueraigne Lord; in either of which he was bound to haue been a faithfull and a loyall seruant. And to that end resolued to come with the greatest force that he was able, against the Emperour ANTHEMIVS: whereupon all *Italy* was in armes, either for the one partie or for the other. But Pope EPIPHANIVS vsed the meanes to bring them to a peace, which hee caused to be confirmed vpon certaine conditions, and with exceeding great othes. But the wicked RITHINER (within a little while after) brake all, and with his armie came to the walles of *Rome*, making warre against all such as tooke part with the Emperour. ANTHEMIVS was then vnfurnished of any sufficient armie to take the field, and therefore contenting himselfe to defend the citie, suffred it to be besieged, expecting the succours which came to him out of *France*. For BALEMIR (whom as we haue said, he had made Gouernour of *Gallia Narbonensis*) vnderstanding in what distresse he was (as a loyall and gratefull seruant) determined to come with the greatest power that he was able to leuie, to relieue his soueraigne Lord and to raise the siege. And the Emperour LEO vnderstanding what past in *Italy*, and knowing how small meanes and power ANTHEMIVS had to defend himselfe, and being enformed also of the treason of RITHINER, he with all speede sent into *Italy* a Captaine whose name was OLIBRIVS, with a good armie against him: with authoritie, when hee should see time fit for it, to take the name of Emperour. Which when ANTHEMIVS vnderstood, thinking by this meane to be freed from the siege, wherewith the citie was distressed, hee agreed that the other should be called Emperour, and willingly allowed his name and title. But before that OLIBRIVS could come, BALEMIR arriued with such succours as he brought with him out of *France:* and seeking to enter *Rome*, and to ioyne with ANTHEMIVS, RITHINER got betweene him and the citie, in such manner, that whether BALEMIR would or would not, they came to blowes, and there was betweene them a cruell battaile, wherein the loyall Captaine (through the secret iudgement of God) was slaine by the traitor. Whereupon the people of *Rome* being out of hope of this succour (and as OLIBRIVS which came from *Constantinople* was in *Rauenna*, so farre from *Rome*) they so cowardly fainted, that RITHINER entred the citie by force, and being in possession therof, put his Lord and father in law the Emperour to death, and sacked the whole citie, excepting two streetes wherein he was lodged. And so this was the third time that *Rome* endured famine and much trouble in defending it selfe, and violence and spoile after it was taken. So as, as it hath been seene, and hereafter it shall often appeare, this world knoweth not how to giue any good thing, but to the end againe to take away the same; neither knoweth how to aduance, but to the end to pull downe. *Rome* had commaunded and subdued the whole world, and had raigned ouer all the habitable knowne nations of the earth; it had tamed and depriued great kings and Common-wealths of their kingdomes and dominions, and had enriched it selfe with the spoiles and wealth of (in a manner) all the nations and cities of the world. Neuertheless, through the diuine prouidence of God, in processe of time it was taken and spoiled by the same people and nations which it had subdued, and brought vnder her yoke. And the people of all those nations came to *Rome*,

Rithiner rebelled against the Emperour Anthemius in Italy.

Balemir ouerthrowne and slaine by Rithiner.

Rome taken and sacked the third time by Rithiner, wherein the Emperour Anthemius was slaine.

tooke the ſame, and made boote and ſpoile thereof, as if they had come to fet home, and to haue that reſtored to them which in former time was taken from their aunceſtours, which the reader ſhall plainely perceiue by that which is alreadie written, and ſhall be written hereafter: which will ſhew how often *Rome* hath been entred and taken by force of armes, and how often it hath been ſacked and ſpoiled, and indured ſuch like other deſaſtres and calamities.

Rithiner made Emperour of Rome, and his death.

But to returne to our hiſtorie, RITHINER being maiſter and commaunder of *Rome*, and of the reſt of *Italy*, with power and name of Emperour (excepting *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, which was defended by OLIBRIVS) three moneths only enioyed this ſoueraignte: after which, he was ouertaken with an extreme ſickneſs whereof he died, in terrible paine. And ſo ſoone as he was dead,

Olibrius made Emperour, and his death.

OLIBRIVS was proclaimed Emperour in *Rome*, who then was in *Rauenna*, and comming thither and giuing but the ſignes and ſhew of an excellent good gouernour, within foure moneths he died of his naturall death. And as *Rome* had loſt her power and authoritie; ſo had the Emperours thereof little health, and ſhort life. For who ſo ſhall make a computation thereof, ſhall finde, that whileſt that LEO raigned in the Eaſt, there were, and ruled in *Italy* (by good and bad titles, one and other) ſixe or ſeauen Emperours. Preſentlie after the deceaſe of OLIBRIVS, the Senate of *Rome* conſidering the loſſes and tyrannies paſt, would haue vſed their authoritie in chooſing an Emperour by voices, and by generall conſent, with good aduiſe and conſideration; but they could not bring their purpoſe to effect: for being ouerſwayed by GVANDIBARVS (a Captaine who then was in *Rauenna*) they made choiſe of one GLIZERIVS a Senator of *Rome*, which was in *Rauenna* with him. But his Empire laſted but awhile: for the Emperour LEO vnderſtanding that his election was by force, ſent againſt him a Captaine called NEPOS, with the title and name of Emperour, who being aſſiſted by the Romanes which againſt their wils had ſworne obedience to GLIZERIVS, depoſed him, and made him againſt his will to take Monaſticall orders, and gaue him a Biſhoprick; but he tooke the Empire to himſelfe, which was the occaſion of many commotions and troubles in *Italy*. For GVANDIBARVS which had aduanced GLIZERIVS, tooke his ſuppreſſion for a great diſgrace and an indignitie done to himſelfe: wherefore he leuied an armie, to the end to haue reſtored him. But Pope EPIPHANIVS vſed ſuch diligence, and tooke ſuch paines in the matter (of whom we ſaid that he made the peace betweene BALEMIR and ANTHEMIVS, although it continued not long) that he made a ſtay thereof, eſtabliſhing peace betweene them; ſo as they laid downe their weapons, and for that time

Glizerius made Empeuour, and depoſed.

NEPOS remained in peace in *Rome*. But as he liued in that eſtate, he was aduertiſed that HENRY King of the Gothes, who then raigned in *Tholouſe* in *France*, and in the greateſt part of *Spaine*, made warres vpon thoſe countries which were ſubiect to the Romanes, and had taken certaine townes; ſo as it was feared that he would haue proceeded further: NEPOS to ſhew his power, leuied a very good armie againſt him, and making one ORESTES a priuate friend of his generall thereof, commanded him to take his way towards *France*. But ORESTES departing with very great forces, tooke no care for going that iourney according to his commiſſion, which had bin more for his honour; but rather ſo ſoone as he came to *Rauenna* (hauing firſt ſounded the good will of his armie ſo farforth as he thought expedient) made his ſonne to be called Emperour, whoſe name was AVGVSTVS, whom the Romanes called AVGVSTVLVS (for that name they gaue him when he was a child) and ſo he is called by all Hiſtorians. And hauing

Oreſtes being ſent by the Emperour Nepos with an armie into France, made his ſonne to be called Empeuour.

brought

brought this to effect, he reſolued to returne to *Rome* againſt NEPOS; who as he had employed all his men of warre and whole power in that armie, was not of force able to ſtay his comming, neither to make any defence or reſiſtance againſt him: wherefore he abandoned *Rome*, and the hope to be any longer Emperour, hauing bin ſo but alittle while, and fled into *Dalmatia*, which was vnder the iuriſdiction of the Emperour LEO; and ſo AVGVSTVLVS continued in *Rome* in poſſeſſion, and with the name and title of Emperour. Whileſt the affaires of *Italy* ſtood in this eſtate, the Emperour LEO died in the citie of *Conſtantinople*, hauing raigned (as writeth PAVLVS DIACONVS) ſeauenteene yeeres with great valour and honour, as an excellent Prince, in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, threeſcore and ſixteene, who left not behind him any ſonne to inherit, but two daughters, the one called ARIADNE, and the other LEONCIA; the one was maried to ZENO who afterwards was Emperour, and the other to MARTIANVS ſonne of ANTHEMIVS, who (as we haue ſaid) had bin Emperour of *Italy*: yet ſome ſay, that ARIADNE which was wife to ZENO, was not his daughter, but his ſiſter, and that he inſtituted a ſonne of hers before his death for Emperour and his ſucceſſor. His death was condoled by all, and many lamented the ſame with teares.

The Emperour Nepos abandoning Rome, fled into Dalmatia.

Auguſtulus made Emperour.

The death of the Emperour Leo in Conſtantinople.

Anno Domini. 476.

The Emperour LEO being dead in *Conſtantinople*, and AVGVSTVLVS raigning in *Rome*, the generall eſtate of all the prouinces which were wont to be in ſubiection to the Empire, ſtood in this manner. The Gothes with their King called by ſome EVRIGVS, and by other HENRICVS, held *Tholouſe*, and that part of *France* which bordereth vpon *Spaine*, and the greateſt part of *Spaine* it ſelfe. The Sueuians in *Gallicia*, and in part of the kingdome of *Leon*, held warres with the Gothes, and to the Empire remained ſome hauen townes in the coaſt of *Arragon*, *Carthagena*, and *Tarragona*, and ſome others alſo. The Alanes which remained in *Spaine*, dwelt together with the Gothes in a part of *Spaine* towards *Italy*, and after the names of theſe two nations, that prouince was called *Gotalonia*, which now through corruption of ſpeech is called *Catalunia*. In *France* raigned the French, in *Paris* and in all the countries round about it, and in other countries, with all that which we now call *Flaunders* & *Picardie*, whoſe king was called HEDERICQVE. The Burgonians held the two *Burgundies*, and the Empire held no more but *Narbone*, and ſome land thereto neere adioining, which continued but alittle while in the Emperours iuriſdiction. In *England* raigned the Engliſh Saxons, and in *Scotland* the Picts and Scots. In *Hungarie*, *Auſtrich*, and *Miſsia*, *Seruia*, and *Walachia*, the Oſtrogothes, with their King TODOMIR, and his ſonne THEODORICVS, by permiſſion of the Emperour LEO, bare the ſway. In *Africa* were the Vandales, and their very old King GENSERICVS, many times ſpoken of, who died within alittle while after, and his ſonne HONORICVS ſucceeded him. The moſt of the prouinces of *Germany* were vſurped by the ſucceſſors of the Hunnes, called Heruli, Turigi, and others which came thither with ATTILA: and betweene all theſe nations and countries and their Kings were great warres, each of them coueting to inlarge his territorie and dominion. All the Eaſterne prouinces were in peace ſubiect to the Empire, and to the Eaſterne Emperour, who then was LEO, Nephew of that LEO, of whom we but now diſcourſed.

THE

THE LIFE OF LEO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND FIFTITH ROMANE Emperour. And of his father ZENO.

THE ARGVMENT.

THe Empereur Leo being dead, his nephew whose name was also Leo, tooke possession of the Empire, to whom it seemed a matter vnreasonable, that his father whose name was Zeno, should liue as a priuate man, and he an Emperour: wherefore he renounced the Empire vnto him and crowned him with his owne hand, and within short space after died. Zeno being then made Emperour, the widow Empe[illegible]sse being much displeased that he should enioy so great a dignitie, procured Basiliscus a Captaine of his owne, to rebell against him; who making himselfe Emperour, compelled Zeno to flie into Isauria in Asia: but he continued not long in that miserie, for Basiliscus being hated for his pride, behaued himselfe so, that Zeno was restored to the Empire. Whilest as he liued in the East in peace, the Westerne Empire and Rome were so turmoiled, that Orestes father to the Emperor Augustulus was taken prisoner in Pauia, and there slaine. And Augustulus (for feare) left the Imperiall ensignes, the Empire and Rome to the discretion of Odoacer, which was afterwards bereaued him by Theodoricus King of the Ostrogothes. And Zeno hauing been somewhat troubled with warres in the East, and hauing obtained victorie against two ty-

rants,

tants, which were Aſpar and his ſonne Ardaburius, which roſe againſt him, died of an ordinarie death in Conſtantinople, when he had raigned ſixteene yeeres.

I Am of opinion that the reader hath ſufficiently vnderſtood, in what ſtate the Empire remained, at what time as the Emperour LEO died in *Conſtantinople:* wherefore I hold it needleſſe to make any repetition thereof. I ſay then, that ſo ſoone as LEO departed out of this life, his nephew without any contradiction was acknowledged and obeyed for Emperour, whoſe name was LEO alſo, as was his. For as I ſaid, his grandfather had choſen and ſo appointed him to be, before his death, and ſo he held the Empire the ſpace of certaine moneths, at the end of which he did a thing which ſeemeth ſtrange, and maketh me much to wonder. Which was, that of his owne accord and voluntarie free will (holding it a hard caſe, that the father ſhould be ſubiect and inferiour to the ſonne) he renounced the Empire, and gaue it to his father ZENO, and he himſelfe crowned him, and preſently did him homage. For fathers in their life time to giue to their children their kingdomes and dignities, it is a thing that we haue ſeene, and often read of; and it ſeemeth that there is reaſon to induce them thereto: but ſeldome hath any man euer heard, that the ſonne would diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of a kingdome or Empire to giue it to his father. For it hath rather happened to the contrarie, that the ſonne hath bereaued the father thereof by force in his life time; yea and ſometimes hath wiſhed and practiſed his fathers death, to the end to be his heire, and to ſucceede him. Therefore I ſay, that this accident is very ſtrange, and the reuerence and obedience of this ſonne much to be noted.

Leo refuſed the Empire, and gaue it to his father Zeno.

Well, the matter paſſed in this manner, that ZENO was crowned and obeyed for Emperour in *Conſtantinople*, and his ſonne LEO remained in ſuch eſtate as before. To the contrarie hereof in *Italy*, ORESTES made his ſonne AVGVSTVLVS Emperor, without deſiring or procuring it for himſelfe. LEO hauing renounced the Empire and giuen the ſame to his father (as IORNANDES and other authors ſay) died within few daies after. But PAVLVS DIACONVS reporteth it after another manner: for he ſaith that the father ſought his ſonnes death, from which he was deliuered by making himſelfe a Prieſt, and ſo liued certaine yeeres. But howſoeuer it was, there is no more mention made of LEO, and his father ZENO began to rule the Empire. And going in progreſſe to viſit the ſame, being in *Chalcedonia*, the widow Empereſſe his wiues mother, which remained in *Conſtantinople*, repining to ſee ZENO Emperour, whom her husband LEO neuer accounted worthie of the Empire (as IORDANVS writeth) induced her brother BASILISCVS, who (as we ſaid) ouerthrew GENSERICVS in a battaile at ſea) to take vpon him the name of Emperor. And as by reaſon of that victorie and the affinitie which he had with the late Emperor LEO, he was very mightie and highly eſteemed, ſo was hee both able and willing to make himſelfe Emperour, and for ſuch was receiued; and they ſware obedience vnto him in *Conſtantinople*. Which ſo ſoone as ZENO vnderſtood (whether it were through baſeneſſe of minde, or to auoide the warres and the effuſion of blood which would haue enſued) he tooke no care to make any head againſt him, but retired himſelfe into *Iſauria*, which is a very ſtrong and guardable prouince in *Aſia* the leſſe, where hee aſſured himſelfe to liue in ſecuritie. Whereof BASILISCVS waxing proud, and infinitly ioyfull, and

Baſiliſcus made himſelfe Emperour againſt Zeno in Conſtantinople.

Marcus made Cæsar by his father Basiliscus.

and holding himselfe now safe and past all daunger, made his sonne MARCVS, CÆSAR. But his pride and ioy continued but a little while: for as he was infected with the Nestorian heresie, so hee began to persecute and afflict the Church and Catholike Christians; by meanes whereof (as IORDANVS and PROCOPIVS recount) he grew so hatefull, and was so abhorred by all sorts of people, that those Captaines which he sent against ZENO, returned against himselfe, and by the generall consent of all men ZENO was restored, and reestablished in the Empire; and hee with his sonne MARCVS and VERINA his sister, were taken prisoners, and being banished died in exile. In this manner remained ZENO mightie and in peace, hauing bin dispossessed of the Empire the space of eighteene moneths: where we will leaue him, and returne to speake of AVGVSTVLVS the Emperor of the West, or to say better, of *Italy*.

Basiliscus the tyrant dispossessed, taken prisoner and banished, died in exile, together with his sonne and sister.

Whilest these things passed in the East, we told you how that ORESTES had exalted his sonne, and made him Emperor against NEPOS, who held his Empire in *Rome*, and as NEPOS had abandoned *Italy*, and AVGVSTVLVS remained therein, and seeing that in *Italy* no man durst oppose himselfe against him; by the aduice and counsell of his father hee made peace, and entred into league with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales in *Africa*, who was now growne old and worne out with bearing armes in the warres, and euen at deaths doore. By reason of which league, hee held himselfe to be in great securitie: for of ZENO hee made no account, seeing the discord betweene him and BASILISCVS. But his trouble and ruine sprang from whence he least mistrusted it; for the Heruli and the Turingi, a people of which we haue made mention, and which had serued in the warres vnder ATTILA the mightie King of the Hunnes, and which in that time inhabited along the riuers side of *Danubius*, in the furthest confines of *Hungary*; tooke for their Captaine a man of their own nation called ODOACER, with a determination to come into *Italy*, and to make a conquest thereof; seeing that no man had any right thereto, but he who was of greatest power, and could giue most blowes for it. And it was the will and pleasure of God, that as *Italy* had sent Captaines to the conquest of all parts and nations of the world, so should Captaines and men of warre come from all parts and nations of the earth, to make a conquest thereof. Leauing apart other accidents which by the way befell ODOACER, he being approched to the borders of *Italy*, ORESTES the father of AVGVSTVLVS sallied foorth to encounter him, with an excellent armie which the father and sonne (hauing intelligence of his comming) had leuied. The two armies being come within sight the one of the other, both Generals would haue fought: but certaine companies of ORESTES his souldiers went ouer to ODOACER; which when he perceiued (reposing no firme confidence in the rest which remained) hee retired in the best order that hee could towards *Ticinum*, which is now called *Pauia*, a citie in *Lumbardie*: and ODOACER pursued him. But ORESTES hauing no sufficient armie to take the fields to fight with him, suffred himselfe to be besieged in that citie. And notwithstanding that he did as much as was possible for his defence, yet the assaults giuen were so terrible, that the citie was entred by force, after that he had defended it many daies, and ORESTES was taken therein; vpon whom, and the souldiers which were with him, ODOACERS souldiers executed extreme crueltie. And from thence ORESTES was carried prisoner to *Placencia*, where by ODOACERS commaundement he was put to death. After that ODOACER had obtained this victorie (as AVGVSTVLVS his Empire had but a weake foundation, and lesse equitie of his side) all things went against him, and prospered

Augustulus made peace with Genserius King of the Vandales in Africa.

Augustulus Emperour in Rome.

Odoacer king of the Heruli came into Italy.

Oreste father to Augustulus marcheth against Odoacer.

Ticinum, Pauia.

Oreste taken and slaine by Odoacer.

prospered with his enemie: and so with small difficultie, and as little resistance, ODOACER tooke all the cities of *Italy*, and presentlie proclaimed himselfe Lord and King thereof. When AVGVSTVLVS vnderstood that all the townes and people tooke part with ODOACER, he departed from *Rauenna*, where he then kept his court, to go to *Rome*; but by the way before he came thither, being out of hope, he voluntarilie put away his roabes and Imperiall ensignes, and abandoning *Rome*, fled, contenting himselfe with the hope of sauing his life, when he had raigned two yeeres a peaceable Emperour: and so he afterwards ended his life in pouertie and sorrow (as it is to be presumed) for the Historiographers make no more mention of him. *Rome* being abandoned by AVGVSTVLVS, ODOACER without any resistance possessed himselfe of all *Italy*, which he enioyed foureteene yeeres in great prosperitie, after which we will tell you who were Lords thereof. And so in this AVGVSTVLVS ended the Empire and dominion of *Rome*, which afterwards had no Emperour for the space of three hundred and thirtie yeeres. This happened in the yeere one thousand, two hundred, nine and twentie after the building of *Rome*, and in the fiue hundred, nine and twentith after that IVLIVS CÆSAR made himselfe tyrant and Lord thereof, and in the yeere foure hundred seauen and seauentie after the birth of our Sauiour Christ.

Augustulus abandoned Rome to Odoacer.

Odoacer made himselfe Lord of all Italie.

Anno 1229. after the building of Rome.

Anno 529. after that Iulius Cæsar made himselfe monarch of the Romane Empire.

In these times (as say PAVLVS DIACONVS, and BLONDVS) there arose a noble man in *England*, by linage a Romane, descended from those which in auncient time had dwelled in that Iland, whose name was AMBROSE, who ioining with the Britons the auncient inhabitants of that countrey, against the Angles, fought many battailes with them, but in the end he was ouerthrowne and slaine. Whereupon many of those Britons resolued to abandon that Iland, and in barks and ships (such as they could get) embarked themselues, and sailed ouer into that coast of *France*, which for that cause is now called *Britanny*, where in those dayes dwelled a people called Veneti, Cenomanni, & others: where, somtimes by leaue, and with the good will of the inhabitants, and sometimes without it; they inhabited, and possessed themselues of that countrey, and haue continued there euer since, with so good successe, that the name thereof, and their language continueth therein vntill this day, and is one of the best Prouinces of all *France*: wherein haue been mightie Princes, but by meanes of sundrie alterations, the French king is now Lord thereof.

Anno dom. 477.

The Britons abandoned England and went ouer into Britannie in France.

After this, the Emperour ZENO raigned in *Constantinople*, and ODOACER in *Italy*, some yeeres peaceablie; so as there happened not any thing in the Empire worth the writing: but in the end fortune turned her wheele in such manner, that ODOACER iustlie lost all that which he had wrongfullie gotten, and one tyrant was bereaued of what he had taken from another tyrant, which happened in such manner as we will set downe. THEODORICVS sonne of THEODOMIR King of the Ostrogothes, who in the time of the Emperour LEO the first had lien in hostage in *Constantinople*, when his father and vncle made peace with the same LEO, when it was granted vnto them to inhabit *Austrich*, *Hungary*, and *Missia*. At this time his father THEODOMIR being dead, THEODORICVS succeeded him in the kingdome: whereof when the Emperour ZENO was aduertised, he sent Ambassadors to him, giuing him to vnderstand, that he was very glad of his succession, and therewith requested him to come to his court, for the great desire he had to see him, and to do him honour: which THEODORICVS gladlie performed, remembring the honour and good entertainement which in former time he had receiued in *Constantinople*. Whither when he came (besides that he

Theodoricus King of the Gothes came to the Emperour Zeno his court.

was very ſolemnely receiued, at his firſt comming) he was afterwards very honorablie entertained by the Emperour ZENO, who gaue him enſignes of armes, and other honors and dignities, aſſigning to his people pay, and perpetuall penſions, and ſo was THEODORICVS well beloued and eſteemed by the Emperour and his whole court. And liuing in this manner with great contentment, for a certaine ſpace, his people which came with him, and thoſe which remained behind alſo in his countrey, being accuſtomed to the warres, and to rob and ſpoile, and now grieued with liuing idle in peace, continuallie perſwaded him (that imitating thoſe from which he was deſcended) he ſhould ſeeke to make ſome Conqueſt, and not to ſpend his life in banketting and feaſting: but principallie they counſelled him to ſue to the Emperour, to giue him leaue to make a Conqueſt of *Italy*, which ODOACER had taken and vſurped; and they told him ſo many things thereof, that in the end he reſolued to follow their counſell; and awaiting time and place conuenient, hee made a faire ſpeech to the Emperour, intreating him to graunt him what is before ſaid, which Biſhop IORNANDES writeth at large in his booke of the originall, and actes of the Gothes. When ZENO had heard his diſcourſe, and vnderſtood his meaning, he was very ſory for it: for he deſired euer to haue had him neere to himſelfe, and not to haue ſuffred him to haue departed, aſwell for the loue which he bare him, as for the feare and doubt which he euer had of the Gothes. But ſeeing his determination, after counſell taken with the Senate, he was of opinion that he might well graunt him (as he requeſted) the conqueſt of *Italy*, conſidering that the Empire had loſt it, and that it was now in the power of ODOACER: wherefore it were better that a King which was a friend and a confederate ſhould poſſeſſe the ſame, then another: and if he did not accompliſh his conqueſt, yet it was a meanes to weaken both their forces, of which the Empire ſtood in feare, hauing been oftentimes moleſted by them. When the Emperour had made this graunt, and confirmed the ſame by publike inſtruments, THEODORICVS tooke his leaue, and went into *Hungary*, and into *Miſia*, where his people inhabited: where he gathered together the beſt and moſt choiſe men of warre that he was able for this enterpriſe, and began to march forwards with his armie; and by the way was hindred, and encountred by certaine Kings and barbarous people which were the remnant of ATTILA his troupes: ſo as by that time that he came into *Italy*, he was well trained in the warres, and his ſouldiers were accuſtomed to ouercome. ODOACER, who ſome daies before was aduertiſed of his comming, had leuied a very great armie, and had aſſembled togethers the people of that countrey, and had perſwaded them to aid him, to defend them. When THEODORICVS was arriued in *Italy*, he encamped himſelfe by a riuer ſide called *Sonzu*, neere to the ruines of old *Aquileia*, to reſt and refreſh his people in thoſe fertill fields. And ſo ſoone as ODOACER knew of his comming, as he lay in wait for him in thoſe Marches, he drew ſo neere with his armie, that in ſhort ſpace they came to a battaile, which THEODORICVS with great courage offred, and ODOACER refuſed not: for it ſeemed that both the commaunders deſired the ſame, which was one of the moſt cruell and bloudie that hath been ſeene, for the commaunders and ſouldiers of either ſide were very valiant, and the one fought to win a kingdome, fame and honor; and the other fought to preſerue all theſe. The fight laſted a great part of the day, and after great ſlaughter, and effuſion of much bloud of either ſide, THEODORICVS obteined the victorie, and ODOACER was faine to flye when he had done all that was poſſible for him to haue maintained the fight. And al-

Theodoricus made ſute to the Emperour to giue him leaue to conquer Italy from Odoacer.

Theodoricus entred Italie, and Odoacer went to encounter him.

A battaile betweene Odoacer and Theodoricus. Odoacer was ouerthrowne by Theodoricus.

though

though that ODOACER loſt this iourney, yet he loſt neither courage, nor hope to defend himſelfe, but gathering together the remainder of thoſe which eſcaped from the battaile, he raiſed new forces, and againe taking the field neere to the citie of *Verona*, returned to fight with THEODORICVS, who followed him thither; and the two Kings came the ſecond time to the battaile, which was no leſſe cruell then the firſt. For this was the laſt of ODOACER his hope, but he was againe ouerthrowne: for thoſe ſupplies which came to his aid forſooke him, and he loſt great part of his armie fighting, and afterwards in his flight paſſing the riuer *Po*, many of his people were drowned. In this flight ODOACER neuer ſtayed vntill he came to *Rome*, where he thought to haue gathered new head, and there to haue reſiſted his enemies; but there they would not receiue him: for ſeeing that he had been twiſe ouerthrowne, they had no hope or confidence in him, but ſought to gratifie THEODORICVS, ſo as the citie was in armes: wherefore ODOACER returned, and with the beſt forces that he was able put himſelfe into *Rauenna*; and THEODORICVS for that time forbare to purſue him, and went to *Milan* and tooke it, and other cities in that quarter: whereupon, many cities in *Italy* ſent to him to yeeld their obedience, and many companies of ſouldiers came to ſerue him in his warres. And in the meane ſeaſon ODOACER fortified himſelfe with armes, men, and victuals, thinking at the leaſt to haue been able to defend himſelfe in *Rauenna*, which at that time (after *Rome*) was the principall citie of all *Italy*. And THEODORICVS being in a readines to beſiege it, there followed ſo ſodeine an alteration, that he neither could, neither durſt to abide before it: for by the procurement of one of ODOACERS Captaines, who was either a preſident or admirall of ſome part of *Italy*, many Captaines, townes, and people againe tooke part with ODOACER, and they grew to ſo great a number, that THEODORICVS was in ſuch feare, that he put himſelfe into the citie of *Pauia*, and many daies paſſed before that he againe drew his armie into the fields, ſo as neither ODOACER came to ſeeke him, neither he ODOACER. Within few moneths after this, they made frontier warres, and THEODORICVS recouering forces, committed his Mother and Siſters to the keeping of EPIPHANIVS Biſhop of *Pauia*, and went to *Rauenna* (wherein ODOACER lay) and laid ſiege thereto: but ODOACER ſo manfullie defended the ſame, that in three yeeres ſpace (for ſo long the ſiege laſted) he not only made head againſt THEODORICVS, but made ſo many ſallies vpon him, and gaue him ſo many alarmes, that he neuer ſuffred his armie to reſt. But in the end wanting victuals, and out of hope of any reliefe, hauing firſt tried all meanes, both to offend and defend, and ſeeing that it auailed not, he reſolued to yeeld to THEODORICVS, vpon condition that he ſhould giue him aſſurance of his life, with promiſe to allow him ſome place in *Italy*, wherein he might liue; which promiſe was ill perfourmed: for he commaunded both him and his ſonne to be ſlaine: and ſo ended the life and raigne of ODOACER, which cannot iuſtlie be tearmed, cowardlie.

Odoacer ouercome the ſecond time by Theodoricus.

VVarres in Italie betweene Odoacer and Theodoricus.

Theodoricus beſieged Odoacer in Rauenna.

Odoacer ſlaine by the commandement of Theodoricus.

ODOACER being dead, the people of his armie called Heruli, which eſcaped from the battaile, were entertained by THEODORICVS, and hee gaue them pay, and in ſhort ſpace made himſelfe Lord of all *Italy*, without finding any reſiſtance; and went afterwards to *Rome*, where hee was receiued with great ioy and ſolemnitie, as well for the fame and good report which they had heard of him, as for that he was ſent thither by the Emperor ZENO. And this moreouer did greatly helpe him to get the good will of the citie; that at his very firſt comming thither, he cauſed a great quantitie of wheat to be diſtributed amongſt the citizens, wher-

Theodoricus went to Rome and made himself Lord thereof and of all Italy.

of they then ſtood in great want: And ſo he remained Lord of *Rome*, and of all *Italy*, calling himſelfe king thereof, as ODOACER had done, thirteene yeeres before. This THEODORICVS was a very vertuous, a very iuſt, & a moſt excellent Prince and gouernour, and made himſelfe very mightie, and much both beloued and feared: and aboue all, was very wiſe and circumſpect in preſeruing his eſtate. And to the end to make himſelfe the more mightie, he procured alliance with al the kings then in *Europe:* for he preſently treated a mariage with ANDEFREDA the French Kings daughter, which hee ſolemnized with great feaſting and triumph. And of his owne three daughters, one hee married to SIGISMVND King of the Burgonians; and another to ALARICVS King of the Viſogothes, and of *Spaine*; and his third daughter called AMALASIVNTHA, he married to a Prince of *Germany* called EVTHARICVS; and his ſiſter ALMAFREDA hee married to HONORICVS King of the Vandales and of *Africa*, who was GENSERICVS his heire and ſucceſſor. So that with all the Princes neere vnto *Italy*, hee made ſome affinitie and band of friendſhip, and held that kingdome, which he with ſuch honour had conquered, with no leſſe honour, the ſpace of thirtie yeeres after.

The alliance and league made by Theodoricus.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, ZENO the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* and of the Eaſt, had had ſomewhat to doe with the Bulgarians, which euer ſince the death of ATTILA had dwelled in *Germany:* and had made an incurſion into the prouince of *Thracia*, and had done much harme in that countrie: but they quickly returned to their habitation. In *Conſtantinople* alſo happened a great fire, which burnt a great part of that citie. There befell vnto ZENO alſo another very great diſaſter, complotted by a fauourite of his, who was ſteward of his palace, whoſe name was YLLOS, which was thus: This YLLOS made the Emperour beleeue, (though vniuſtly) that his wife the Empereſſe, whoſe name was ARIADNE, daughter of the Emperour LEO, liued diſhoneſtly; and ſo ZENO being deluded, commaunded her ſecretly to be ſlaine. And he to whom the charge of the execution was committed, reuealed the ſecret to a young gentlewoman of the Empereſſe chamber; who preſently aduertiſed her Ladie thereof. And ſhe at the very inſtant without any delay, fled from the palace in the cloſeſt manner that ſhe could, leauing her in her chamber, which had aduertiſed her thereof, and went to the houſe of ACACIVS then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. The Emperour the next day aſſuring himſelfe that his commandement had been fulfilled, clad himſelfe in mourning attire, faining that his wife had died naturally. But preſently came to him the Biſhop, who with great authoritie ſeuerely reprehended his lightnes and haſtie reſolutions; aduertiſing him of his wiues innocencie; and that that wherewith ſhe was accuſed was vntrue. Finally, he handled the matter ſo well, that hee perſwaded him the truth, and reconciled him to his wife, and made a perfect peace betweene them. But the Empereſſe ARIADNE, after that ſhe vnderſtood that it was YLLOS which had accuſed her (as a woman) would be reuenged, and commaunded a certaine man, whom ſhe held fit for that purpoſe, to kill him; who the better to bring his purpoſe to effect, lay in waite for him, and purpoſing to haue ſtriken him vpon the head, his blow failed, and it happened vnto him as to S. PETER: for miſſing his head, he ſmote off one of his eares, and ſo hee eſcaped. And daring not to remaine in the Emperour ZENO his Court, he reſolued to commit a greater treaſon then the former; which was to goe into *Aſia*, and there to riſe and rebell, with great part of the Eaſt: which hee might eaſily doe, for hee was very cunning and of great account; and ZENO for his conditions was in thoſe parts very ill beloued. But he ſpeedily ſent a good armie againſt him, vnder the

What befell the Emperor Zeno in Conſtantinople.

The treacherie of Ylos againſt the Empereſſe Ariadne.

By what meanes the Empereſſe was deliuered from death.

the leading of a Captaine called LEONCIVS: but this YLLOS vſed ſuch meanes and perſwaſions to LEONCIVS, that hee did the like, and ſo of one tyrant there aroſe two, which made themſelues Lords of a great part of *Aſia* the leſſe. But within few daies after, the Imperiall armie which had conſpired with them, after that the ſouldiers were grown rich by ſpoile & bootie, repenting their miſdeeds, and to the end to obtaine pardon, vpon a day mutined and ſlew them both, and brought their heads to *Conſtantinople*. And ſo was ZENO deliuered from this trouble and commotion, and liued the reſt of his time in reſt and peace: notwithſtanding that hee put certaine principall Noblemen to death without any iuſt cauſe. All theſe things being paſt, in the ſeuenteenth yeere of his raigne ZENO died of a naturall ſicknes in *Conſtantinople*. It is written of him that he was exceedingly ill fauoured and deformed, and of a lothſome aſpect and geſture. He is not reckoned among the good Emperours; and it is alſo ſaid of him, that he would ſometimes be drunke. He died in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, foureſcore and fourteene.

Leoncius conſpired with Yllos, and both were ſlaine by their ſouldiers.

The death of Zeno.

Anno Dom. 494.

THE LIFE OF ANASTASIVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ZEno being dead, Anaſtaſius was choſen, who was greatly fauoured by the Empereſſe, to whom ſhe was married at the end of fortie daies after the obſequies of her dead huſband. This man finding all things in peace, in the beginning of his raigne did many good deedes: but he ſuddenly altred his condition, and being ſpotted with the hereſie of Eutiches, or Euticetus, which made a quaternitie of the Diuinitie, he began to grow hatefull to God and men; and many countries rebelled againſt him. Againſt which

putting himselfe in order to fight (although that he ouercame many of the rebels) neuertheleſſe he was once brought to ſuch an extremitie, that he was driuen ſhamefully to buy his peace with money; and afterwards the Perſians riſing againſt him, gaue him much to doe in ſundrie battailes, but finally he made a truce with them, and during the time of the truce, was ſlaine by a thunderbolt from heauen.

ZENO had not any ſonne that might ſucceed him in the Empire: wherefore after his death ſome of the moſt principall Lords procured themſelues to be choſen; among which was this ANASTASIVS, who although that he were not of any noble linage, yet he was a man of great reputation, and well beloued. By reaſon whereof, and alſo for that he was in great fauour with the widow Empereſſe, he was choſen Emperor, with the aide and aſſiſtance of an Eunuch called VRBICIVS, which was of great authoritie in the Court. And ARIADNE did not onely procure his election aforeſaid, but within fortie daies after the obſequies of her dead husband were ſolemnized, and his bodie intombed, ſhe married with the new Emperour: and by this meane obtained ANASTASIVS the Empire. In the beginning whereof, without any contradiction, but with the generall contentment of all men he was obeyed: and he not only found the Empire in peace, but there was peace alſo in *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and in *Africa*; they gouerning thoſe kingdoms as their owne, which were ſucceſſors to them which firſt vſurped and tooke them from the Empire; notwithſtanding that ſhortly after there aroſe great warres betweene them. And THEODORICVS who was called King of *Italy*, choſe the citie of *Rauenna* for his royall ſeate; which was by him enobled with ſumptuous buildings: and in his abſence he commanded the like to be made in *Rome*, and did much good through all *Italy*, directing all things like a good and an excellent Prince; in ſo much that the people praiſed God for him, and held themſelues for happie, in that they had ſo good a man for their Lord and gouernour.

Anaſtaſius choſen Emperour.

But returning to our new Emperour; ſo ſoone as he was crowned, he commaunded by a publike decree that all ſuch debts as were due to his chamber of accounts, or as we ſay, his exchequer, vntill that day, ſhould be pardoned, and not be recouered from the debters; which amounted to a very great ſumme. He began alſo to giue offices and places of charge to ſuch perſons as were of worth, and ſufficient for them, and not for money (as the cuſtome was) by reaſon of later wants. By meanes whereof and of other apparant ſignes of a good prince, in the beginning of his raigne, he became very well beloued. But this laſted but a little while: for he was infected with the hereſie of EVTICHES; who held an abominable opinion of the perſon of CHRIST. And for as much as nothing can be of any aſſurance, or acceptable without faith; this Emperour began to grow ſecretly hatefull to God, and publickly odious to men; and ſo although that he died old, yet he died an euill death: And in his life was neuer free from tyrants which rebelled; and other warres and troubles. The firſt which rebelled, were the people of *Iſauria* (a very valiant nation in *Aſia* the leſſe) the occaſion whereof was, for that he tooke from them, that pay which his predeceſſor ZENO had promiſed, and giuen them, when he ſubdued the tyrant ILLOS, who (as we ſaid) falſely defamed the Empereſſe. This people making choiſe of a valiant and expert warrior, whoſe name was LILINGVS for their captaine; made cruell warres vpon the lands of the Empire, for the ſpace of ſixe yeeres. In which time, betweene

The hereſie of Eutiches.

Lilingus rebelled in Iſauria againſt Anaſtaſius.

betweene the ſouldiers of ANASTASIVS and of LILINGVS, there happened ſome battailes, and many conflicts and skirmiſhes, vntill that LILINGVS dying, the Iſaurians being ſcattered, and loſt through want of a captaine, were cruelly puniſhed, and many cities were deſtroyed, and laid waſt, as relateth IORDANVS the Biſhop: who although briefly, yet he expreſſeth the greateſt part of that hiſtorie. There aroſe alſo againſt ANASTASIVS, another captaine in *Cilicia*, at the ſame inſtant, called ATHEMIDORVS, but he was ſoone brought to ruine. In *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, rebelled two mightie men and very rich, called SABIANVS and MVNDO: and neere to *Adrianople* another, whoſe name was POMPEY: and within the citie of *Conſtantinople*, were certaine tumults and riots committed, wherein many men were ſlaine. By reaſon of all which rebellions, ANASTASIVS was much perplexed; and being in great feare, came to ſome compoſitions (little to his honor) and loſt ſundrie townes. After that hee was deliuered from this trouble, he had another ciuill warre, which was of great importance and long continuance, againſt a valiant warrior, a Scythian borne; but trained and brought vp in the warres of the Romanes, and in the Emperours houſe, and court: and was high conſtable, or commaunder of his men of warre, and was called VATILIANVS; who either of ambition and deſire to be abſolute, or for ſome diſpleaſure or diſcontentment (which the hiſtoriographers write not) aroſe againſt ANASTASIVS; and with threeſcore thouſand men, which he leuied, of Hunnes, and other nations, began cruell warre againſt him, both by ſea and land; ſo as ſometimes he came within three miles of the imperiall citie of *Conſtantinople*. Againſt whom the Emperour raiſed a great armie, and made his nephew HIPATIAS generall thereof; who before that he could come to fight any battaile, by a wile was taken priſoner by the Hunnes, and deliuered into the power of VATILIANVS: After which, the Emperours other captaines were ouerthrowne; ſo as the warre continued ſixe yeeres, and in the end thereof, the Emperour bought his peace of VATILIANVS, for a great ſumme of money which he gaue him, and by this meane was deliuered from the perill, although not from the diſgrace and diſhonor, of buying peace. In this warre (as writeth ZONARAS) called IOHANNES MONACHVS (as relateth IOHANNES CVSPINIANVS) ANASTASIVS was greatly holpen by the skill and induſtrie of PROCLVS, an excellent philoſopher and Mathematician, who was moſt skilfull in inuenting inſtruments, engines and ſtratagems. Amongſt other matters, they report one thing of him, which ſeemeth incredible, which I durſt neither affirme, nor deny, but will recite it for a wonder, let the reader belieue what he liſteth; yet I ſay that the ſecrets of nature are ſo great, that we ought not to hold all for impoſſible which we cannot comprehend how it may be brought to paſſe. That which I ſay, theſe authors write for certaine, and that it was ſo; which was, that in the manner, as we now ſee certaine glaſſes, which being ſet in the ſunne, with the reflexion of the beames thereof will ſet tow or flax on fire, and ſuch like other dry ſtuffe neere at hand: ſo did this PROCLVS make a very great many of theſe glaſſes, which wrought effect with ſuch force, that being ſet vpon the high turrets of the walles and bulwarks, they ſet on fire and burnt whole fleets of ſhippes in the harbours, with all the people that were in them; and in like manner any other engines, that were erected againſt the walles, whereſoeuer they were (if where the ſunne-beames might reuerberate from thoſe glaſſes) wherewith the enemie was greatly annoyed, which was done in the ſame manner as we now ſee tow ſet on fire. Whilſt theſe things paſſed in the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, there were great wars

Athemidorus, Sabianus, Mundo, and Pompey tyrants.

Hipatias made generall againſt Vatilianus.

Proclus an excellent philoſopher.

Wonderfull burning glaſſes.

betweene the Kings of *France*, and of *Spaine*, and THEODORICVS King of *Italie*, which for that they are long to recite, and nothing to my purpose, I pretermit.

But returning to our Emperour, who seemed now to bee at some rest, being freed from the warres with VATILIANVS; there happened another warre with the Persians, which was of as great importance, and no lesse perillous, the cause whereof was this. At that time in *Persia* raigned a King both mightie and valorous, whose name was CAVADAS; who by reason of warres and other expences, stoode in neede of a summe of money, therewith to pay a certaine King which was his neighbour to whom he was indebted: which by ambassade he requested the Emperour ANASTASIVS to lend him, as to a friend and confederate (as he then was). But ANASTASIVS taking counsell vpon the matter, was aduised not to graunt it, for that it was a meane with his owne money to ioyne in league of amitie and friendship, those which were the ancient enemies of the Empire: and that therefore the best course was to take away the meane from the Persian, to be able to make paiment; to the end that they might make warre one against another, and so waste and consume themselues. And in this manner it was concluded, in the best sort that might be, to excuse the matter, without granting what the King requested. The King of *Persia* hauing receiued this answere, was so extremely enraged therewith, that he resolued to make warre against the Romane Empire: and putting his determination in execution, leuying a great armie, and making great preparation for the warres, hee personally entred the limits and confines thereof, and made cruell warres therein, and incamped himselfe before the citie of *Amida*, which was then a great and a famous citie in the prouince of *Mesopotamia*, as writeth PROCOPIVS; before which were many conflicts: but in the end the Persian tooke it, and held the same for some space after. As he lay before this citie, ANASTASIVS raised the greatest and best armie that euer hee had done before; which he diuided into foure parts, and sent the same vnder the commaund of foure Generals, against CAVADAS: whose names were ARIOVINDVS, who then was Pretor in the East; and CELER, the Captaine of the Emperours guard; and another was called PATRICIVS borne in *Phrygia*; and the fourth was called HIPATIAS, who was the Emperours nephew, as is before said. And with these went other great men: as IVSTINVS who afterwards was Emperor, and some other noble and expert men in the warres.

Cauadas king of Persia.

Warres with the Persians.

Anastasius his Generals against the king of Persia. Ariouindus, Patricius, Celer, and Hipatius.

These armies marched by seuerall waies, and directed, not their course to relieue *Amida*; but to make warre in sundrie parts of CAVADAS his kingdomes. And he being aduertised of their comming, went to meete with ARIOVINDVS; who behaued himselfe so cowardly, who daring not to fight, retired very shamefully, and left his campe full of many rich things, and of great value, which were taken by the Persians, which had them in chace, and pursued the Imperiall armie. The other two Generals, to wit, PATRICIVS and HIPATIAS, ioyning their forces together, being neere the enemie, began the warre, without any certaine knowledge where the King was, after the retreit, or rather flight of ARIOVINDVS; and they by chaunce met with eight hundred horse of his, the King being but a little behind them, with a very mightie armie: which putting themselues in order for their defence, were all slaine and torne in peeces, without any newes learned of them by the Romanes: and they hauing no sight of CAVADAS his troupes, pitched their tents vpon a riuers side; the currant whereof ranne directly that way as CAVADAS came, and so they began to victuall and refresh themselues,

ſelues of their wearie iourney; and went into the water, and did fetch water from the ſaid riuer. And as CAVADAS and his Captaines ſaw the water come downe troubled, bringing therewith other things which ſeemed to be lately throwne into it, they ſuſpected as it was, and CAVADAS in all haſte commanded his armie to march, in order readie to fight. Which came ſo ſuddenly vpon the Imperialiſts, that before they could range themſelues in order, they were broken and ouerthrowne: and the moſt part of all theſe retchleſſe Captaines were ſlaine, except ſome which eſcaped by flight. And without queſtion if at this time the Hunnes had not come downe out of *Scythia Aſiatica*, and with great power had not made warre vpon the Perſians, which diuerted CAVADAS his thoughts into other parts, and made him returne into his countrie, to take order for the defence thereof, he had after this ouerthrow done great harme in the Empire. But he vpon this occaſion retiring himſelfe, there came in good time the fourth Captaine called CELER, with his Imperiall armie, who began in better order and more aduiſedly to follow the warres: and gathered together thoſe troups which ARIOVINDVS had left (for he himſelf was commanded by ANASTASIVS to come to *Conſtantinople*) and ioyning with PATRICIVS the Captaine which eſcaped, they beſieged the citie of *Amida*, which the Perſians had taken; and after a long ſiege, they gat it by a wile. And this moſt cruell warre continuing two yeeres, with great ſlaughter and dammage to either ſide; and the Perſians being much diſtreſſed by the Hunnes, and other nations which with them entred their countries, a truce was concluded with the Empire for ſeuen yeeres. Afterwards, the time of the truce being expired, ANASTASIVS commaunded a citie to be builded in *Meſopotamia*, which he called after his owne name, *Anaſtaſia*: wherewith the Perſians were much diſpleaſed. But they were ſo oppreſſed by the Hunnes, that they durſt not breake with the Emperour, and ſo the peace laſted ſo long as ANASTASIVS liued, wherewith he was well content: for in the warres hee had loſt both many men and much reputation; and being (as wee ſaid) infected with the hereſie of EVTICHES, raigned in great trouble. And in the end when hee leaſt thought thereof, when he had raigned ſeuen and twentie yeeres, a Thunderbolt fell from the heauens which ſlew him, in the yeare of our Lord, fiue hundred and nineteene, without leauing any ſonne that might ſucceede him.

Cauadas his victorie againſt Anaſtaſius his Captaines.

A truce with the Perſians for ſeuen yeers.

The death of the Emperor Anaſtaſius, ſlaine by a thunderbolt.

THE

THE LIFE OF IVSTINVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND EIGHT AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

AFter ANASTASIVS, IVSTINVS EVROPALATES succeeded in the Empire. And truly it is a wonderfull matter to consider and vnderstand, from how base estate and from how poore a beginning he mounted to so high a dignitie; and of the waies and meanes whereby he attained thereto. Which for an example of the strange aduentures and variable accidents in this life, I hold worthie to be declared in such sort, as it happened. This IVSTINVS was borne in *Thracia* (yet some say, that he was of *Slauonia*, or *Dalmatia*) of poore and simple parentage; so as from his infancie hee was bred vp in keeping of beasts. But as it pleased God in his secret iudgement, to ordaine him to raigne and rule, to some good end; he inspired him to leaue that base kind of life: so as at the age of seuenteene yeeres he went to the warres, with a determination to continue in the exercise of armes. And he prooued so worthie a souldier, that within short space he purchased the name of Valiant, and fought oftentimes with great dexteritie and courage, with his enemies in single combats man to man; and in all occasions made good proofe of his person. Wherefore within short time he was made a Captaine; and within a while after an Earle; which (as is alreadie said) at that time was, and still is, a great dignitie. In that estate was he when ANASTASIVS died, being now well growne in yeeres: And as presently after his decease, the Lords began

The parentage and course of life of Iustinus before he was Emperor.

began to consult of whom they should make Emperour; a great Courtier named AMANTIVS which was an Eunuch, and had been the Emperors Steward, and was now the best monied man of his time, sought by all meanes to make a great and mightie man, called THEOCRETIANVS, who was his great friend, Emperor. And for as much as the armie and men of warre bare greatest sway in the election (for now nothing was done in such order as it behoued, but by force and for benefit) he therefore determined to buy the good wils of the Captaines and men of warre. And to this effect, he purposed first to winne IVSTINVS, and to vse him for a meane to perswade the rest, and conferred with him concerning the same: And comming to a composition, he gaue him a great summe of money, to the end that he should diuide the same amongst the Captaines and men of warre where he thought good; conditionally that THEOCRETIANVS might be chosen Emperor. When IVSTINVS had gotten this money into his fingers, he forgat to deale for THEOCRETIANVS, but secretly sought to buy their good wils for himself; and carried the matter so cunningly, that when AMANTIVS thought that the souldiers would haue made his friend Emperor, hee found that they had nominated, & would haue IVSTINVS. And in this manner they presently sware to him fidelitie and obedience, by the generall consent of both the Senate and the Armie. For besides what is alreadie said, he was well beloued and held for a vertuous man and a good Christian. AMANTIVS seeing himselfe deluded, although for the present he could not refuse to yeeld him obedience; yet shortly after he practised the death of the new Emperor, and conspired with THEOCRETIANVS, who pretended to haue been chosen Emperor; and with another called ANDREAS, and with MISSAHALE, and ARDABVRIVS, all which were of the Emperors chamber, to the end they should kill him, so soone as any oportunitie thereto were offered. But it pleased God that their treason was discouered, and being prooued, IVSTINVS commaunded, AMANTIVS, ANDREAS, and THEOCRETIANVS to be slaine; and the rest to be perpetually banished. And to the end the better to assure himselfe in the Empire, he vsed a meane that VATILIANVS, which rebelled against ANASTASIVS, came to his Court, whom hee made ordinary Consul, and Master, and Generall of all his men of warre, and bestowed great gifts and honours vpon him. But with all this, he (as ingratefull and a traitor) within few daies after, practised with some others, against the life and estate of IVSTINVS; which being discouered, he was vpon a day slaine in his palace, together with PAVLVS, and CELERIANVS, which were confederates and complices with him in his treason. IVSTINVS being deliuered from this danger, and seeing himself in peace in the Empire, being a good Christian, and knowing how farre the Arrian heresie had extended it selfe ouer the world, resolued to vse therein all the remedie that possibly he could: whereto he was likewise perswaded by Pope HORMISDA, who from *Rome* sent GERMANVS Bishop of *Capra*, to confer with him of matters concerning the faith. Whereupon IVSTINVS sent his decrees through all the East, commaunding that no man should be accepted into the Church for Bishop, or Priest, that should be of the sect of ARRIVS. At what time IVSTINVS did this good deede, TRASIMVND King of the Vandales died in *Africa*, who was an Arrian heretike, and his sonne ELDERICVS possessed his kingdome, whom hee had by the Emperour VALENTINIANS daughter. This man following his faithfull mother, and not his hereticall father, so soone as hee was established in the kingdome, recalled from exile all the Catholike Bishops which his father had banished (as is aboue said) and reformed all the Churches.

Amantius sought to get the Empire for his friend Theocretianus.

The meanes whereby Iustinus gat the Empire.

The treason and death of Vatilianus.

Iustinus the Emperor persecuted the Arrians.

But

But the Emperour and this King hauing done ſo good a deede, THEODORICVS which ruled in *Italy*, being of great power; and for that he was (as the moſt of the Gothes were) an Arrian heretike, was therewith much diſpleaſed; and determined, if the Emperor did not reuoke his decree, to vſe through all his dominion, al manner of crueltie againſt the Catholikes. But firſt he conſtrained Pope IOHN, who ſucceeded HORMISDA, to goe to *Conſtantinople*, and with him THEODORVS, and AGAPETVS (men which had been Conſuls) to treate with the Emperor, to the end that hee preſently ſhould reſtore thoſe Arrian Biſhops which hee had depoſed; otherwiſe that in his dominions he would put to the ſword, all ſuch as did not beleeue as he did. Pope IOHN and the other Ambaſſadours being arriued at *Conſtantinople*, were very honourably receiued; and the Pope with teares intreated the Emperour to be pleaſed, notwithſtanding that his ſute was vniuſt; yet to auoide the exceſſiue crueltie which was expected, for the preſent, to permit the Arrian Biſhops to be reſtored. The Emperour to eſchew this crueltie, granted his requeſt: and ſo the wicked Biſhops were reſtored to their Churches; and the Emperor did Pope IOHN great honour, and thoſe which came with him.

Theodoricus King of the Gothes defended the Arrians.

In the meane time, whileſt they were in *Conſtantinople*, THEODORICVS king of *Italy*, made SIMACHVS, and BOETIVS SEVERINVS to be ſlaine, which had bin Conſuls, and which were very noble and excellent perſonages, very deuout Chriſtians, and excellently learned in all Arts. And not herewith contented, hauing been vntill then a good and a iuſt Prince; but now hauing Pope IOHN and the other Ambaſſadours which came with him from *Conſtantinople* in ſuſpition, by reaſon of the great honour done vnto them by the Emperour, he commaunded them to be apprehended and caſt in priſon; wherein they all three of hunger and cruell vſage died. After which crueltie, it pleaſed God that within ninetie daies he died ſuddenly, leauing a nephew of his called ATHALARICVS for his heire: for he had not any ſonne. And for as much as his nephew was but eight yeeres old, his mother tooke vpon her the gouernment of the kingdome, as a woman which was very wiſe and valorous.

The crueltie of Theodoricus, and his death.

Returning to IVSTINVS the Emperor, I ſay, that it grieued him much what THEODORICVS had done; but he was not of power able to redreſſe the ſame: for beſides the wants and neceſſities wherewith he was oppreſſed, the Perſians made warres againſt him; which were a people of all others moſt feared by the Romanes. But for the ſmall time that he liued, he had good ſucceſſe in thoſe wars, and his Captaines obtained ſome victories; SCITA and BELISARIVS being his Ganerals. Of which two, BELISARIVS (which then was very young) proued afterwards to be one of the beſt Captaines in the world, and which conquered more countries, and obtained more victories, then any other man in his time: as we will hereafter briefly declare. And IVSTINE liuing in this proſperitie, ſeeing himſelfe old, and without any ſonne to ſucceede him, reſolued to make IVSTINIAN, who was his nephew and his ſiſters ſonne, CÆSAR, and to adopt and nominate him for his ſucceſſor; and ſo preſently made him his companion in the Empire. And within foure moneths after, falling ſicke, he died in the citie of *Conſtantinople*, when he had raigned eleuen yeeres, or (as ſome authors write) but nine. I finde little more written of him, then by me is rehearſed. He died in the yeere of our Lord, fiue hundred, nine and twentie; and as ſome ſay, eight and twentie.

The death of the Emperor Iuſtin. Anno Dom. 529.

THE

THE LIFE OF IVSTINIANVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND NINE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter *Iustinus, without any contradiction, succeeded Iustinianus, who amongst his first attempts, made that against the Persians, vnder the leading of Belisarius; which with variable fortune of the warres, in the end he ouercame: Yet he made peace with them afterwards. After this, there ensued a ciuill warre in Constantinople, wherein Iustinian was likely to haue sped but ill; but by meanes of Belsarius, he was freed thereof; notwithstanding that there died therein many thousands of people; which being ended, he returned to make a conqueſt of Africa, which of long time had been vsurped by the Vandales; and getting it, he came againe to Constantinople, where Iustinian prepared him a triumph. But it was not long before the Emperour sent him into Italie against the Gothes, where after many changes of fortune, and treaties of peace, and of truce, hauing taken the citie of Naples (wherein as it seemed consisted the principall hope of the Gothes) he tooke his way towards Rome, wherein he peaceably entred, and defended the same, with great valour, against Vitiges King of the Gothes; whom Belisarius at last tooke prisoner. After this victorie Iustinian recalled Belisarius, to employ him against the Persians, which was the occasion that Italie againe fell into the hands of the Gothes, particularly Rome, which by Totila was burnt and destroyed: and that for no other defect, but for that it could not be relieued by Belisarius, who then was sicke. Who so soone as he had recouered his health, tooke it againe from the Barbarians. And returning againe to Constantinople,*

the ſtate of Italie was very happily gouerned by Narſes an Eunuch. In which time Iuſtinian hauing applied himſelfe to reforme and abridge the lawes; when he had raigned nine and thirtie yeeres, departed out of this life, no leſſe replenished with yeeres then full of glorie.

AFter the death of IVSTINVS, IVSTINIANVS was without any contradiction receiued and obeyed for Emperor; being of the age of foure and fortie yeeres. He was a mightie and a good prince, and ſuch a one, as might wel be compared with the beſt in auncient time, for his good gouernment, both in peace and warre. The warres and conqueſts which happened in his time (which was little leſſe then fortie yeeres) were ſo many, & ſo noble, that I cannot expreſſe the ſame as I would, and as they deſerue; following my accuſtomed breuitie. I will therefore write as I may, notwithſtanding that the length of the time, and the varietie of accidents, will compell me to exceede my prefixed limits.

The beginning of the warres betweene the Emperor Iuſtinian and the Perſians.

So ſoone as IVSTNIANVS ſaw himſelfe confirmed in the Empire, he reſted not contented to conceiue that which he enherited from his vncle; but (bearing the minde and hauing the witte and diſcretion of an auncient and good Emperour) began to deſire, and therewith to practiſe, to enlarge the Empire, and to reduce the ſame (if it were poſſible) to the auncient maieſtie and dignitie thereof. The firſt occaſion of warres that was offered, was againſt the Perſians; which in the time of his predeceſſors, had broken and violated the peace, and had inuaded the bounds of the Romane Empire, and vſurped certaine countries and prouinces thereof, in ſo much (as PROCOPIVS writeth) that for the ſpace of fiftie yeeres before the raigne of IVSTINIAN, in all the warres the Imperialiſts commonly had the worſt, and all concluſions of peace were made to the aduantage of the Perſians.

The cauſe of this warre betweene the Emperour IVSTINIAN, and CAVADAS king of the Perſians, was in truth the emulation and hatred which theſe two Empires, and the Lords thereof had of auncient time borne, and ſtill did beare the one againſt the other, which was continuallie nouriſhed and increaſed, as by that which we haue written may plainely be perceiued. But the occaſion and principall cauſe was this, IVSTINIANVS ſo ſoone as he was Emperour, ſent BELISARIVS, a moſt excellent Captaine, into thoſe frontiers, with direction, in a certaine principall citie, which was in the borders of *Perſia*, to build the ſtrongeſt and moſt inexpugnable caſtle that could be deuiſed; for that citie was one of the entries and paſſages of greateſt importance: which order BELISARIVS preſentlie put in execution. Whereof when CAVADAS was aduertiſed, he was highlie offended, and preſentlie ſent thither Captaines and men of warre, to require BELISARIVS to giue ouer the worke, which if he would not do, that then they ſhould throw downe what he had builded. Theſe men being come to the place where this caſtle was a building, there paſſed many words, and ſome deeds betweene them: and foraſmuch as the builders were not of force ſufficient to make reſiſtance againſt the Perſians, the Emperour ſent thither two captaines, brothers, with ſome companies of ſouldiers. Theſe being there arriued, and the Imperialiſts perſeuering in their building, and the Perſians in hindring the ſame, they came to fight a battaile; wherein the Imperialiſts being fewer in number, were by the Perſians broken and ouerthrowne, and many were ſlaine, others were carried away captiues, and the building was laid leuell with the earth. When IVSTINIAN vnderſtood of this ouerthrow, he preſently made BELISARIVS Generall of all his forces

forces in the East; who as a wise and valiant man, with all expedition raised a very mightie armie; and taking to him another Captain called HERMOGENE (whom the Emperor with a good supplie had sent vnto him) he tooke his way towards the citie of *Duras*, in *Mesopotamia*, which at that time was the frontier of the Persians; where began a cruell warre betweene the one and the other nation. But as IVSTINIAN, to employ and spend his time in recouering some other of those prouinces, which the Empire had lost, desired peace with the Persians, he sent an Ambassadour whose name was RVFINVS, to CAVADAS King of *Persia*, to treate of a peace (if vpon honourable conditions it might be concluded). This Ambassadour being come into the borders where the King was, before that hee was to come to his Court, certaine motions were made of peace, and as they treated thereof, the Imperiall Generals were giuen to vnderstand, that the Persian armie came to seeke them, and was within halfe a daies iourney, and had for Generall thereof, a great man called PEROZAS, who was a Mirranes, which was the name of a Magistrate, of great dignitie and authoritie in *Persia*. Whereupon BELISARIVS set his troupes in order, and the two Campes came to lodge very neere the one to the other; and so they continued the space of two or three daies, ranging themselues euery day in order of battell, either partie expecting when the other should charge. Vpon one of those daies, certaine Archers of the one and other side began a skirmish, whereupon the squadrons moued and brake the one vpon the other, and fought in such manner, that it was a very cruell and a very bloudie battaile, and lasted vntill neere night: wherein the Romanes in the right wing had the worse, and the better in the left; and euery Captaine did his best to obtaine the victorie: but in the end the Romanes preuailed, and made great slaughter of their enemies; and PEROSAS the Mirranes escaped by flight.

Belisarius made Generall against the Persians.

Perozas Generall for the King of Persia.

A battaile with the Persians, wherein Belizarius had the victorie.

BELISARIVS hauing obtained this notable victorie, within few daies after recouered some places in *Mesopotamia*, which the Persians had vsurped; wherein also passed sundrie doubtfull conflicts and encounters. In the kingdome of *Armenia*, wherein the Persians held many places, SITTAS being Generall, and DOROTHEVS Pretor; the warres were made with the like good fortune, and the Imperiall armie obtaining victorie, recouered the most part of what was lost. The warres standing on these termes, and kindled euery where, RVFINVS (who we said went Ambassadour to the King of *Persia*) vpon safe conduct came to his Court, and had many treaties and discourses with him; but no peace could be concluded: and CAVADAS determining to prosecute the warres a new, to the end to be satisfied for the losses which his people had receiued; by the counsell of ALAMANDER, a valiant old Captaine of his (who in times past had gotten many victories against the Romanes) he made EZARETHA Generall of his armie, a man both valiant and of great experience, and a Persian borne. With whom BELISARIVS, together with SITTAS the other Generall, after some encounters, came to a battaile, which was one of the most cruell and the greatest of all that happened in those warres.

Sittas Generall for Iustinian in Armenia, ouercame the Persians.

Alamander.

Ezaretha Generall of the Persians.

This battaile was fought neere to the riuer *Euphrates*, and much against the opinion of BELISARIVS, who knowing that the enemie had the aduantage, would not haue fought: but his troupes against his will, prepared themselues thereto. Whereupon he seeing their determination, marshalled and encouraged them against the Persians, which were alreadie in order. And the fight began with so great furie and obstinacie of both sides, that for the greatest part of the day, it appeared not whether partie should haue the victorie, vntill such time as the Im-

perialists being vnable any longer to endure the labour and toile thereof, for they were fasting, being Easter euen (Christians of our age may see how inuiolably fasting daies were obserued in those times) they disbanded, and began to scatter. Whereupon the Persian horsemen charged BELISARIVS his horse troupes with such force, that the Romanes brake, and began to flie, and the like did the other squadrons of foote. Which when BELISARIVS perceiued, after that he had vsed all meanes to stay them, and to haue renewed the fight, and could not preuaile, he alighted from his horse, and placed himselfe in a squadron of footemen, which kept together whole and vnbroken, and encouraging them with his presence, they all resolued rather to die, then to be ouerthrowne. And EZARETHA and the Persians, which followed the chace of those which fled, seeing that squadron to remaine whole, returned with great furie, thinking easily to haue had the execution of them: but they failed of their purpose, for they kept themselues so close together that they could not be broken, and fought so valiantly, that they did the Persians more harme, then they receiued from them. And so vntill night held their ground, and kept themselues in such order, that EZARETHA and his people were faine to leaue them. But they had the ransacking of their Tents, and so returned to their Campe. And BELISARIVS in very good order withdrew himselfe to a little Iland, which the riuer *Euphrates* maketh in that place, whither the greatest part of his people which fled, were alreadie retired. And there the next day he againe set himselfe in order, and gathered together his souldiers: but the Persians holding themselues for victorious had the spoile of the field. After this iourney EZARETHA remoued his Campe to another quarter; for there hee had receiued greater losse then BELISARIVS; in so much that CAVADAS King of *Persia* vnderstanding what number of men were lost in that battaile, held not himselfe content, nor for well serued in that victorie. And dying within few daies after, his sonne COSROES succeeded him in his kingdome, with whom, after many ambassades and treaties, a peace was concluded; and BELISARIVS reconquered other countries, which other nations held in the East. And so much honored and victorious, being sent for, by the Emperor IVSTINIAN for the warres in *Africa*, SITTAS remaining Generall, he came to *Constantinople*, where he was receiued in triumph with great solemnitie.

A cruell battaile.

Cauadas King of Persia dying, his sonne Cosroes succeeded.

This being past, within few daies after there followed so great an vprore and tumult in the citie of *Constantinople*, that it was likely to haue gone ill with IVSTINIANVS: for this hurly burly in the beginning, growing from the factions of the common people, came to that point that IPATIVS and POMPEY brethren, the most principall men of that citie, with the fauour of the people which tooke their part, they being the Emperor ANASTATIVS his sisters sonnes, arose against IVSTINIAN; and IPATIVS took the Ensignes and name of Emperor, and in such manner warred within the citie, that thirtie thousand persons were slaine therein. But in the end the said IPATIVS was taken and slaine, and IVSTINIANS troupes remained victorious: wherein BELISARIVS did him especiall seruice aboue all others. And afterwards punishing such as were offenders, confisking their goods, the conspiracies and troubles were all appeazed, and IVSTINIAN liued more in peace, and in better estimation then euer before. But soone after followed the warres of *Africa*, the occasion whereof grew through the dissension betweene GENSERICVS his nephewes, the first King of the Vandales that euer raigned in *Africa*, which was after this manner: YLDERICVS one of the nephewes of GENSERICVS succeeding in that kingdom, in contention and in despite of another

A great tumult in Constantinople.

Ipatius rebelled in Constantinople, and was slaine by Iustinian.

ther which was his cosin germane, and nephew also of the said GENSERICVS whose name was GILIMER, both which pretended to haue title to the kingdome; vpon what occasion for breuitie I will omit. This YLDERICVS grew to be so retchlesse and negligent, that GILIMER who was both wise and valiant, tooke him prisoner, and against all reason made himselfe King and Lord of all *Africa*: vnder this title, that the other was vncapeable and insufficient for the gouernment. Wherewith the Emperor IVSTINIAN was very much displeased: for before that he was Emperour, hee held friendship with YLDERICVS, which was now depriued of his kingdome. Whereupon (after that he had required GILIMER by his Ambassadours to render the kingdome to his cosin YLDERICVS, (which he refusing to performe) he resolued to make a conquest of the kingdoms of *Africa*; and rigged vp a mightie Nauie, and sent the noble Generall BELISARIVS vpon that seruice; and to that effect commaunded a great armie to be leuied, with which BELISARIVS imbarking himselfe, accompanied with many excellent Captaines in fiue hundred saile of shios, and fourescore and twelue gallies, he began his voiage towards *Africa*. Wherein a great man borne in that countrie, whose name was PRVDENTIVS, was risen against GILIMER, in the citie of *Tripoli*, in the behalfe of the Emperor IVSTINIAN; and another Captaine in *Sardinia*, whose name was GODAS, had done the like. So that when BELISARIVS arriued in *Africa*, he found some which tooke his part; aud hauing landed his armie neere vnto a citie called *Tittimuth*, marching along the Sea coast he tooke his way towards *Carthage*; and his Nauie did the like by Sea. When the tyrant King GILIMER vnderstood of the comming of BELISARIVS; with the armie which he had in readines he departed from that citie wherein he first intituled himselfe King, and sent commaundement to his brother called AMATA, whom he left in *Carthage* for the guard of the citie, and of YLDERICVS the deposed King, that he should presently kill him, and such other prisoners as were in his power; and that then with his whole force he should sallie out and take the field against BELISARIVS, and at a certaine time appointed should fight with him; for that he at that same instant would charge him in the arreregard. And he sent another Captaine all the day long to trouble him on one side, and to tire his people with continuall alarmes. To be briefe, there passed many things in that iourney worthie to be noted, and comming neere to the citie of *Carthage*, AMATA beginning to fight at such time as his brother had appointed, was slaine by BELISARIVS his Vauntguard: And GILIMER without hauing any intelligence thereof, with his troupes so resolutely charged in the Arrereguard, that the Imperialists began to retire in such manner, that if GILIMER had not made an Alt, PROCOPIVS affirmeth that it was euident, that he had that day had the victorie. But when it was told him that his brother was dead, he caused his troupes to stand. And BELISARIVS his souldiers vnderstanding of the good successe of their Auantguard, which was farre before them, being by him animated and encouraged, returned to fight, with such furie, that GILIMER was wholy ouerthrowne and scattered, and many of his people slaine, and hee by flight saued his life; and his souldiers which escaped from the battaile, straggled into diuers parts; vpon which greater execution had been done, if night had not ouertaken them. The next day after this battaile, BELISARIVS marched with his armie towards the citie of *Carthage*, where he arriued that same day in the euening, and found no resistance, for they opened their ports, and made great lights to haue receiued him: but hee would not by night come into an enemies citie, leauing it vntill the next day, and

The occasion of the conquest of Africa against Gilimer king thereof.

Belisarius went to the warres of Africa.

Belisarius being arriued in Africa, King Gilimer came against him.

Amata brother to Gilimer.

A battaile wherein king Gilimer was ouerthrowne.

Belisarius entred Carthage with victorie.

and then entred with great quietnes, without any robberie or murther committed by any of his people, for so had hee commaunded: For his authoritie and reputation was such, that no man durst doe to the contrarie. The Vandales which were in *Carthage*, withdrew themselues to the temples, and churches; and BELISARIVS graunting them their liues, commaunded them to come forth, vpon his word, which hee held inuiolably; possessing himselfe of that citie, commaunded the walles thereof to be repaired, which were in many places decaied, which was the occasion why GILIMER did not draw himselfe thither. BELISARIVS being thus in *Carthage*, sent in post a principall captaine called SALOMON to the Emperour IVSTINIAN, to giue him to vnderstand of all, what had passed. And GILIMER which escaped from the battaile, recouered certaine fields of *Getulia*, called *Bulla*, which are foure daies march from *Carthage*: where (as a man no way dismaied) he gathered togethers his troupes which were scattered, and leuied other new; and also sent in great hast, to recall his brother ZAZON, who then was in *Sardinia*, whither hee had sent him against GODAS, which (as we said) was risen in that Iland against GILIMER, whom ZAZON had ouerthrowne and slaine, and recouered the Ile. But ZAZON seeing the message from his brother left all, and came with his forces to ioyne with him. GILIMER after that his brother was come, hauing recouered a sufficient armie, tooke his way towards *Carthage*, to besiege BELISARIVS therein, or to giue him battaile, if he would come forth and fight: but BELISARIVS for certaine daies, would not take the field, vntill that he had throughly repaired the walles of the citie, and taken order for the rest. Which being done, he tooke the field with his armie, drawing very neere to GILIMER; who attended his comming. The next day, the one armie hauing sight of the other, either of the commaunders set his people in order; and the fight, on either side began with such furie, that in the first charge, ZAZON, GILIMERS brother was slaine, and certaine other principall men of the Vandales; which stroke such a feare amongst them, that they began to faint: and BELISARIVS charging with his squadron, they turned their backes and fled to their campe, which they had very well fortified; and GILIMER vnable to stay them, did the like. BELISARIVS gathering together his forces, both of foote and horse, the very same day in the euening, made towards GILIMERS campe, with intent to haue assaulted it, and to haue accomplished his victorie. When King GILIMER saw his battailions come, knowing that there he was not able to defend himselfe, with some few seruants which followed him, he fled: and BELISARIVS with little resistance, by reason of the Kings absence, gat their campe, his souldiers putting to the sword all those which they therein found able to beare armes, tooke all the women and children captiues; and in the campe they found an infinit quantitie of gold, siluer, money and iewels: Which (as PROCOPIVS affirmeth) was one of the greatest and richest spoiles that euer was seene or taken. For the Vandales hauing no place of refuge which they accounted safe, carried their gold, siluer, money, and all their treasure with them: So as within one houre they lost all that they had stolne, and gotten together in *Africa*, in fourescore and fifteene yeeres. For so long had they been in possession thereof.

King Gilimer escaped from the battaile.

Zazon brother to King Gilimer came to his aide with succour.

The second battaile and victorie obtained by Belisarius against Gilimer.

The Vandales held Africa nintie fiue yeeres.

The next day, BELISARIVS, to let slip no occasion, dispatched an excellent captaine called IOHN, with a good troupe of horse to pursue GILIMER, he himselfe purposing to doe the like; and leauing good order in all things in *Carthage*, and a sufficient garrison therein, he followed with some the most pickt men

of

of his armie. King GILIMER riding without any ſtay, reſted himſelfe in certaine inexpugnable mountaines and rockes in the prouince of *Numidia*, called *Papua*, inhabited by a people called Mauruſij, which were great friends to the Vandales. But before that he came thither it miſt but a little, that he had not been taken by IOHN, and he eſcaped out of his hands when he was very neere vnto him. But it was his ill hap that one of his ſouldiers ſhot at a bird, and miſſing it, ſlew his captaine, who being ſhot through the throte, fell downe dead; and by that meane had GILIMER oportunitie to eſcape, and to take the rockes and mountaines, where he had not ſtaied long, but BELISARIVS came. But foraſmuch as it ſeemed a long peece of worke to take thoſe rockes, wherein GILIMER was, by force of armes; he left one PHARAS a captaine, with ſufficient forces to encompas GILIMER round about; ſo as by no meanes he could eſcape. And he with the reſt of the troupes returned to *Carthage*, and in his going and comming, tooke many townes; and much people with great ioy and contentment came to doe him ſeruice, glad to ſee themſelues deliuered from ſo great ſeruitude, and ſo reſtored to the libertie of the Empire. And being come to *Carthage*, for the full accompliſhment of his victorie, he ſent a captaine to take the Ile of *Sardinia*, and ſent other captaines into *Mauritania*, and ſo into diuers parts, in all which he had moſt happie ſucceſſe: for the Vandales in all places (for the moſt part) were ill beloued. So as in little more then fower monethes, BELISARIVS reconquered all *Africa*, after that the Empire had loſt the ſame the ſpace of fowerſcore and ſixteene yeeres. And truly it was a wonderfull thing: for all that people were Arrian heretikes, and for ſuch the ſame IVSTINIAN recordeth them, in his booke *de officio pretoris*: wherein although that he ſaith, that there were one hundred and fiftie yeeres expired after that *Africa* was loſt, it doth not therefore gaineſay the nintie and ſixe, as I haue reported: For that was written nine yeeres afterwards, and he ſpeaketh according to the day of the making of that law. But the truth is, that they poſſeſſed *Africa* but nintie ſixe yeeres. PHARAS which remained behinde, to beſiege King GILIMER, begirt him in on euery ſide, in ſuch manner, that GILIMER ſeeing no other remedie, after many letters which paſt betweene them, yeelded himſelfe vpon ſecuritie of his life: which aſſurance BELISARIVS ſent vnto him; and to certaine his kinſmen which were with him. And PHARAS ſo ſoone as he had him in his poſſeſſion, came with him to *Carthage* to BELISARIVS, who receiued and entertained him very honorablie. And ſo accompliſhed the great BELISARIVS his victories and enterpriſes, which truely was a marueilous matter and worthie of great conſideration, if we call to minde the valour and power of thoſe Vandales, and the great victories which they obtained againſt the Romanes, of which we haue touched ſome. BELISARIVS preſently ſent to giue the Emperour IVSTINIAN to vnderſtand of the ſucceſſe and iſſue of the warres, and to entreate him to giue him leaue to make his repaire vnto him, and to bring GILIMER with him. Whereto IVSTINIAN aunſwered, that he ſhould doe therein what beſt pleaſed him, either to continue in the gouernment of *Africa*, or to repaire to him at his pleaſure. But BELISARIVS to cleere himſelfe of certaine whiſpering mutterings, vniuſtly raiſed againſt him, choſe rather to goe to *Conſtantinople*, and left SALOMON before named for generall and gouernor of *Africa*, with good part of his armie; who afterwards had warres with the Mauruſij, which rebelled, and he ſubdued, although with great daunger and trouble.

The flight and purſuite of King Gilimer.

Gilimer beſieged by Pharas.

Beliſarius conquered all Africa in little more then foure monethes, which had been held by the Vandales nintie ſixe yeeres.

Gilimer brought priſoner to Beliſarius.

Beliſarius left Salomon gouernor of Africa.

BELISARIVS followed his iourney, leading with him the King and many of

his kindred, men and women prisoners, with infinite iewels, treasure and riches, which was the greatest and best part of all that the Vandales had robbed and stolne from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Africa*, and other prouinces, in almost a hundred yeeres before. And being come to *Constantinople*, the Emperour commaunded him to be receiued in triumph, with all the ceremonies and solemnities, which the Romane Consuls in old time, and the Emperors afterwards, triumphed in *Rome*.

Belisarius his triumph.

The historie of IVSTINIAN of force must be longer then that of many other Emperors, as well for that he raigned a long time, as also for that the accidents which happened in that time, were great and notable, and the feates of armes done in that time, noble and excellent: wherefore it shall not be well done to leaue to speake thereof. And I doe also know, and (as I think) haue said, that the readers take pleasure in reading of great battailes, straunge aduentures, conquests of countries, and alterations of kingdomes and estates: wherefore the histories of peaceable Princes, and of happie times, without warres and desasters, are nothing like so pleasing, as are those which treate of slaughters, ruines of estates, alterations of kingdomes, notable victories, insurrections, factions, tumults, rebellions, and finally great accidents whether good or euill: for which cause the bookes of lies and fables are read, and doe commonly please: for that they kill and teare in peeces thousands of men, batter cities, and faine things in a manner impossible. Herein I following the aduice of HORACE, haue determined to take care as well to please, as to profit the reader (when I may) with the truth; relating sometimes the great deedes of armes, without concealing the examples of peace also, and the good conditions and customes of the peaceable and gentle Princes, reprooving and condemning vice and sinne, by detesting and abhorring those which vsed and committed the same. For therefore principally histories are written, and are to be read; to the end that reading vile matters and wicked actions, the readers may eschew them, and follow those which are good and vertuous. And by the variable aduentures and accidents they may be aduised, and frame the rule of their liues according to such things as may befall them.

To what end histories are to be read.

But returning to our purpose, BELISARIVS rested not long in *Constantinople*, before that IVSTINIAN gaue him the charge of the warres, and conquest of *Italy*, and *Sicilie*, against the Gothes, and THEODATVS who at that time was Lord thereof: which enterprise was held to be of no lesse importance and perill, then that of *Africa*; and the successe thereof shewed it afterwards to be farre greater, in regard of the great battailes and slaughters which followed therein. The originall and beginning of this warre summarily was such, as in the end of the life of the Emperour IVSTIN was by vs related. For the great and redoubted King THEODORICVS being dead, his nephew ATHALARICVS (for that he had no sonne) succeeded him in the kingdome of *Italy*, being of the age of eight yeeres. Wherefore his mother AMALASVNTA had the gouernment of the kingdome, which began to rule with infinit wisedome, and to bring vp her sonne in vertuous exercises, and in the studie of learning and good letters. But it was not long before that contentions and factions arose betweene her and her sonnes kindred; and particularly the malice and enuie grew betweene her and THEODATVS, cosin germane to ATHALARICVS. Whereupon she seeing her self oppressed, gaue the charge of the bringing vp of her son to certaine principall men of them, and leauing him in *Rome*, she came to *Rauenna*, where she still had great authoritie in the gouernment. And the enmitie encreasing betweene her and THEODATVS, who was a man of great power, and openly had made himselfe Lord of the pro-

Theodatus vncle to Atalaricus procured the kingdome of Italy for himselfe.

uince

uince of *Tuſcane*; either of them, to wit, AMALASVNTA and THEODATVS ſought the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the Emperor IVSTINIAN, and promiſed to giue him entrance into *Italy*. As matters ſtood in this point, the young King ATHALARICVS died, wherewith AMALASVNTA was greatly troubled, and very hartely ſorrie, for that ſhe was a widow enuied, and ill beloued of the moſt principall men of the Gothes. And afterwards ſtudying with her ſelfe what courſe was beſt to be taken, ſhe reſolued to come to an agreement with THEODATVS, and to make him King of *Italy*, perſwading her ſelf that he for ſo great a benefit, could not chuſe but be her faithfull friend: and that ſhe ſhould ſtill hold the authoritie, and he the name and title of King. She hauing reſolued hereupon, procured certaine treaties, and a meeting to be had: where, after long diſcourſe and great promiſes, bound with ſolemne othes, made by the one and other partie, ſhe proclaimed him King of *Italy*; and hee ioyning his power with her forces (which were greater then his) without difficultie obtained the kingdome, and all men obeied him. But this deuice prooued ill with AMALASVNTA: neither was it any ſound courſe for her; for ſo ſoone as THEODATVS ſaw himſelfe an abſolute Lord, and in poſſeſſion, he began to rule; little to her liking, and within few daies commanded her to be apprehended, and in the end to be put to death, like an ingratefull and wicked Chriſtian. IVSTINIAN being aduertiſed hereof, was highly diſpleaſed (for he tooke part with AMALASVNTA) and deteſting ſo vile a fact, holding this for a good occaſion, through the deſire which he had to recouer *Italy* to the Empire, he reſolued ſuddenly to make open warre againſt THEODATVS, in hope to make a conqueſt thereof by armes, which before he ſought by wiles and ſecret practiſes. And to that effect he choſe BELISARIVS for General of his armie, who then came triumphing and victorious from *Africa*. IVSTINIAN at that time had an Ambaſſadour in *Italy*, called PETER, who went thither to treate of peace between AMALASVNTA & THEODATVS, with whō THEODATVS took great paine to come to ſome conditions of peace, for he greatly feared the power of IVSTINIAN: and whileſt that he was buſie hereabouts, BELISARIVS arriued with a Nauie and an armie in *Sicilia*, for that he held it expedient firſt to take that Iland, and ſuddenly landing his men, he preſently took the citie of *Catania*, & within few daies after marched towards *Sarragoſſa*, and with the like fortune entred and took the ſame, and did the like by many other townes and cities. And then he marched to *Palermo*, where hee found greater force and reſiſtance, for it defended it ſelfe certaine daies, and many men were ſlaine of both parties: but thoſe which were within it fearing their deſtruction, yeelded themſelues to BELISARIVS; and ſo did all the reſt of the Iland. Such was his expedition and good hap in the warres. And for as much as he (for his fame) was greatly feared, THEODATVS ſeeing what was happened in *Sicilia*, ſtanding in feare of him, treated with this Ambaſſadour PETER concerning certaine conditions of peace; wherein he renounced his right to *Sicilia*: and that in *Italy* in all decrees and proclamations that ſhould be made, IVSTINIAN ſhould be firſt named, and that euery yeere THEODATVS ſhould ſend him a crowne of gold, in token of ſubiection, and other things which PROCOPIVS ſetteth downe at large. And PETER being departed with this meſſage, feare ſo much encreaſed in THEODATVS, that hee ſent vpon the way to recall the Ambaſſadour which he had ſent with PETER, whoſe name was RVSTICVS; and making him to ſweare, that hee ſhould not reueale his determination, vntill that he came into the preſence of the Emperor, and ſaw whether he would accept of the firſt offer, or no; and if that he did not, that then he ſhould offer the whole

Theodatus apprehended Amalaſunta, and cauſed her to be ſlaine.

Beliſarius tooke Sicilia.

Theodatus offered to render the kingdome of Italy into the hands of Iustinian.

whole kingdome of *Italie* to IVSTINIAN, vpon condition, that he ſhould giue him ſome lands and poſſeſſions in *Græcia* or elſe where, where he might liue. And to that effect he wrote a notable letter to the Emperour, with his owne hand. When IVSTINIAN had heard and vnderſtood the firſt offer made by THEODATVS, as he was a valorous prince, and of an hautie ſtomacke, he would not accept thereof: whereupon the Ambaſſadours diſcouered the ſecond, wherein he offered him *Italie*, wherewith he was exceedingly glad, and wrote a gratious letter to THEODATVS, and therewith ſent Ambaſſadors to eſtabliſh the agreement, and to commaund BELISARIVS that making an end in *Sicilia*, he ſhould paſſe ouer into *Italie*, and poſſeſſe himſelfe of the forces thereof; which was not ſo concluded. For in the meane time that theſe Ambaſſadors went and came, THEODATVS his captaines had obtained a notable victorie, and had ſlaine MVNDVS, and his ſonne MAVRICIVS, which were IVSTINIANS captaines in *Slauonia*, and had defeated the Imperiall armie. By reaſon of his victorie THEODATVS grew ſo proud, that hee not onely refuſed to accompliſh what he had offered, but faining himſelfe much diſpleaſed with ſome ſpeeches vſed to him by IVSTINIANS Ambaſſadors, cauſed them to be apprehended. This alſo encreaſed his preſumption: for at that inſtant BELISARIVS was gone out of *Sicilia* into *Africa* to reſcue SALOMON, whom he had left there. For a Captaine called ESTORZAS, mutined with the greateſt part of the armie, and making himſelfe Lord of the countrie, did put to death the Iudges and gouernors thereof. But BELISARIVS arriuing in *Africa*, tooke ſuch order that within very few daies he ouercame them in battaile, and vſed extreme puniſhment in the countrie: and ſo leauing all in peace and quiet, returned into *Italie*, where he found the affaires of *Italie*, in ſuch ſtate as before ſaid. At this time (as PROCOPIVS writeth) there was ſeene ſo prodigious a ſight in the ſunne, as the like hath neuer been heard of, which was, that the greateſt part of one whole yeere the ſunne gaue ſo little light, that it was but equall with or little more then the light of the moone, the skie being cleere and without clowdes, or any other thing to ſhadow the ſame. And ſo without any apparant occaſion, it was obſcured all that time; which, as it was afterwards deemed, was the occaſion of the famine and want of graine, which generally enſued through all the world, and did prognoſticate the warres and effuſion of blood, which afterwards followed in *Italie*.

Theodatus refuſed to performe his promiſe.

The ſunne gaue very little light for the ſpace of almoſt a whole yeere.

IVSTINIAN ſeeing the inconſtancie of THEODATVS aforeſaid, and being greatly diſpleaſed with the death of his captaines in *Dalmacia*, and the impriſonment of his Ambaſſadours in *Italie*, with great wiſedome and the minde and deſire of a worthie prince, prouiding for both occaſions, ſent into *Dalmacia* and *Slauonia* for his generall, a valiant captaine whoſe name was CONSTANTIVS, who recouered much of that which was loſt, and renewed the warre in that part. And as for the affaires of *Italie*, he commaunded BELISARIVS ſpeedely to enter it, with the greateſt power that he could. Who with his accuſtomed expedition and courage, left, in the fortreſſes and ſtrong holds of *Sicilia*, ſuch garriſons as he thought good, and tranſported his armie into *Italie* at the ſtreight of *Meſſina*, and began to ſeiſe on the places and townes neere the ſea ſide, without finding any armie to hinder him, and ſo he conquered all the coaſt to the cittie of *Naples*, wherein THEODATVS had put a great garriſon of the Gothes, which valiantly defended the ſame. Where paſſed many conflicts, and the beſieged ſent ſecretly to craue reliefe, but in vaine, for in the end they were taken by force of armes, and the ſouldiers had great ſpoile, and made great ſlaughter of the Gothes. But BE-

Beliſarius came with great power into Italy.

LISARIVS the next day assembling his armie tooke such order with the souldiers, that they set all the inhabitants of the citie at libertie, and restored to them the greatest part of the goods which were taken from them, contenting themselues with the spoile of their enemies onely, sparing the citizens; to which they protested the cause of their comming to haue been to set them at libertie. Great was the feare which the taking of *Naples* strake into the Gothes; for they held it for impregnable. Wherefore all the principall men and captaines of them, seeing the small prouision that THEODATVS made, and assuring them that BELISARIVS would not continue long in *Naples*, before that he would come to *Rome*, one of them inuiting another, they met at a place neere vnto it, and after long debating and consultation vpon the matter, they chose a wise and valiant captaine for their King, whose name was VITIGES, to the end that he should presently take order for the leuying of men of warre, and the defence of the countrie against BELISARIVS. Which when THEODATVS vnderstoode, who then was in *Rome*, deeming himselfe there to be in no securitie, he fled thence towards *Rauenna*, but he was ouertaken vpon the way by a captaine called OPTARES, whom VITIGES sent to pursue him; and so was slaine by his commandement, when he had raingned three yeeres King of *Italie*. THEODATVS being dead, VITIGES called a counsell, and being of opinion that he had not power sufficient to attend BELISARIVS in *Rome*, neither to sally forth to fight with him in the fields, resolued therefore to goe to *Rauenna*, and there raising sufficient forces, thence to returne to giue him battaile. And he was the rather induced thereto for that he stood in doubt of the French, which had declared themselues for the Emperour. And being thus resolued, he left for gouernour of *Rome* a captaine whose name was BADERES, with fower thousand mercinarie souldiers in garrison, and encouraging the citizens to defend themselues, he tooke his way towards *Rauenna*. BELISARIVS leauing a good guarde and garrison in *Naples*, marched with his armie towards *Rome*; where the inhabitants knowing of his comming, resolued that they would not stand vpon their defence, but opened the portes and let him in, and they so agreed together, that the Gothes could not let it, but held it for their best course to be gone. And it so happened, that in one selfesame day, and at one instant, BELISARIVS entred at one port, and they sallied out at another. Who after that he had made a most excellent speech to the Senate, and encouraged them to embrace their libertie, presently applied himselfe to repaire the walles and euery where to fortifie the citie; bringing in victuals and prouision from all parts. For all the countrie round about was at commaundement. In the meane while, the new King VITIGES, who was neither idle, nor a coward, left nothing vndone that might encrease his power against BELISARIVS. First he concluded a peace with the King of *France*, to the end that he should not be his aduersarie, and gaue him those lands which THEODORICVS held in *France*, thereby to be the better assured of his friendship: and sending for his ordinarie captaines and souldiers which he vsually held in *France*, he commaunded them to come and ioyne with him. And from *Germanie* and other parts he procured all the aide that he possibly could. Finally, he vsed such meanes, that he raised in *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, one hundred and fiftie thousand men, of foote and horse; very good souldiers, and the most of them very well armed. With this armie he began to march towards *Rome*, wherein BELISARIVS was; but not with any such force as might suffice to take the field, or to fight with so great an enemie. Whereupon King VITIGES (nothing doubting

The Gothes discontented with Theodatus chose Vitiges for their King.

Theodatus slaine by the commaundement of Vitiges.

Belisarius entred Rome.

Vitiges leuied an armie of 150000 men of foote and horse.

doubting of the victorie) grew ſo proud, that he not onely tooke care that BELISARIVS ſhould not flie and abandon *Italie*, but by the way he euer asked, whether BELISARIVS were fled or no: and reioyced infinitly when it was told him that he fortified himſelfe in *Rome*; and that it ſeemed, that he meant there to abide his comming. But the valorous BELISARIVS was farre from that which VITIGES ſuppoſed, for he was reſolued rather to die, then to abandon what he had gotten. But ſeeing his ſmall power, in reſpect of his aduerſarie, hee ſent to BLESSVS and CONSTANTIANVS, captaines which he had ſent into the marches, that they ſhould preſently returne to *Rome* with their troupes, where he was with his, and had fortified and furniſhed the citie; with a reſolution to defend the ſame, and to ſtoppe the enemie, if he purpoſed to goe forwards, to recouer what he had gotten in *Campania*, *Pulia*, and *Calabria*. But VITIGES held on his way directly towards *Rome*, imagining that it could not be held: and at his arriuall there happened ſo great and ſo notable an accident, that although I know it will ſomewhat detaine me, yet I will deſcribe it. BELISARIVS at a bridge ouer the riuer *Tiber*, about a mile from *Rome* where VITIGES ſhould paſſe, had cauſed two very ſtrong towers to bee builded, and placed therein a very good guard to entertaine the enemie; but VITIGES being come with his armie, thoſe which had the guarde at the bridge, one night were in ſuch feare, that without any fight they preſently gaue vp the place; and the ſame night VITIGES began to paſſe ouer a great part of his armie. The next morning, BELISARIVS ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, ſallied forth of *Rome* with a thouſand choiſe horſe, and came towards the bridge, to the end to chuſe a fit place to lodge his people, for the defence and ſtopping of the paſſage; but being come ſomewhat neere vnto it, he ſuddenly met with VITIGES his men at armes, who that night had paſſed the riuer by the bridge: wherewith BELISARIVS was ſo much deſpited (imagining that thoſe which guarded the bridge had been loſt) that with leſſe diſcretion then he ought, hee began to fight with VITIGES his people; with ſo great rage and furie, that there followed a cruell fight, ſo as VITIGES his vauntguard retired to the battailion, wherein he himſelfe was; whence he charged with ſo great a troupe of Gothes, that BELISARIVS his companie was held for loſt, and he in his owne perſon did wonders, ſlaying and wounding many of his enemies, and charged ſo farre in amongſt them, that all authors which write thereof affirme, that he diſcharged the part of an excellent man at armes, but not of a good and diſcreet generall. For he put his perſon in ſuch daunger, that he was held for dead, and ſo it was preſently reported in *Rome* by ſome of his people which fled. He being in this diſtreſſe, wherein he loſt many of his friends and ſeruants, being vnable any longer to maintaine the fight, his people began to retire a maine gallop, and he did the like, after that they had ſlaine a thouſand of the Gothes. And many of VITIGES his horſemen purſued them, euen to the very gates of *Rome*, which were ſhut, and thoſe which held the guard there, would not open them, for feare with them to let in the enemie. And for that with the noiſe and callings, they knew not BELISARIVS by his voice, whom they accounted for dead, he hauing fought the greateſt part of the day was driuen to leane to the wall, and raunging his ſouldiers into a ſquadron, made head againſt the enemie; and ſo continued fighting without any meate or ſuſtenance, vntill it was night, in the which he did a valorous, though a daungerous and deſperate exploit, which was, that he charged the Gothes with ſuch furie, that they all beleeued (through the darkeneſſe of the night) that great troupes had ſallied forth of the citie; and in this

Vitiges marched towards Rome againſt Beliſarius.

A ſtrange encounter.

A deſperat attempt.

doubt

doubt they began to retire towards their campe, BELISARIVS ſtill charging them in the arrereguard, vntill that he found a free place, and then returned; and comming to the port, was knowne and receiued into the citie with his people, although by many, fewer in number then they ſallied. And ſo he eſcaped this perillous conflict, with a great number of arrowes ſticking in his horſe and armour, and had ſome blowes and cuttes with the ſword, but none of them touched his fleſh, which was held for a wonder, by thoſe which ſaw in how great daunger he had been.

The next day VITIGES arriued, and ouerranne the fields of *Rome*, and being vnable to beſiege the citie round on euery ſide, by reaſon of the greatnes thereof, he diuiding his armie, beſieged it with ſixe campes; and foraſmuch as it would be too long to recite the conflicts which paſſed in that ſiege, they were ſo great and ſtrange, I will leaue them all. Onely let this ſuffice to know, that it was one of the moſt terrible and bloudie ſieges that euer was before any citie; for it continued one whole yeere and nine daies, and the firſt ſeauen monethes of that time, VITIGES and his Gothes, which were moſt valiant men, neuer ceaſed to batter and aſſault the citie on all parts; where they did, and receiued much hurt. And BELISARIVS and his people neuer ſuffered their aduerſaries to reſt, neither forbare to ſallie forth and to fight with them in the fields, ſo as in skirmiſhes and ſallies (writers affirme) that they ſlew aboue fortie thouſand of the Gothes; in which time he did maruailes in armes, aſwell for valour and hardineſſe, as for wiſedome and policie, as an excellent captaine. The Emperour IVSTINIAN was not careleſſe of this ſiege, but ſent reliefe and ſuccor both of men an munition to BELISARIVS; and ſo ſent him certaine captaines and companies of horſe and foote, with corne and other victuales, which without great trouble and daunger could not come to *Rome*. But this was not ſo ſufficient, but that in *Rome* they endured extreme famine. Yet that notwithſtanding, he carried the matter ſo wiſe and valiantly, that VITIGES ſeeing himſelfe and his armie tired, and weakned, ſought to take a truce with him, which was concluded for three monethes: but it continued not ſo long, for VITIGES through the cunning and treacherie of ſome, demaunded to haue leaue to come in, and to ſee the citie, within the time of the truce: whereupon the warres againe began. And BELISARIVS ſent commaundement to a captaine of his called IOHN, who was Marſhall of his armie, that he ſhould make cruell warres in the marches of *Rauenna*, whither he had ſent him with aboue two thouſand horſe, and certaine other ſouldiers before the time of the truce, imagining that he harrying that quarter, VITIGES would riſe from before *Rome*. And ſo the ſaid captaine ſped ſo well in his enterpriſe, that he tooke the citie of *Arimino*, and other places. And VITIGES ſtanding in feare to loſe *Rauenna*, raiſed his ſiege from before *Rome*, and returned to defend the reſt. But in his retreit BELISARIVS charged him ſo ſoundly in the arrierguard, that he ſlew a great number of his people. And ſo with ſhame, diſhonor, and diminution of his power, VITIGES returned to the countrie of *Rauenna*, and very reſolutely beſieged the citie *Arimino*, wherein this captaine IOHN was. And BELISARIVS to auoide loſſe of time, leuying ſuch forces as he could get, ſtaied not any longer, but whileſt he went to *Naples*, and fortified that citie, and then hee preſently tooke his way towards *Rauenna*, and ſo the warres were renewed in diuers parts of *Italie*. And to BELISARIVS came a captaine, ſent by IVSTINIAN, whoſe name was NARSES, who was an Eunuch, with a great number of ſouldiers. This NARSES afterwards was Generall and an excellent man,

Rome terribly beſieged and aſſaulted by the Gothes.

Vitiges beſieged Rome.

Rome hardly beſieged.

Vitiges tooke truce with Beliſarius for three monethes.

Vitiges raiſed his ſiege from before Rome.

Narſes ſent by the Emperour to the aide of Beliſarius.

man, with which and thoſe which he had alreadie, BELISARIVS relieued IOHN, which was beſieged in *Arimino*; and with ſome loſſe of men conſtrained VITIGES to raiſe his ſiege. Before and after which, in *Gallia Ciſalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Nouarra* and other cities tooke part with BELISARIVS, whither he ſent ſome Captaines, and there followed great conflicts and battailes, as well with the Gothes, as with THEODORICVS King of *France*, who came with a determination to haue made himſelfe Lord of that countrie, while as they were buſied in theſe warres. And BELISARIVS, after many great aduentures, fought a battaile with VITIGES, who had leuied his whole power to that effect. And to vſe breuitie, BELISARIVS getting the victorie, VITIGES flying to *Rauenna*, was therein encompaſſed and beſieged; which ſiege laſted many daies, and there were many treaties of the one and the other ſide, ſo farre foorth as to offer to make BELISARIVS king of *Italy*. But he continuing his ſiege, and the citie being taken, VITIGES was deliuered into his power; with whom in a manner all *Italy* came vnder his obedience. The affaires of *Italy* ſtanding in this eſtate, by the commandement of IVSTINIAN, BELISARIVS was to depart from *Italy* (which he ought not to haue done) for the Emperour meant to employ his perſon in his warres againſt the Perſians, leauing *Italy* in ſubiection: although that afterwards through his abſence there followed great alterations and inſurrections. For although that IOHN, and BESA, and VITALIS, all valiant and principal men, remained for Commanders and gouernors in his place; yet there was no compariſon betweene them and him, for he was a moſt excellent and ſingular Captaine. The great Captaine BELISARIVS departed then from *Italy*, carrying with him King VITIGES, and the Queene his wife, with many of his kindred, and other principall men of the Gothes, priſoners; and was receiued into *Conſtantinople* with exceeding honour, and much gladnes. And was ſo beloued and eſteemed, that all men, both inhabitants and ſtrangers, went to ſee him, as a wonder of the world; extolling his vertues and noble acts: which for the breuitie of my ſtile I am not able to expreſſe. This was alſo a great helpe thereto, in that he was a man of a moſt pleaſing countenance, tall of ſtature, of an excellent conſtitution, noble of condition, gentle, courteous, and endued with many other heroicall vertues.

A battaile: Beliſarius victor.

Beliſarius took King Vitiges priſoner.

Beliſarius left Italy by the Emperors commandement.

Beliſarius carried king Vitiges and his wife priſoners to Conſtantinople.

Within few daies after that BELISARIVS was gone out of *Italy*, ſome cities roſe and rebelled, and choſe YDIBALDVS for their King, a valorous captaine and of great authoritie amongſt the Gothes, who began to grow mightie by meanes of the euill gouernment, and the powlings and extortion vſed by the Emperours Captaines in the countrie. And he leuying an armie (which vntill then he durſt not doe) preſumed to fight with VITALIS, and ouerthrew him in battaile, and began to be feared by the Imperialiſts. But becauſe that he ſlew a nephew of VITIGES, one of his guard ſlew him, when he had raigned little more then one yeere. And in his place was choſen ARARICVS (whom PAVLVS DIACONVS and IORDANVS called ARARIVS) who was alſo ſlaine within fiue moneths. And then they choſe for their King TOTILA, who wrought the miſerie and deſtruction of *Rome*, as I will preſently tell you, ſo ſoone as we haue declared how and vpon what occaſion BELISARIVS was drawne out of *Italy*, by the Emperor IVSTINIAN, which before wee ſpake not of: which paſſed in this manner. COSROES King of *Perſia*, ſeeing that BELISARIVS (whom he principally feared) was buſied in the warres of *Italy*, ſought ſome occaſions, whether fained, or iuſt, to make warre in the lands of the Empire; and entring ſome prouinces, tooke certaine Imperiall cities. Whereupon IVSTINIAN, who very circumſpectly prouided

Ydibaldus was choſen by the Gothes for king of Italy, and after him Araricus.

Totila made King.

Coſroes king of Perſia made warre in the Empire.

ded for all parts,and beſides the ordinarie garriſons, ſent an armie into the Eaſt, and for Generall thereof a valiant gentleman named SITTAS, who in a battaile was ouerthrowne and ſlaine. And IVSTINIAN ſent another called BVCEN,a very rare man at armes, and alſo a nephew of his called GERMANVS, and other Captaines and ſouldiers; ſo as the warre was very cruell and bloudie betweene COSROES and them,which I haue not time to relate. But the Imperialiſts could not make ſufficient reſiſtance againſt the Perſians, and ſo COSROES entred farre into the Empire; and leauing *Meſopotamia* on the right hand, marched towards *Siria* and *Cilicia*,and by aſſault tooke many noble cities. Wherefore IVSTINIAN holding no man ſufficient for that warre but BELISARIVS, ſent for him out of *Italy*,at what time as he had brought it all vnder ſubiection, excepting ſome few Holds and Caſtles in *Lombardy*: wherein the Gothes had fortified themſelues. BELISARIVS leauing *Italy*,and arriuing at *Conſtantinople*, within few daies after was ſent into the Eaſt, againſt COSROES the mightie King of *Perſia*: And with his comming the Imperialiſts tooke heart, and hee reuiued the warre with ſuch diſcretion and courage,that there was a preſent alteration in all things: and hauing obtained ſome victories againſt certaine of COSROES his Captaines(for he himſelfe durſt not fight with him)he recouered much of that which was vſurped. By reaſon whereof the affaires of the Eaſt went daily from well to better,through the preſence and good gouernment of BELISARIVS. But in the meane ſeaſon, which were two yeeres, the eſtate of *Italy* waxed worſe: for as we ſaid, TOTILA being made King of the Gothes, with ſo great courage and in ſo good order followed the warres,that hauing ouerthrowne and ſlaine ſome of the Emperour IVSTINIANS Captaines, the Gothes wanne ſuch reputation, that all the townes therein tooke part with them,excepting ſuch as were held by garriſons. And TOTILA marched through all *Italy*,without finding any reſiſtance, and beſieged the great citie of *Naples*: and after many exploites both by ſea and land,he tooke the ſame,and many others in that quarter; and proſpered ſo well in his enterpriſes, that it ſeemed that in ſhort ſpace he would (without ſpeedie redreſſe) make himſelfe Lord of the whole. Which when IVSTINIAN perceiued, grieuing more for *Italy*,then for all the reſt,he commaunded BELISARIVS,that leauing the affaires of the Eaſt in the beſt order that he could, he ſhould make his repaire vnto him; and he as a ſeruant accuſtomed to obey,did ſo. Leauing his people in the Eaſt,and comming to *Conſtantinople*, without any ſtay was ſent by the Emperor into *Italy*; whither he went with ſo great haſte,that he could not leade with him aboue fiftie thouſand men: for it was thought that hee ſhould haue found ſufficient forces there; and was made to beleeue that the Emperours partie was not brought to ſo great extremitie as it was. But he found all quite contrarie, in ſo much that it did partly ſeeme that his comming did more harme then good: for being wiſhed for, and expected by his friends, and feared by his enemies,ſeeing him come with ſo ſmall forces,the one diſmaied,and the other tooke courage: and ſo in the beginning his enterpriſe was very doubtfull and tedious. And he putting himſelfe into *Rauenna*,to the end to fortifie and defend the ſame, within few daies tooke ſuch order,that notwithſtanding that he could not keepe the field and beard the enemie(for that he was too mightie for him) yet the Gothes neuertheleſſe did rather loſe then get. Wherwith TOTILA being much diſpleaſed,and deſirous to make warres to the vttermoſt, aſſembled all his whole power, and ſent Captaines and companies to *Rauenna* againſt BELISARIVS. And he with his whole armie went to *Rome*, which was ſo ſlenderly prouided for, with either men or munition, that it

Captaines ſent againſt the Perſians, Sittas, Bucen, and Germanus.

The Perſians tooke many cities in the Empire.

Beliſarius ſent againſt the Perſians.

Totila his good ſucceſſe in Italy

Beliſarius by the Emperors commandement returned into Italy.

Totila beſieged Rome.

it seemed it could not long be defended. BELISARIVS vnderstanding hereof, and remembring with how much trouble and extremitie he had defended that citie in former time, and seeing that he had not forces to keepe the field, neither could put himselfe into it by land, was very heauie and sorrowfull, and wrote an earnest letter to the Emperour IVSTINIAN, desiring him to send him men and money; resoluing to put himselfe into *Rome* by sea from *Rauenna*, where he then was. And passing ouer into *Dalmatia*, and thence to *Durasso*, he found captain IOHN, whom IVSTINIAN had sent with a good armie, wherewith he was of opinion to be able to fight with TOTILA. But the reliefe of *Rome* hee deemed to be prouided for, with greater expedition then could be made with that armie: for if TOTILA should take it, he feared that all *Italy* would reuolt. Wherefore he resolued to goe thither by sea, and to put himselfe into *Rome* by the riuer *Tiber*: for the citie called the port, in the mouth of *Tiber*, held for the Emperour; and *Ostia* on the other side of the riuer held for the Gothes: and that Captaine IOHN should crosse the Sea with his armie, and comming into *Calabria*, should march by land, to vnset and relieue him. This being thus concluded, BELISARIVS sailed, and arriued at the port in the mouth of *Tiber*; and hauing no sufficient power to march by land, by reason of TOTILA his great armie, hee speedily rigged a great number of Barkes and Fregates, which hee fraughted with men and munition, and so passed vp the riuer. And notwithstanding that TOTILA had in the narrowest place of that riuer stopped his passage, with chaines, and a bridge, and two Castles at the ends of the bridge, guarded with a great number of souldiers by this meanes to stop his passage; yet BELISARIVS followed his course vp the riuer, and comming to the bridge, he and his people in such sort charged those which guarded the same, that they brake and scattered them and passed through; and *Rome* had been presently relieued, and euery thing had had good successe, had there not befallen a strange mishap, which troubled and marred all. BELISARIVS had left his wife and familie (which hee loued so much that in his other warres he euer carried her with him) in the port before named, at the entrie of the riuer, with a garrison which held the fort, and a good Captain whose name was ISAAZ, with expresse commaundement that he should not sallie forth without the walles, but should keepe the fortresse. But ISAAZ hearing the newes of BELISARIVS his victorie, and being desirous to doe some notable exploit of himselfe, sallied out of the towne with his garrison, to charge TOTILA his souldiers, which lay there against him: and although that at the first he disordred them and made them retire, yet in the end he was ouerthrowne by them and taken prisoner. Whereof BELISARIVS was presently aduertised by some which fled, and the report went (without any author) that the towne was taken, and that his wife was in the enemies hands. Which when he vnderstood, he was so grieued and enraged, that without expecting any further newes, he returned downe the riuer, with a determination either to die, or to set his wife at libertie; imagining that if hee sped well, he might speedily returne to the rescue of *Rome*. But being come to the port, he found the place at his deuotion, and that his wife was well and at libertie, although the Captaine were lost. Whereupon hee tooke greater displeasure to see himselfe thus deluded, then at his first euill newes; and the same night after his arriuall at the port, through the extreme anger and griefe which he had taken, or some other vnknowne occasion, he was so extremely taken with a feuer, that he fell downe for dead, and his disease daily encreasing, he was oftentimes at the point of death. And in this meane time, which was for the space of many

Belisarius passed vp the riuer Tiber, with a determination to relieue Rome.

A great misfortune which befell Belisarius.

many daies, TOTILA did so begirt the citie, that they within died absolutely of hunger, and did eate dogs, cats, rats, and other things which seemed impossible. And TOTILA in the end hauing the citie in his power, sent his Ambassadours to IVSTINIAN, offering to be his seruant and good friend, and to preserue and keepe the citie, if he would graunt him peace; if not, that then he would race it and make the most cruell warre that hee should bee able. IVSTINIAN answered that his Generall BELISARIVS was in *Italy*, to whom hee referred all matters therein. TOTILA was so enraged with this answere, that he resolued to destroy *Rome*, and did so. For he made the Capitoll to be burned, and the best part of all the citie, and the third part of the walles to be throwne downe, and commaunded the inhabitants to abandon the citie, vpon paine of death, and to goe to liue in some other part. And so he left burned, desolate, and wast, that citie which had commaunded the world, and which had been greatest, most frequented, and best peopled of all others. And marched against IOHN, which with the armie sent by IVSTINIAN, came through *Calabria*, towards *Rome*, who shewed himselfe so very a coward, that he durst not stay for him in the field, but put himselfe into *Otranto*, the furthest place of all *Calabria*. And so TOTILA without any resistance tooke all *Calabria*, *Abruzzo* and *Lucania*, which vntill then held for the Emperour IVSTINIAN.

Totila tooke Rome.

Totila burnt and destroyed Rome.

In this meane time, BELISARIVS recouered his health, and performed one of the most desperate enterprises, that euer he had done at any time before; which was with those troupes which he had, to goe and put himselfe into *Rome*, with a determination to repaire, reedifie and to defend the same; and so he did. And so first sending his wife to *Constantinople*, he presently went to *Rome* (as desolate as it lay) and caused withall expedition, trenches to be digged, and rampers to be made, where the walles were throwne downe, and all the victualles that possibly could be gotten, to be brought thither, and made a citie of that which lay wast. And through the fame hereof, many citizens, that could get to him; for the law of their countrie came, and did put themselues thereinto with him. Whereof so soone as TOTILA was aduertised, by long iourneies without any intermission, he returned thither againe, assuring himselfe presently to enter it and therein to take BELISARIVS: but BELISARIVS so valiantly defended the same, that to his great losse, TOTILA was driuen to raise his siege. Whereby it may be imagined, how well he would haue defended it before that it was ruinated, and he repaired it with new ports and rampiers. And in the meane season, captaine IOHN in *Calabria* and *Pulia* gathered the citizens of *Rome* together and sent them thither, in whose citie BELISARIVS remained; and hauing fortified it, and left a good garrison therein, with an excellent gouernour called CONON; he went to ioyne with IOHN, and other captaines, to goe in quest of TOTILA, and many things passed too long to be recited. But the King of *Persia* againe making warres in the East; IVSTINIAN determined to send BELISARIVS thither, although that afterwards he went not, for peace was concluded betweene them. Vpon this occasion BELISARIVS againe went out of *Italy*, although not with so great good fortune, and victories, as at the first, yet not with no disgrace, neither with any lesse honor, for he neuer failed in any thing, to doe what behoued him, or what he was able. And so in summe went to *Constantinople*, where he remained all the rest of his life time. And after he had liued there certaine yeeres, AGATHIVS writeth, that the Hunnes came downe into *Thracia*, euen very neere to *Constantinople*, robbing and spoiling the countrie. And BELISARIVS being now

Belisarius entred Rome to the end to fortifie and defend the same.

Totila besieged Rome, and therein Belisarius.

Belisarius was sent for out of Italy.

now old, was ſent againſt them, and ouerthrew them in battaile; and had not IVSTINIAN ſent for him to returne, he had wholy deſtroyed them. Within few daies after that BELISARIVS was departed out of *Italy*, TOTILA returned to *Rome*, and againe beſieged it, and after long time and great extremities and famine endured by the beſieged, through the negligence of IOHN which ſhould haue relieued it, and the treaſon of ſome others. The fierce barbarian againe tooke it, but the taking of it at this time was quite contrarie to the laſt: for now he did not any harme, but ſought to repaire and repeople it, and gaue great gifts, priuiledges, and exemptions to the inhabitants, to the end they ſhould returne to dwell therein. And afterwards tooke many other places, and paſſed ouer into *Sicilia*: and for that he could not eaſily make a conqueſt thereof, he left foure captaines with many men of warre therein, and returned into *Italy*. And if NARSES a captaine whom IVSTINIAN ſent, had not come thither, he had within ſhort ſpace made himſelfe abſolute Lord of the whole land. This NARSES was a famous captaine, valiant, and of great experience, and very priuate with the Emperor IVSTINIAN; and therefore rich, and of great authoritie; who came into *Italy* with a great armie, amaſſed together of ſundrie nations, as Hunnes, Heruli, and other warlike people. Amongſt which there came to his ſeruice, a people called Longobardi, which then dwelled in *Hungarie*; and he marched by land along all the coaſt of the *Adriaticque* ſea, now called the gulfe of *Venice*, vntill he came to *Rauenna*; notwithſtanding that at his entrie into *Italy*, he had ſome encounters and conflicts with ſome of TOTILA his captaines, where came to ioyne with him ſome of thoſe captaines and companies, which BELISARIVS had left. And ſtaying but few daies in *Rauenna*, in very good order he tooke the field with his armie, directing his courſe for *Rome*. But TOTILA who was not any way a coward, attended his comming vpon the way; and preſenting him battaile, they fought, and in the fight TOTILA was ſlaine, and his people ſcattered and ouerthrowne. Which victorie was the occaſion that NARSES eaſily reconquered all *Italy*: for after this fight, he held on his iourney and beſieged *Rome*. And notwithſtanding that the Gothes which TOTILA left there in garriſon, did defend it well, yet NARSES tooke it by aſſault, with great loſſe of the defendants. And departing from thence, he tooke all the townes and cities round about. After the death of TOTILA, the Gothes made a great man amongſt them whoſe name was TEYAS, their King, who tooke all TOTILA his treaſure which lay in *Pauia*; and ſought to get men and aide againſt NARSES, and ſent to entreate reliefe of the French, which would not intermeddle in that warre. But TEYAS ſeeing that NARSES tooke cities and townes, without finding any man to fight with him, departed out of *Lombardie* with all the power that hee could make, and marched towards *Campania*, where NARSES ſtaied for him; and they both lodged their armies vpon a riuer ſide, where after ſome notable skirmiſhes, they came to a battaile, which was one of the moſt cruell that had been fought in all that warre. For hiſtorians report wonders wrought by this TEYAS, King of the Gothes in his owne perſon; but in the end being ouer borne by NARSES his people, he was by them ſlaine, iuſt at twelue of the clocke at noone, at which time he had fought about ſixe howers, and yet notwithſtanding his death, the battaile ceaſed not, vntill that the darke night parted them, without apparance of any victorie of either ſide: and repoſing themſelues ſo well as they could that night, the next morning the Gothes in deſpaire, and the Imperialiſts deſpited, to ſee that a people without a captaine ſhould ſo defend themſelues, returned

Totila beſieged and tooke Rome.

Narſes came generall into Italy againſt Totila.

A battaile betweene Narſes and Totila, wherein Totila was ſlaine.

Teyas made King of the Gothes.

A moſt cruell battaile wherein Teyas was ſlaine.

turned againe to fight, without any ceasſing; and the Gothes taking the benefit of the ſide of an hill, defended themſelues. But in the end towards night they ſent their Ambaſſadors vnto NARSES, offering to render all that they held in *Italy*, conditionally that he ſhould giue them leaue to liue in it, without any armour or weapons. Which requeſt NARSES graunted, for that he would not fight with a deſperate kinde of people, and for the great hurt which his armie had alreadie receiued, and ſo they deliuered what they poſſeſſed, and ſome of them continued in *Italy*, ſubiect to the inhabitants, in ſuch manner that within ſhort ſpace the name of the Gothes was wholy extinct, rooted out and forgotten, although not preſently after the victorie aforeſaid: for ſome captaines and companies which remained in *Gallia Ciſalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, and in the prouince of *Traſpadana*, now *Piemount* began to fortifie; and they crauing, and ſuccours comming out of *France*, and *Burgundy*, the warre was renewed, which laſted well neere one whole yeere, and therein paſſed great battailes and ſlaughters: but in the end NARSES obtained both the field and the victorie, and was abſolute commaunder of all *Italy*. And it pleaſed God to make him the inſtrument to roote out, and to extinguiſh the name of the Gothes and Oſtrogothes in *Italy*, eighteene yeeres after the beginning of this warre, and threeſcore and twelue, after that THEODORICVS firſt entred and made himſelfe Lord of that countrey. But to the contrarie, the Viſogothes in *Spaine* grew daily more mightie, and the name of the Alanes and Sueuians vaniſhed and was extinct, and the Gothes onely remained. At that time raigned ATHANAGILDVS in great proſperitie in *Spaine*, and ruled that kingdome the ſpace of two and twentie yeeres. Theſe enterpriſes being ended, NARSES applied himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power to the reedifying of *Rome*: and foraſmuch as it was extremely ruinated and lay waſte, and many of the citizens were abſent, he cauſed the inhabitants to reduce themſelues to one part thereof; and ſo he tooke the beſt order that he could, both for the gouernment of the ſame, and of all *Italy* alſo. This NARSES was a man of great iudgement, a good chriſtian, very zealous in religion, and deſirous of the good of the common-wealth, and beſides all this, was one of the moſt excellent captaines of the world. By reaſon whereof hee held the gouernment of *Italy* ſo long as the Emperour IVSTINIAN liued; who during all the time of theſe great warres, made his continuall abode in *Conſtantinople*, prouiding men and money for the warres in all parts; aſwell for thoſe in *Italy* as in the Eaſt, where he had as daungerous warres againſt COSROES King of *Perſia*.

Traſpadana, Piemont.

Agathius treateth of this warre in a particular Booke.

Narſes draue the Gothes out of Italy.

There happened in the time of IVSTINIAN (beſides the warres and conqueſts before ſpecified, and many others, which for breuitie, and for that they were of no great importance, I omit) earthquakes, famine, and other great calamities. For in his raigne the times were ſo variable, and there happened ſo ſtrange accidents, as the like had neuer been. And hee (as I ſaid in the beginning) was an excellent prince, and exceedingly carefull for the warres; prouiding captaines, ſouldiers and money, without taxing or oppreſſing his ſubiects, with incredible magnanimitie and libertie. By meanes whereof, hee preſerued the Empire of the Eaſt, and reconquered the prouinces of *Africa*, wholy ſubuerting and expelling the Vandales out of thoſe countries: and did the like by the Gothes in *Italie*. And concerning his gouernment in time of peace, hee was no leſſe carefull; ſo as it ſeemed as though that hee had neuer applied himſelfe to any thing elſe: for as the lawes and ſtatutes made by other Emperours his predeceſſors, were ſo many, that a man could hardly reade them; and

The valour and prudence of the Emperor Iuſtinian.

Iuſtinian abridged the lawes.

and ſo variable and diſſonant, that it ſeemed that many of them did contradict the one the other; he reduced them al to agreement and breuitie; drawing out of them that onely which was neceſſarie, and made other new. And in this manner hee abridged all the lawes of the auncient Magiſtrates, Iudges and Lawyers, which contained about two thouſand bookes, and reduced them to fiftie, and compiled the fower bookes of the inſtutions, commonly called Inſtituta. And the lawes and decrees of all the Emperours and CÆSARS, which were diſperſed abroade in very many bookes; hee reduced to twelue; called IVSTINIANS booke. And hee made another booke intituled the volume, wherein hee included three of thoſe twelue bookes aforeſaid. To bring theſe things to effect, hee held about him great learned men, but the principall miniſters and authors thereof were, IOHN PATRICIVS, and THEOPHITVS, and DOROTHEVS, but chiefly TRIBVNIANVS; all ſingular Lawyers and Philoſophers. Beſides all this, IVSTINIAN was very curious in architecture, and builded many great and ſumptuous edifices. But hee was taxed with this vice, that hee willingly gaue eare, and was a friend to backe-biters and ſuch as ſpake ill of others, and was very reuengfull againſt ſuch as any way offended him. He was alſo noted of ingradice, and couetouſnes, and that by all waies and meanes he ſought to encreaſe his rents, and his treaſure; but he afterwards ſpent it all franckly and liberally in the warres, and vpon his ſouldiers.

Codix Iuſtinian.

Being now very old and hauing no ſonne, that might ſucceede him, hee choſe his nephew IVSTIN, for his companion in the Empire; which IVSTIN, was his daughters ſonne. They write of him, that in his old age, hee was infected with the hereſie of thoſe, which beleeued, that the fleſh and bodie of CHRIST was impaſſible. Which hereſie is to bee ſuppoſed proceeded through want of iudgement, whereof he was bereaued ſome daies before he died. Finally, after ſo many noble acts and many others, which for breuitie cannot be expreſſed, the good Emperour IVSTINIAN being aboue fowerſcore yeeres old, left this for a better life, when hee had raigned nine and thirtie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, fiue hundred ſixtie and eight, and was greatly lamented and deplored through all the whole Empire.

Iuſtinian made his nephew Iuſtin, his companion in the Empire.

Iuſtinian died in the yeere 568.

THE

THE LIFE OF IVSTIN, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

VPon the death of Iuſtinian, his daughters ſonne Iuſtin tooke poſſeſſion of the Empire; who was farre vnlike to his grandfather, both in condition, and in his vigilant care for the gouernment: for he left the adminiſtration thereof to his wife Sophia. He had warres with the Perſians, but they were ſoone ended, and he particularly applied himſelfe to the affaires of Italy, which for the Empire was gouerned by Narſes: for Iuſtin in the Eaſt gaue himſelfe to pleaſure and ſenſualitie. This Narſes hauing to his great glorie performed many worthie enterpriſes, was ill rewarded by Iuſtin, and his wife Sophia: but the iniuries done vnto him were the occaſion of ſo great euils, that poore Italy ſhall euer haue cauſe to be ſorrie for them. For Narſes calling Alboinus King of the Longobards into Italy, and afterwards deſiring to haue ſtaied them (when he could not) was the occaſion of great miſerie: for they made themſelues Lords of the greateſt part thereof, and poſſeſſed the ſame aboue two hundred yeeres. In time of which warre Iuſtin died of the gowt, when he had raigned eleuen yeeres.

IT was ſo hard a matter to abbreuiate, and in order to relate, the accidents happened in the time of the Emperour IVSTINIAN; and I was ſo much troubled therewith, they were ſo many and ſo notable, that I doe not onely feele my ſelfe eaſed of that burthen, and doe likewiſe reioyce in that I haue brought that work to an end, but am alſo of opinion that from henceforth I ſhall be leſſe troubled: And although I be in ſome daunger to be deceiued therein, neuertheleſſe

nertheleſſe I reioyce in this hope; wherein (with the grace of God) I will proceed. IVSTINIAN being dead, his daughters ſonne the ſecond IVSTIN, without any difficultie obtained the Empire: for (as wee haue ſaid) his grandfather in his life time made him his companion, and proclaimed him his ſucceſſor; his mother (as we ſaid) was IVSTINIANS daughter. His father was a very noble man in the countrie of *Slauonia*; and hee himſelfe was of a quicke and a good wit, and both apt and ſufficient for any thing; but ill conditioned and vnworthie of the Empire, and proued farre vnlike his grandfather. For as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, he became couetous and tyrannous, a robber and a deſpiſer of the poore, and aboue all, was retchleſſe and negligent in matters of iuſtice and gouernment; and thereof left all the charge and care to his wife the Empereſſe, whoſe name was SOPHIA, whoſe wit was incapable thereof, neither had ſhe conditions or vertues deſeruing the ſame. At his firſt comming to the Empire, this SOPHIA to win the loue and good will of the people, counſelled IVSTIN, out of his Exchequer, to pay the debts of ſuch poore men as were impriſoned for debt, and were vnable to make ſatisfaction without their vndoing. And he did ſo: wherefore in the beginning of his raigne he was commonly well beloued. There alſo happened war betweene him and HORMISDA King of *Perſia*, who through the death of COSROES ſucceeded in that kingdome: whither was ſent a Nobleman called MARTIN for Generall, and there paſſed great matters, but principally a cruel and bloudie battaile, wherein the Imperialiſts preuailed; and finally they returned to treate of peace; and that was confirmed, which was made in the time of the Emperour IVSTINIAN. And ſo the Eaſt remained in peace, and IVSTIN paſſed his time without care in pleaſure, giuing himſelfe ouer to vice and ſenſualitie. So that of him there is no notable matter to be written, but of the affaires of *Italy*, which happened in this manner following. In the fourth yeere (as ſome write) of the raigne of the Emperour IVSTIN, and the tenth or twelfth of NARSES his gouernment of *Italy*, after the great victorie through his wiſedom & policie by him obtained therein againſt the Gothes; ſome malicious men enuying his great honour and dignitie, and the great riches which he had gotten in former warres, reported and wrote to IVSTIN much euill of NARSES; and as in Court (as is vſuall) there wanted not ſome that alſo enuied him, and were glad thereof, ſo they found the fauour to be heard; and IVSTIN through want of wit, and the Empereſſe SOPHIA through light beleefe, were perſwaded that what was told them of him was true. And ſo without reſpect or regard of the daungers and troubles wherewith he had conquered *Italy*, they reſolued to depoſe him from his gouernment, and to ſend him a ſucceſſor; which was one of the greateſt indignities that could be done him. And it pleaſed God to permit ſo great an ingratitude to be puniſhed. For SOPHIA was not content to embaſe NARSES by depriuing him of his gouernment, but ſhe alſo diſgraced him in ſpeeches, ſaying, that ſhe would haue him come to ſpinne wool amongſt her women at *Conſtantinople*. And a principall man called LONGINVS, was preſently ſent to take his place and to ſucceed him. Which when NARSES vnderſtood, his great heart could not endure ſo ſhamefull a diſgrace, without extreme wrath and diſpleaſure. Wherefore being no leſſe grieued with the words vſed by SOPHIA, then with what they had done; it is written that he ſaid; That, ſeeing that ſhe meant to make him to ſpinne, hee promiſed to twiſt her ſuch a web, as ſhe ſhould neuer be able to vntwine: which he well performed, as hereafter ſhall be ſaid. And he vnderſtanding that LONGINVS was arriued in *Rauenna*, durſt not goe to *Conſtantinople*, but came from *Rome* (where

Iuſtin obeyed for Emperor.

Sophia wife to the Emperor Iuſtin.

Hormiſda king of the Perſians.

Warre and peace with the Perſians.

Narſes depoſed from his gouernment of Italy.

Longinus ſent to gouerne Italy.

(where he then liued)to *Naples*,where he was ſo much beloued and honored, that he held himſelfe to be there in ſecuritie. And from thence as a man diſgraced and in deſpaire,he by often letters and otherwiſe,ſollicited King ALBOINVS King of the Longobards, who was his friend, and had ſent men to aide him in his warre againſt the Gothes,and at that time made his reſiance in *Hungarie*, that he ſhould come into *Italy*, and make himſelfe Lord thereof; and that hee would aſſiſt him and direct him in what hee had to doe in that conqueſt. And ALBOINVS afterwards followed his direction. Theſe Longobardi, as ſome ſay,were ſo called, for that they ware long beards. Their originall and the place of their birth (as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth of them) was in an Iland in the Germane ſea,then called *Scandinauia*, from whence they being many, and accounting their countrie too little for them (as many other Northerly nations had done) with two Captaines, the one called AYON and the other THATON, they left their countrie, and went to ſeeke ſome place wherein they might inhabite, either by peace or warre. And theſe Captaines being dead, they choſe one AGELMOND for their King,and afterwards had other Kings, and diuers warres at ſundrie times with variable ſucceſſe,againſt the Gothes,the Vandales,and other nations; vntill that after many yeeres they became Lords of *Hungarie*; from whence their King ALBOINVS ſent men of warre (as wee ſaid) to the aide of NARSES againſt the Gothes; whereof grew the occaſion that he called him into *Italy*,to the end that he ſhould make himſelfe Lord thereof; and he reſolued to goe thither,as well for the proffer made to him by NARSES, as for that hee had heard of the fruitfulnes of that ſoile, not onely by common report, but alſo by the particular relation, made by thoſe whom hee had ſent to ſerue NARSES in thoſe warres. Whileſt that he muſtred vp his ſouldiers, and made ſuch preparation as for ſo great an enterpriſe was requiſite, LONGINVS the new Captaine and gouernour of *Italy*, eſtabliſhed a new forme and order of gouernment,which continued a long time after: which was,that comming into *Italy* he tooke the name and title of Exarch, which is as much to ſay,as Generall or ſupreme gouernour.And reſting in *Rauenna*,without any care to ſee *Rome*,in euery citie of *Italy* he placed a gouernour called Dux: whereof (as I imagine) ſprang the beginning of the title and dignitie of a Duke,which now is vſed through all the world. And ſo each of them gouerned a citie; and not as in former time,when euery prouince had ſome principall man of great authoritie for their particular Captaine or gouernour. And in *Rome* for the greater honour was placed a gouernour called Præſes, who was (as we ſay) a Preſident or Lord Deputie.And ſo the authority of the Senate,and dignitie of the Conſuls,was wholy loſt and extinct,ſo as they were neuer after in that manner as in ancient time: for NARSES and his companion BASILIVS were the laſt Conſuls. This forme of gouernment being eſtabliſhed, and ALBOINVS king of the Longobards being in a readines to take his iourney towards *Italy*,it followed that Pope IOHN the third,with the generall conſent of all the Romane people,which infinitely loued NARSES,went from *Rome* to *Naples*,where he then was, and perſwading him to returne to *Rome*, preuailed ſo much that he brought him with him,where he was receiued with great loue and gladnes,they pretending to protect him,and to keepe him there amongſt them. Whereupon NARSES repented that euer he had called ALBOINVS,and againe wrote to him,to take no care to come into *Italy*,alleaging many difficulties.But as ALBOINVS was reſolued,and knew the ſmall force that was in *Italy*,with the gouernment of LONGINVS, and the little diſcretion and care of the Emperor IVSTIN,he would not be diſſwaded from

The Lombards what people they were.

Exarchus the name of a ſupreme gouernour.

The originall of Dukes.

The laſt Romane Conſuls.

from his determination, but haſtened his comming. Before which NARSES died in *Rome*, where he left great treaſure hidden, which afterwards was found; and his bodie was carried to *Conſtantinople*. And at the ſame time died Pope IOHN which brought him from *Naples*.

The death of Narſes.

King ALBOINVS departing with a great armie of Longobards from *Hungary*, together with a great number of Saxons and other nations which hee had leuied, and were ioyned with him, through the deſire they had to dwell in *Italy*, all which might amount to the number of two hundred thouſand men, with their wiues, children, and heards of cattell, and moueable goods, ſuch as they could carrie, would not abandon *Hungarie*, but left the Hunnes, which liued in that countrie, and were the remainder of the great armie of the fierce King ATTILA (of whom heretofore we haue made much mention) to guard it. Which Hunnes, as the Longobards proſpered well in *Italy*, remained owners and poſſeſſors of the land and the countrie, which after their name is now called *Hungary*, which before then was called *Pannonia*, as ſome ſay; yet ſome others ſay (as is before noted) that a certaine people called *Hungri*, came from the frozen ſea, and together with them the Hunnes dwelt in *Pannonia*, and ſo after theſe two nations it was called *Hungarie*. But howſoeuer it was, vntill this day it is ſo called, and the ſucceſſors of the Hunnes haue poſſeſſed it, and valiantly defended the ſame againſt the Infidels, vntill our time, that for our ſinnes SOLIMAN the king of the Turks took the greateſt part thereof.

Pannonia wherefore called Hungarie.

ALBOINVS paſſing with his armie and people towards *Italy*, came into that prouince which now is called *Frioli*, wherein he tooke many cities, and vſed no ſmall crueltie, and much more would haue done, if hee had not been ſomewhat pacified by the prayers and entreaties of PAVL the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and of FELIX Biſhop of *Treuigi*. But being deſirous to enter further into *Italy*, and to leaue that to ſafe keeping which he had gotten, he left therein for gouernour and to guard the paſſages into thoſe countries, a valiant Captaine which was his nephew called SISVLPHVS, and he followed his iourney: and God permitted that he found ſmall reſiſtance in *Italy*, for it was then afflicted with both famine and peſtilence. By reaſon whereof LONGINOS, the gouernour and Exarch before named, was not of power to leuie any ſufficient armie to fight with ALBOINVS, and therefore held himſelfe in *Rauenna*, where he drew together the beſt men and the greateſt number that he was able, with a determination to make frontier wars by fortifying the townes, and putting good garriſons in them; which he principally did in *Ceſarea*, which at that time was a very noble citie, neere to *Rauenna*, whither he drew the greateſt number of ſouldiers that he could poſſiblie leuie, and fortified *Patauia*, and therein put a garriſon, which is now called *Padoüa*, and is vnder the gouernment of the Venetians. The like he did by *Cremona* and *Mantua*, and in other the ſtrongeſt cities, imagining that if he could hold thoſe countries, ALBOINVS would paſſe no further; and if he did, he ſhould be greatly endammaged by them in his Arrereguard. Which was no ill deuice, if in that prouince there had been any armie to haue made head againſt ALBOINVS and his forces in the field. But LONGINOS had neither heart nor power to doe ſo, and ALBOINVS holding it for a long piece of worke to batter and aſſault all thoſe townes, tooke another courſe, withdrawing himſelfe from them, for that hee would not be vrged and conſtrained to ſtay before any of theſe townes: but went and aſſaulted *Verona* and *Vicenza*, wherein were no garriſons, which with others yeelded without reſiſtance. From whence paſſing ouer the riuer *Adda*, he tooke

The comming of Alboinus and the Lombards into Italy.

Patauia, Padoüa.

his

his way towards *Milan*, where the citizens (induced thereto by the perſwaſion of HONORATVS their Biſhop) gaue vp the citie, to the end to auoide ſlaughter and to be ſacked. After this, other places did the like: for the famine was ſo great, and ſo generall, that without any force the townes yeelded, being vnable to victuall themſelues for a ſiege; excepting thoſe places which were victualled by LONGINOS, amongſt which in that quarter were *Pauia* and *Briſelli*, now called *Vercelli*, which by the ſaid LONGINOS were ſufficiently furniſhed with all things needfull. And ALBOINVS determined to beſiege it, hauing been now ſixe moneths in *Italy*, and beſieged *Pauia*: but it ſo well defended it ſelfe, that the ſiege continued three yeeres long. In the beginning of which time, perceiuing that it would be a long ſiege, he remaining before it with ſuch part of his armie as hee thought ſufficient, ſent the reſt to make warre in other parts of *Italy*, and to make a conqueſt thereof: and they all ſped as hee deſired, for they tooke many townes, cities and caſtles in *Italy*. And the Preſident or gouernour of *Rome* fearing to bee beſieged, and ſeeing the great ſcarcitie and famine which was in the citie, ſent to deſire reliefe of men and victuals to the Emperor IVSTIN, who commaunded a great quantitie of wheate to be brought from *Africa* to *Rome*, and ſome ſouldiers alſo. Wherewith the citie was well relieued, and the Longobards at that time came not thither, neither durſt they inuade *Rauenna*, nor the cities thereunto: for they were all very well fortified and garriſonned by LONGINOS. But in other places they made themſelues Lords of great part of *Italy*, in ſo much that between *Bologna* and *Milan* there were few places of ſtrength, but within three yeeres war were brought vnder their ſubiection: and ſo they afterwards poſſeſſed all that prouince aboue two hundred yeeres, with variable fortune, as hereafter wee will touch; and by them it was called *Lombardy*, and is ſo ſtill vntill this day. About the end of this time ALBOINVS tooke *Pauia*, and ſeeing himſelfe mightie, he tooke his way towards *Verona*, whither he had cauſed his wife the Queene ROSAMVND to come, with his treaſure and wardrobe; and there holding his Court hee gaue himſelfe to feaſting and banketting, and was ſlaine by treaſon, by the order and conſent of his wife, whoſe father he had ſlaine, and in a banquet gaue her to drink in her fathers skull: for reuenge whereof, ſhe worthely and iuſtly complotted his death.

Alboinus tooke Milan and other townes.

The warres of the Lombards in Italy.

Gallia ciſalpina called Lombardia by the Longobardi.

The death of Alboinus.

ALBOINVS dying in this manner, after many bickerings and fights, the Longobards choſe for their King a great man of bloud and of worth amongſt them, called CLEPHIS, or CLEVE, who prooued a moſt cruell Prince; and renewing the warres, committed great cruelties in thoſe cities which held of the Empire, in the prouince of *Venetia*: for in thoſe daies the citie of *Venice*, which in the time of ATTILA began to be inhabited, was greatly increaſed by thoſe which (to eſcape the cruelty of the Lombards) went to dwel in thoſe Ilands, and were now of force able to defend themſelues; and this citie began to be famous & of great account, and hath continued and increaſed vntill this day: ſo as it is now one of the moſt noble and excellent cities in the world. At this time the Emperour IVSTIN who liued viciouſly, careleſſe & negligent, in *Conſtantinople* was taken with ſo grieuous paine of the gowt in his feete, that hee died thereof. And ſome daies before his death, by the conſent of his wife SOPHIA, by whom he was wholy ruled (for that he had no ſonne) he made an excellent Nobleman CÆSAR, whoſe name was TIBERIVS, and hauing exhorted him very effectually to yeeld obedience vnto SOPHIA, hauing ſwaied the Imperiall ſcepter 11. yeeres, he died, in the yeere of our Lord 579: and after ſome, 576.

Paulus Diaconus lib. 2. c. 24.

Clephis King of the Lombards.

The proſperitie of Venice.

The death of the Emperour Iuſtin.

Anno Dom. 579.

THE LIFE OF TIBERIVS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND ONE ROMANE EMPEROR.

SVch were the conditions and behauiour of the Emperour IVSTIN in his life time, that when he was dead no man lamented or mourned for him, except his wife SOPHIA, who through her husbands insufficiencie gouerned and commanded al, and had a conceit to haue continued therein; meaning to haue married with TIBERIVS, who presently vpon the death of IVSTIN was created and crowned Emperor. But he, as he was a vertuous man, iust, pitifull, gentle, charitable, and endued with such other vertues, as in a good and Christian Emperor were requisite, would not haue her to wife; all whose conditions hee knew to be quite contrarie thereto; and with whom euen in the life time of IVSTIN (as some write) he was at some controuersie. TIBERIVS after that he was created CÆSAR, made distribution of much of the Imperiall treasure to the poore; and afterwards at his coronation named for Empereſſe a great Ladie whose name was ANASTASIA, with whom hee was secretly married. Whereupon SOPHIA at the same feast practised by treason to haue had him slaine, with a determination to haue made one IVSTINIAN, another of IVSTINS nephewes, Emperor. But it pleased God that the good TIBERIVS escaped this treason, and others also which the same SOPHIA complotted; and his coronation was held with great solemnitie, and the treacherie of SOPHIA being discouered (she crauing

The vertues of Tiberius.

The treason of Sophia.

uing mercie) he pardoned both her and IVSTINIAN. But many daies passed not before that she attempted the like, in a house of pleasure whither TIBERIVS went for his recreation. At this time he caused her to be apprehended, and despoiled of all her riches. But as he was milde and pitifull, he pardoned her her life, and gaue her maintenance, and made her to be serued with great reuerence and honour; but he tooke from her all her old seruants, and placing others to serue her by his appointment; he againe pardoned IVSTINIAN: for he knew that he was induced to all that he did by SOPHIA. And he was afterwards greatly beloued by TIBERIVS, and serued him faithfully, as recounteth PAVLVS DIACONVS.

These were the priuate and domesticall accidents which in the beginning befell TIBERIVS. In the generall estate of the Empire, he euer maintained iustice, and raigned valorously. And *Africa*, and all the prouinces which the Empire held in *Asia* and in *Europe* peaceably obeyed him. But the warres in *Italy* against the Lombards, and in the East against the Persians, did put him to much care and trouble. In the warres of *Persia* he had good successe, whereof we will first speake briefly. For so soone as TIBERIVS came to the Empire, he sent his Ambassadors to King HORMISDA, to confirme with him the peace in such manner as his predecessors held the same before him. But HORMISDA who saw himselfe rich and mightie would not accept thereof, but made warre vpon the frontiers of the Empire. And TIBERIVS speedily sent a mightie armie against him: but at that time they fought not, for there was a truce taken for a time, which being expired, a cruell warre began chiefly in the kingdome of *Armenia*, where the Romane Generall and armie came to a battaile with HORMISDA; which fight was very cruell and of long continuance. Neuertheless the Romanes had the victorie, and HORMISDA saued himselfe by flight; and therein were taken the greatest and richest spoiles and booties that euer were gotten from the Persians; all which were giuen to the men of warre, excepting the Kings treasure, and the vessels of gold and siluer for his seruice, which (PAVLVS DIACONVS saith) was carried to TIBERIVS in *Constantinople* vpon twentie Elephants, which had no other loding, with a great number of prisoners, to which the Emperor commaunded rich and gallant apparell to be giuen, and them to be set at libertie, to returne to their countrie. And in the meane time the Imperiall armie entred the countries subiect to the Persians, and burning and spoiling the same, returned with victorie. But within small time after, HORMISDA leuied the greatest forces that he was able, and made a very valiant and expert man of warre Generall thereof: for by reason of his last ouerthrow he made a law, that the Kings of the Persians should neuer be present in any battaile, and so he againe reuiued and renewed the warre against the Empire, to the end to recouer his lost honor. Against whom the Emperor sent for a new Generall, a valiant and wise Earle named MAVRICE, who afterwards was Emperor: who with the like good fortune sought to fight with the Persians; and leuying infinite numbers of souldiers of either side, they fought a great part of the day, vntill that after many thousands of the one and other side were slaine, the victorie shewed it selfe to be of MAVRICE his side: and he recouered certaine places, and conquered others anew from the Persians: so that HORMISDA was constrained of necessitie to conclude some peace or truce with the Emperour. And MAVRICE came with victorie to *Constantinople*, where he was solemnely receiued by TIBERIVS, who married him to his owne daughter, in reward of so noble a victorie.

Warres with the Persians and their king Hormisda.

A battaile wherein the Persians were ouerthrowne.

Maurice made Generall against the Persians.

A battaile wherein Maurice had the victorie.

Whilest these things passed in the East, the affaires of *Italy* prospered not so

The ſtate of Italy againſt the Longobards

well; for CLEPHIS the new King of the Lombards made cruell warres againſt thoſe townes and countries which held of the Empire, and all things happened ſo according to his deſire, that he tooke many cities: and being deſirous to repoſe himſelfe for a while, he ſent his Captaines and their companies towards *Rome*; and they tooke al the cities in the marches thereof, and *Rome* it ſelfe was beſieged by them, and was in great daunger to haue been entred by force. So that (as the authors affirme) if CLEPHIS had liued but a little while longer, he had made himſelfe Lord of *Rome* and *Rauenna*, which were the two eyes and fortreſſes of al *Italy*. But his purpoſes were made fruſtrate by death, as other Kings and captaines haue been, which haue been as great and greater then euer was he; which his death was practiſed by the treaſon of his owne people. After his deceaſe the Lombards would neither chuſe, nor haue any more Kings at that time: but there aroſe thirtie principall men, or to ſpeake more properly, thirtie tyrants, which inueſted themſelues in thirtie of the beſt townes which they held in *Italy*. And ſo euery of them gouerned his towne and the territorie thereof. And each of them likewiſe made warres a part by himſelfe, ſometimes the one aiding and aſſiſting the other againſt the Empire. And as the Emperour TIBERIVS was buſied in making prouiſion for his warres againſt the Perſians, and did not ſufficiently prouide for *Italy*, theſe Captaines of the Lombards had oportunitie to extend their power therein, and took many other cities, ſo farre as to come before *Rome* and *Naples*. In which warre they committed ſuch cruelties, robberies and inſolencies, as the like had neuer been ſeene. So that from *Rome* to the Eaſtwards there remained little more ſubiect to the Empire then the kingdome of *Naples*, and the citie of *Rome*, with ſome townes in the marches therof; and the citie of *Naples* fell alſo into the hands of the Lombards: but we cannot certainly ſay, whether at this time, or afterwards. Yet *Rauenna* held for the Empire, and ſome other ſtrong holds neere thereunto, which through the wiſedome and foreſight of LONGINOS were defended. And there alſo held for the Empire of either ſide of the riuer *Po*, *Como*, *Cremona*, *Mantoa*, *Padoa*, *Bologna*, and *Vercelli*; and the Lombards at this time had all the reſt. And ſo the warre was waged of either ſide with great crueltie: for the Lombards as they were barbarous, and had not yet wel receiued the faith of Chriſt, robbed and ſpoiled all, as well ſacred as prophane, without any difference. Whereto beſides what is alreadie ſaid, this was a great furtherance, that in the time of this hurly burly, TIBERIVS fell ſo extremely ſicke, that hee could not applie himſelfe to the gouernment of the Empire, and his infirmitie neuer left him vntill he died. Wherefore the Romanes ſeeing themſelues oppreſſed by the Longobards, motioned a treatie of peace; and a truce was concluded betweene them for a certaine time. Which truce the Lombards graunted, for that the kings of *France* (wherein at that time raigned three brothers) being much grieued to ſee the Lombards growne ſo mightie in *Italy*, ſent a great armie againſt them, which was alreadie entred *Lombardie*. And they alſo the more willingly graunted the truce, for that the Saxons, which vntill then had aided them in their warres, had now left them and were returned. TIBERIVS being ſicke in *Conſtantinople* (as we ſaid) as a good Emperour deſirous as well to prouide for the time to come, as he had done for the preſent and paſt; nominated for CÆSAR and his ſucceſſor his ſonne in law MAVRICE. And afterwards leauing all the Empire entier and in peace, as hee inherited the ſame (the ſtate of *Italy* onely except) in the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne (although ſome ſay leſſe) he died, in the yeere of our Lord fiue hundred, foureſcore and fiue; and after ſome others, fiue hundred, foureſcore and nine. And his death was much

Thirtie tyrants of the Lombards.

The death of Tiberius. Anno Dom. 585. or 589.

ſorrowed

sorrowed and lamented by all estates, for his great vertue and goodnes, and for that he was liberall and bountifull to all men.

THE LIFE OF MAVRICIVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND TWO ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Empire being come to Mauricius, sonne in law to Tiberius, he shewed himselfe to be of a very vile nature, and particularly sinned in coueteousnes, notwithstanding that in martiall affaires he was very wise & politike. He sent captaines and men of warre into Italie against the Lombards, accordingly as Pope Pelagius had requested, with which after long warre in the end a truce was concluded, he afterwards brake the peace with the Persians, and the warre had this issue, that after many routes and ouerthrowes equally giuen and receiued, of the one side and of the other; the new King of Persia, to suppresse a tyrant which rose against him, became a friend to the Emperor of Constantinople. After which peace, bending himselfe to the affaires of the West, he welded the estate with indifferent good fortune, through the valour and vertue of the Exarchi, which he sent into Italy: yet in this time God sent many plagues and scourges into the world, as inundations and ouerflowings of waters, famine, and Pestilence, which happened more in Rome then in any other countrey. Besides which euill, it became besieged by the Lombards, and Maurice for the hatred which he bare to Gregorie (who then succeeding Pelagius, was Pope therein) would not relieue it, so as to abase the Pope, he was content to lose all Italy, which God afterwards seuerely punished. For his owne souldiers rebelling against him, made a priuate Colonell, whose name was Phocas, Emperor, who comming towards Constantinople with an armie, made Maurice to flie, and he being vnable to leuie such forces as might defend him, and being taken by the souldiers of the new tyrant, was brought backe to Constantinople, where hauing first seene the

death of his wife and children, by the hands of an executioner, he had his head ſtriken off; all which he endured with exceeding greatnes of minde when he had raigned twentie yeeres.

MAVRICIVS peaceably obtained the Empire, by the death of his father in law TIBERIVS, whom he nothing reſembled in his vertues, for he was both vicious and couetous; yet in the affaires of the warres he was very prouident and diligent, and as he was both valiant and politike in martiall actions, ſo he had, and choſe ſingular captaines for the warres of his time; which were many very great and daungerous. Whereof great part happened at one time, notwithſtanding that they were in ſundrie parts and prouinces. Wherefore to relate that with breuitie which I haue collected, it is requiſit that I write each accident a part: which I will performe in the beſt manner I can, ſo that in the end of all, we may haue ſo ſpoken, that the whole may be vnderſtood. And beginning with the affaires of *Italy*, I ſay, that the truce made with the Lombards, was not of their part throughly obſerued, but that daily from one citie or other, there were robberies committed, and ſome encounters and bickerings. Wherefore as LONGINOS was but of ſmall power, and the Romanes were in great feare to be beſieged; Pope PELAGIVS the ſecond wrote a letter from *Rome* to GREGORIE whom he had ſent to *Conſtantinople*, informing him of the ſtate of *Italy*, and of the great daunger and neceſſitie wherein it was, and gaue him eſpeciall charge to be an earneſt ſutor to the Emperor, to ſend reliefe and men for the wars againſt the Lombards; which he procured with ſuch efficacie, that the Emperor MAVRICE (notwithſtanding that he was much troubled with the warres of *Perſia*, whereof we will ſpeake hereafter) prouided a new Exarch and gouernor for *Italy*, who was a good ſouldier and a wiſe man, called SMARAGDVS, with a good number of ſouldiers; and ſent for LONGINOS to returne. SMARAGDVS came then by ſea to *Rauenna*, and with him Saint GREGORIE. His comming for the fame and good report which was ſpred of him gaue great ioy and hope to the Imperialiſts in *Italy*; and he preſently tooke order for martiall affaires. And foraſmuch as neere vnto *Rauenna*, a valiant captaine of the Lombards called FEROALDVS, held a citie called *Claſſi*, and had made, and ſtill did make, cruell warre againſt thoſe of *Rauenna*; he determinad firſt to vſe all meanes to diſpoſſeſſe him thereof, and to driue him from thence. And to this effect he ſent to DOCTRVLA an Imperiall captaine and gouernor of the citie of *Vercelli*, that leauing a competent garriſon in that citie he ſhould come with his power to ioyne with him, and he making prouiſion of boates and barkes, purpoſed for his better ſecuritie, to paſſe downe the riuer *Po*, to the end that being arriued at *Aſpenetico*, which is at the mouth of the riuer, he might ſaile from thence by ſea to *Rauenna*. But FEROALDVS had intelligence hereof, and with the greateſt power alſo that he could make; likewiſe with barkes came to ſtoppe his paſſage downe the riuer, where they came to blowes, and DOCTRVLA by meanes of the aide which came to him from *Rauenna*, had the victorie, and FEROALDVS was ouerthrowne and fled by water to *Claſſi*, which the new Exarch SMARAGDVS in the meane time had beſieged and battered, ſo that it was readie to haue yeelded when FEROALDVS came; who for the preſent hindred the ſame, by encouraging and animating the beſieged.

Smaragdus came Exarch into Italy.

But ſo ſoone as they vnderſtood that he was ouerthrowne by the enemy and

came

came thither by flight, they resolued to yeeld, and did so. And SMARAGDVS entred the citie, where all the Lombards which were found therein, were put to the sword, and in like manner their gouernour FEROALDVS, in reuenge of the like cruelties committed by them.

This victorie obtained by SMARAGDVS, was so highly esteemed, that those of his partie gathering hart and courage, and their aduersaries waxing fearfull, he recouered some cities and holds, the greatest part whereof yeelded of themselues. Which the captaines of the Lombards considering, who after the death of CLEPHIS continued as tyrants and would not chuse them any King; they resolued to chuse one whom they all should obey, and vnder whom they might liue; for they were of opinion, that if they continued so diuided, they should be all ouerthrowne and brought to confusion; as they alreadie began to be. And hauing resolued hereupon, they chose one of King CLEPHIS his sonnes, whose name was ANTHARIS, a young man of great spirit, and who had purchased greater fame in the warres then any other man of his nation; and so was much spoken of both among his friends and enemies. The name of a King, and so valiant, as was ANTHARIS, caused a great alteration in the estate; to whom all the captaines and gouernors contributed of their treasure, each of them giuing him the one halfe of what they had, for the maintenance of the warres, and his new estate. The first enterprise that he vndertooke, was against *Vercelli*, and DOCTRVLA the gouernor thereof, aswell for the late dishonor which he had done them, as for that, that citie at that time was of great importance; wherefore he besieged it both by water vpon the riuer *Po* with barkes, and by land with great forces which he had raised; and scaled it in such manner, that notwithstanding that DOCTRVLA did all that possibly he was able to doe, being out of hope to hold the place, he came to a composition, and gaue it vp; and so came downe the riuer to *Rauenna*; and ANTHARIS made great spoile in the citie, destroying the best part thereof, and raced the walles downe to the earth, so as they were neuer after repaired or made like as in former time they had been.

Antharis chosen King of the Longobards.

ANTHARIS hauing obtained this victorie, determined to goe against FRANCILIONE, which the citie of *Como* held, and other fortresses in the lake of *Como*, and had very gallantly defended the same for the space of seuenteene yeeres. But in the meane season motions were made of peace or truce, and either partie was glad to treate thereof. SMARAGDVS, for that he stood in feare of the King, who was both young and valiant, and also for that hee imagined himselfe to haue no sufficient power to make head against him, and the King being but newly come to his gouernment, holding not himselfe for throughly setled and confirmed, the better to establish himselfe therein, thought it best to conclude a peace, and to bring vnder some, to whom his election was nothing pleasing. All which laid together, gaue occasion that a truce was taken for a certaine time, although the Lombards neuer truly obserued the same. For that time al *Italy* remained in some rest, and in the manner of peace; and SMARAGDVS sent to *Rome* for Prefect or gouernour therof, a noble Knight borne in *Constantinople*, whose name was GERMANVS, with whom went S. GREGORIE, and they were receiued with great ioy and solemnitie: for GREGORIE for his good life and conuersation, was generally beloued and honoured. So as with their comming, and the good hope which was conceiued of their new Exarch, they thought to haue a hand in recouering al that which the Lombards held, and had vsurped; and in the meane time, to enioy the peace in rest and prosperitie. But it followed not according to their expecta-

A truce taken with the Lombards.

Germanus gouernour of Rome.

tion: for God ſent other perſecutions, as you ſhall heare. But let vs leaue *Italy* in this truce, and briefly ſpeake of thoſe warres which MAVRICE made by his captaines in the East against the Perſians, which for numbers of men, and battailes and great conflicts were farre greater then thoſe of *Italy*: for they were waged betweene two the moſt mightie Monarchs which then were in the world, to wit, the King of *Perſia*, and the Romane Emperour.

Philippicus Generall against the Perſians.

MAVRICIVS then ſent his armies, and for Generall of them, an excellent Nobleman called PHILIPPICVS, to whom hee had married his ſiſter. Againſt whom K. HORMISDA being come, engroſſed his armie, & made a great man called CARDARIGA his Generall. With whom, after ſome notable skirmiſhes and encounters, PHILIPPICVS came to a maine battaile, with power againſt power, which laſted aboue tenne houres, the one charging the other, in ſuch manner that no aduantage could be perceiued. But in the end PHILIPPICVS and his troupes gat the victorie, and ſlew a very great number of the Perſians, and took two thouſand priſoners, which he ſent to the Emperor to *Conſtantinople*, and the reſt eſcaped by flight, and with them their Generall CARDARIGA. PHILIPPICVS hauing obtained this notable victorie, marched forwards with his hoſte, and ſent a good Commaunder called HERACLIVS, with ſome ſelected troupes, with direction to pierce ſo farre as he might into the countries of the Perſians, he promiſing to ſecond him. And notwithſtanding that CARDARIGA was ouerthrowne, yet was he not therefore diſcouraged, neither omitted to vſe all the meanes and diligence which to a good Generall did belong: and ſo gathering together all ſuch forces as he could, making ſhew that hee would reinforce his armie; with thoſe ſmall troupes which hee had, paſſing ouer certaine mountaines, in a very darke night he ſet vpon PHILIPPICVS his Arrierguard, wherein the feare was ſo great, that PHILIPPICVS, as though he had not been victorious, ſhamefully fled all the whole night long, with no ſmall loſſe and detriment to his people: in ſo much that the Perſians imagining their flight to haue been fained (ſeeing how few they were) dared not therfore follow the chace: & ſo reſted vntil that the day light freed the one from feare, and ſhewed to the other the aduantage that they had loſt. But HERACLIVS whom PHILIPPICVS had ſent before, followed his direction with better diſcretion, and greater diligence: for paſſing ouer the riuer *Tigris*, with the fame of the late victories, he took ſome cities, and did much hurt, and returned towards PHILIPPICVS very rich with the pray and the ſpoiles of victorie. This being paſt, and the Romane armie being gathered againe together, the Emperour commanded PHILIPPICVS, that leauing the armie with HERACLIVS, he ſhould make his repaire to him to *Conſtantinople*; and PHILIPPICVS accompliſhed his commandement. And in his place was ſent a valorous and expert captaine called PRISCVS, who being come to the armie, ſhewed himſelfe ſo proud and hautie to the Captaines and men of warre, that they mutined againſt him, and he was generally ſo ill entreated by all men, that hee was driuen to ſaue himſelfe by flight, hauing receiued ſome ſuch blowes and knockes with ſtones, that he was likely to haue been ſlaine: and they amongſt themſelues choſe (euen againſt his will) GERMANVS for their General, who was a man of great account in the armie. But at that time MAVRICIVS was ſo oppreſſed with the warres againſt CAYANVS, and the Auares, and againſt the Slauons in *Slauonia* and in *Miſia*, and in other prouinces, whereof we will ſpeake hereafter, that hee could not then puniſh ſo great an inſolencie: and therefore ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood thereof, he held it for moſt expedient to ſend backe PHILIPPICVS, for their gouernor

A battaile wherein Philippicus had the victorie.

The ſhamefull flight of Philippicus.

Priſcus made Generall againſt the Perſians in place of Philippicus.

and

and Generall, and that PRISCVS ſhould returne. And beſides PHILIPPICVS, hee alſo ſent another Nobleman of great eſtimation, called ARISTOBVLVS, to pacifie the mutinie and rebellion of the armie, by entreatie, gifts, or otherwiſe in the beſt manner that he could, which he performed. And ſo PHILIPPICVS againe vndertooke his charge, and returned to warre againſt MARVZAS a new Generall of the Perſians; who with a greater armie then any of thoſe before named, came againſt him. Which is an argument of the great wealth and power of the Kings of *Perſia*, that being ſo oftentimes ouerthrowne, they ſtill returned with as great force, and that alwaies whenſoeuer they would haue peace, the Empire willingly graunted the ſame. And in the end the Emperors were well contented to defend their confines againſt them, and held that alſo for a great matter.

Philippicus reſtored to his charge.

Theſe two great Captaines and armies came ſo neere together, that both parties deſired to giue battaile, and they waged it in ſuch manner, that it was one of the moſt cruell battailes in the world, and both the one and other partie fought therein with ſuch obſtinacie and ſtomacke, that it laſted the greateſt part of the day, and the Perſians were ouerthrowne; not for that they were either diſcouraged or ranne away, but for that they were almoſt all ſlaine. For in the Annales of *Conſtantinople* I finde written, that three thouſand of them were taken priſoners, and two thouſand eſcaped by flight, and that all the reſt died fighting, and with them their Generall MARVZAS; ſo as their camp was left to the Romanes, which found no man therein to make reſiſtance. And ſo they paſſed one whole yeere in frontier warres, at the end whereof King HORMISDA commaunded a very great armie to be leuied. And PHILIPPICVS preſuming on his former victories, made no doubt to giue them battaile; and the Perſians refuſed it not, and ſo they fought neere to the citie *Marticopolis*; and therein was PHILIPPICVS and the Romanes ouerthrowne, to their great loſſe and confuſion. For which the Emperour was very ſorrie, and prouided a new Generall for the Eaſt, and ſent for PHILIPPICVS to come to *Conſtantinople*, with direction to leaue the armie with HERACLIVS, of whom wee made late mention, vntill that another Generall ſhould come, which was performed. And afterwards ROMANVS was ſent, and the King of *Perſia* ſent another, whoſe name was BARAS. Theſe two Generals being arriued with their new charges, either of them ſought to winne honour againſt the other, and by diuers deuices they ſlew the one the others people, burned townes, and did the greateſt harme euery where that they could, vntill at laſt they drew neere the one to the other, and fought in a ranged battaile, wherein BARAS and the Perſians were ouerthrowne, in the fields of *Albania* in *Aſia*, which is a very great prouince in the Eaſt, bordring vpon *Armenia*. HORMISDA was ſo ſorrie for this loſſe, imagining that it happened through the defect of his Generall, that thereby to diſgrace him he ſent him a womans garment, and commaunded him preſently to leaue his gouernment. Notwithſtanding that he had ſet matters in very good order, and had gathered together his ſcattered armie. But hee ſtood in ſuch feare of his King, that the beſt remedie that he could deuiſe, was to rebell againſt him; which hee might eaſily effect, for HORMISDA was very cruell, and therfore hated by his ſubiects. And after this it enſued (taking occaſion from the rebellion of BARAS) that VINDOIS, a man of great power (whoſe brother HORMISDA kept in priſon) conſpired againſt him, with many others, which for his crueltie and couetouſnes extremely hated him: and they tooke him priſoner, and made his ſonne COSROES their King. But his other ſonne, with his wife, they put to death, and pluckt out his eyes; and afterwards his owne ſonne made him

Hormisda King of the Persians put to death by his sonne Cosroes.

him to be slaine: and so ended the raigne and life of HORMISDA. But the cruelty which the sonne vsed against his father, seemed so horrible and abominable, that he presently fell into as great hatred and disliking of al men, as his father was in his life time; in so much that going to fight with BARAS, who as I said rebelled, the greatest part of the men of warre which he led forsooke him, and went ouer to BARAS. So as COSROES seeing himselfe abandoned, resolued to sue to his enemies for reliefe, and fled into the territories of the Empire, and put himself into the power of PROBVS PATRICIVS, who had the guard of the frontiers, through which he passed, where he was very honourably entertained. Whereof when the Emperour MAVRICIVS was giuen to vnderstand, hee was very glad, and sent vnto him a very honourable Captaine whose name was NARSES, and a Bishop, a man of great authoritie and his kinsman, offering him all fauour and aide for the recouerie of his kingdome, and adopted and tooke him for his sonne.

Cosroes king of the Persians fled into the Empire.

Baras ouerthrowne in a battaile by Cosroes.

NARSES who went for Generall in this action, putting the same in execution, commaunded all the armies and men of warre which the Empire held in *Asia*, to be drawne to an head: and so he and COSROES went to seeke BARAS, who with the courage of a valiant tyrant staied for them, and fighting was ouerthrowne, and by flight escaped into certaine mountaines. After this so noble a victorie, COSROES recouered all his kingdomes, and he and the Emperour continued great friends: and so ceased the warres betweene the Empire and the Persians, which had continued sixe yeeres. This happened in the eight yeere of the raigne of the Emperour MAVRICIVS.

Noricum, Bauaria.

Whilest the Emperor MAVRICE waged these warres in the East, *Europe* continued not in rest nor peace; for besides the miseries and calamities of *Italy* (as I will presently relate) the Hunnes which dwelt in *Hungarie*, & in part of *Noricum*, now called *Bauaria* (which we but now called Auares) after the name of a King of theirs called by that name, then raigning ouer thé a King called CAYANVS, who was both very proud and very valiant, and therewith very mightie, they and he concluded amongst themselues to make war against the Empire: which they followed with such resolution, that it caused no small feare: for entring through the vpper *Misia*, which now containeth the two prouinces of *Seruia*, and *Bassina*, he found so small resistance, that he came into *Thracia*, now called *Græcia* or *Turkey*, for that therein standeth the great citie of *Constantinople*: against whom MAVRICE sent an armie, and for generall thereof a valiant and prudent captaine whose name was COMENCIOLVS, and these two made cruell warres, and after many skirmishes came to a battaile, which I leaue, being too long to recite; and therein CAYANVS was ouerthrowne with great losse of his people, and so was constrained to retire. But within short space after, he returned againe with no lesse power then at the first, to warre in the marches of *Slauonia*, and MAVRICE sent thither his sonne THEODOSIVS, and his father in law GERMANVS, with other captaines; which had so good successe, that although they lost some iourneies, yet they not onely draue them out of that which they had vsurped, but also wholy rooted them out of all *Hungarie*. But MAVRICE either for feare or retchlesnes forslowed those warres, and losing oportunitie (which is seldome recouered) the inconueniences ensued, which we will describe. For a kinde of people called Slauons, a nation inhabiting farre in the North, which vntill that time had neuer been heard of, sent their Ambassadors to the Hunnes Auares (moued thereto, by the newes which they had heard from them), and by them offered to come to their aid, as

Warres betweene Cayanus and Comenciolus.

Cayanus and his people driuen out of Hungarie.

in

in deede they afterwards did, and ioyned with them, and did much harme in the lands of the Empire, and out of it, as hereafter we will recount in few words.

The Slauons came to make warres in the Empire.

Let vs now returne to *Italie*, which wee left in peace and at truce with the Lombards, wherein it happened, that as neither partie concluded the peace for any remorce of conſcience, or for the feare or loue of God or their neighbours; but for their owne aduantage and priuate intereſt, and to awaite a fitter time and oportunitie for the warres; (as for our ſinnes it often happeneth in the world) and as it was not pleaſing to God, neither made according to his will, ſo it pleaſed not him to maintaine the ſame: for he ſent his wrath and ſcourge vpon *Italie*, and chiefly vpon *Rome*, as to a place which moſt needed amendment. The firſt was with raine, which fell in the monethes of September and October, for the ſpace of many daies continually without ceaſing, in ſuch ſort, that the water was ſo high, that the riuers and lakes of *Italie* ouerflowed and drowned an infinit number of people and cattell; and the riuer *Tiber* waxed ſo high, that all the fields which were not hillie and mountainous, were ouerflowne with water; ſo that all men feared that it would haue proued another generall diluge; particularly in *Rome*, where the riuer *Tiber* did ſwell ſo much, that in ſome part it was as high, and in ſome other it exceeded and ouerflowed the walles of that citie; and the water entred in ſuch manner into it, that it ſpoiled and defaced the greateſt part of the buildings neere to the riuer. And the floud afterwards ceaſing, the fields remained ſo ſlimie, ſo muddie and ſo ſoft, that they could not be tilled nor ſowen; by reaſon whereof a generall famine enſued through all *Italie*. And in like manner through the exceſſiue moiſture, the earth and the aire were ſo corrupted, that the plague of peſtilence began, which raged in ſuch manner, that many townes were left deſolate, and diſpeopeled; and where they died leaſt, two thirds of the people periſhed. But in the citie of *Rome* (as all writers affirme) was the greateſt furie thereof: for in the beginning it tooke away Pope PELAGIVS the ſecond, in whoſe place (againſt his will and perforce) was choſen Saint GREGORIE, who ſeeing the wrath from heauen, made many deuout prayers to God, and many ſermons and orations to the people, exhorting them to amendment of life, and repentance for their ſinnes, to the end that it might pleaſe his maieſtie to withhold his puniſhment from them. And in this extremitie he ordained the Letany, which is to this day vſed in the Church. Finally, the Lord in his mercie tooke pitie of them, and the plague ceaſed, and the earth began to be more cheerefull and to change colour, and to bring forth fruite. But yet this fauour which the Lord beſtowed vpon them, auailed not to eſtabliſh any peace, or amitie amongſt thoſe which eſcaped this plague; for the Lombards hauing gotten ſupplies of men of warre, without any reſpect of the feare or loue of God (the time of the truce being expired) renewed the warres with greater furie then at the firſt. And foraſmuch as the land had been puniſhed with ſo great calamities, and lay waſte, and diſpeopled, it was an eaſie matter for them to doe great harme among the Imperialiſts. Firſt their King ANTHARIS in perſon went againſt FRANCILION, which was commaunded by the citie of *Como*, with two other moſt ſtrong fortreſſes in the lake of *Como*; and beſieging it the ſpace of ſixe monethes, without being any longer able to defend the citie, the beſieged gaue it vp, and went to *Rauenna*: that citie hauing valiantly defended it ſelfe with much honor, the ſpace of twentie yeeres. The taking of this citie, did greatly enrich King ANTHARIS, for FRANCILION had in that time gathered together, and had in it much treaſure: and departing from thence with great honor and wealth, he tooke

A wonderfull diluge in Rome and all Italy.

Italy and Rome plagued with raigne, famine and peſtilence.

The Letanie ordained to be ſaid in the Church by Saint Gregorie.

other

other places. Whereupon the Emperour MAVRICE, at the entreatie of Pope GREGORIE, and the Exarch SMARAGDVS (which daily ſollicited him for aide and reliefe) ſent to CHILDEBERT, which at that time raigned King of *France*, a great ſumme of money; to the end that he ſhould enter *Italie* with ſome great power, in his behalfe: and the King of *France* promiſed to doe ſo, and began to put it in execution. And comming into *Italie*, the fame of his comming began to worke great effect, and ſome captaines of the Lombards reuolted to him. But CHILDEBERT imagining, that if the Emperour againe recouered *Italie* wholy to himſelfe, he ſhould hardly liue in ſafetie in *France*; and therefore comming to a compoſition with ANTHARIS, he returned into his countrey, without intermedling in other mens quarels. At his returne died ANTHARIS King of the Lombards, and the principall men of that nation falling at variance amongſt themſelues about chuſing of a new King, at laſt agreed that he ſhould be King whom THEODELINDA (which was the laſt Kings widow) ſhould take to husband, and ſhe made choice of AGISVLPHVS, gouernor of *Taurino*, now called *Turin*; and ſo he was made King, who was as valorous a prince as any his predeceſſors had been before him. At that time the Emperour depoſed SMARAGDVS from the gouernment of *Italie*, and ſent thither for Exarch a Knight called ROMANVS (of whom we made mention in the warres of *Perſia*) with ſome companies of ſouldiers, for the defence of *Rome*, and to make warre in other places. ROMANVS comming in the meane time, whileſt the new King AGISVLPHVS was buſied with ſome of his captaines, which holding certaine cities rebelled againſt him; prouided and furniſhed with men and victuals, *Padua*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, and the reſt of the cities which were in greateſt daunger; and ſetting all things there in order, he came to *Rome*, from whence afterwards with thoſe forces which he brought, and thoſe alſo which before his comming were in the citie, he departed to recouer the townes and caſtles, which the Lombards poſſeſſed in that quarter; many of which he wanne by force of armes, and others voluntarily yeelded themſelues. Whileſt that the Exarch was buſie about theſe things, the Pope ſent three very learned men into *England*, which with their preaching conuerted the King and the inhabitants thereof to the true faith, which vntill then was not throughly receiued amongſt them. The like care he tooke for *Italie*, and for all the other prouinces: and THEODELINDA wife of King AGISVLPHVS being a deuout Chriſtian, he practiſed with her and her husband, to cauſe their people to leaue their Idolatrie, which he obtained, and afterwards he perſwaded him to ſurrender to the Church the goods and reuenewes which he withheld from it. About this time grew great contention betweene the Biſhops of *Rome*, and of *Conſtantinople*, about the ſupremacie: for IOHN Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* alleaged, that to him did appertaine the Papacie, and to be vniuerſal Biſhop of the Church, ſeeing that *Conſtantinople* was the head of the Empire. Againſt which the Biſhop of *Rome* oppoſed himſelfe withall his power, alleaging himſelfe to be Chriſts vicar, and head of the Church: ſo as there paſſed many things of the one ſide and the other about this matter. In this meane time died ROMANVS the Exarch, and another was ſent in his place, whoſe name was GALLICIANVS, or GALLICANVS, who was a vertuous man and very valiant; and he preſently applied himſelfe to redreſſe many things which ROMANVS had peruerted, and put out of order. And although that he much deſired warre, yet through the counſell of the Pope he tooke truce, which being expired he carried himſelfe ſo valiantly in the warres, that hee tooke the citie of *Parma* by aſſault,

Contention betweene the Biſhops of Rome and of Conſtantinople for the ſupremacie.

The Exarch Romanus dying, Gallicanus was ſent in his place.

assault from the Lombards, and therein tooke a daughter of King AGISVLPHVS, which he had by his first wife, and grew to be so strong in the field, that AGISVLPHVS durst not giue him battaile. Whereupon seeing himselfe ouermatcht, hee sent to the Slauons for aide, which were alreadie ioyned with the Auares; and GALLICANVS leuying new forces died in *Rauenna*, and SMARAGDVS was againe sent thither to be Exarch; who came into *Italy* with so small forces, that his comming did rather encourage, then disinay or daunt the enemie. Which proceeded from this, the Emperour so deadly hated the Popes presumption, that rather then to endure the same he was content to lose all *Italy*.

And to this his euill will was conioyned the trouble which the Slauons, which came to his enemies aide, did put him to: for CAYANVS the fierce and proud king of the Auares (the Slauons and their king MVSACIVS being come into *Germany*) ioyned his forces with his enemies, and some Frenchmen came also to them, and entred the bounds of the Empire. And the Emperour sent against them one PRISCVS, a captaine of great account, with a mightie armie, to stop their passage ouer the riuer *Ister*, now called *Danubius*; who warred so aduisedly and with so great valour and discretion, that the most times that he fought with them he obtained the victorie. And one night he gaue the Slauons a Camizado, and tooke their King MVSACIVS prisoner, and slew a great number of them. There afterwards happened many things in that warre, which would be too long to relate: for CAYANVS King of the Auares, as hee had many men, and those very expert and accustomed to the warres, besides the multitude of the Slauons, neuer ceased to make cruell warre against the Emperour MAVRICE; yet sometime they tooke truce, which lasted some space: and PRISCVS and he came and spake together concerning an agreement. After all this, CAYANVS with his Auares and Slauons entred *Dalmatia*, and did great harme, robbing and spoiling many townes therein. But PRISCVS comming to relieue them, he retired to his losse, and altring his course tooke his way towards *Thracia*: and marching without stay, came within few daies iourney of *Constantinople*. And as the report and feare is vsually greater then the daunger; so he strake so great a terror into the citizens of *Constantinople*, that they were of the minde to haue abandoned the citie, and to haue passed ouer that arme of the Sea into *Asia*, as the Annales of *Constantinople* doe testifie. But the Emperour MAVRICE (as in truth he was valiant) commaunded all the people to be put in armes, and the gates of the citie to bee shut, and order to be taken in all things that were needfull, vsing infinite diligence; and gaue direction for the defence of the countries through which CAYANVS was to passe. But all this needed not, for at that instant there fell so pestilent a mortalitie in CAYANVS his armie, that in one day onely seuen of his sonnes (for he had many) and a great number of other people died of the plague: wherefore he was constrained to returne into his countrie: And the Emperour sent for Generall another Captaine, whose name was COMENCIOLVS, who ioyning with PRISCVS, obtained certaine victories against CAYANVS. But he was of so hautie a minde, and therewith so politike, that notwithstanding that he was ouerthrowne, yet within very few daies he euer reinforced his armie, in such sort that he put his enemies in greater feare, then at the first; and in the end at the request and entreatie of the Lombards which liued in *Italy*, he resolued to warre in *Slauonia*, drawing neere vnto *Italy*: where, although that he found some resistance, yet the Slauons which came with him seised vpon great part of that countrie, and remained therein: and in processe of time it left the name of *Illyricum*, and after their name

Musacius King of the Slauons taken prisoner by Priscus general of the Emperours forces.

Cayanus inuaded the Empire.

A great plague in Cayanus his campe, whereof seuen of his sonnes died in one day.

Illyricum called Slauonia.

vntill this day is called *Slauonia*; and ſo from henceforth we will call it. And from this people (as BLONDVS, VOLATERRANVS, and others affirme) the Bohemians and Polonians are deſcended: for part of them tooke thoſe countries, and vpon ſundrie occaſions tooke theſe names.

The origine of the Bohemians and Polonians.

As matters ſtood vpon theſe termes, the Lombards in *Italy* and their King AGISVLPHVS, knowing how much the Emperour hated the Pope, reſolued to beſiege *Rome*; which they did with a very great armie, and the Pope was therein beſieged aboue one whole yeere, and by his induſtrie onely the citie was defended, for from the Emperour came no relieſe at all: whereupon he wrote him certaine letters, which are yet extant to be read, out of which is drawne great part of this hiſtorie. But notwithſtanding all this, the Emperour MAVRICE would not relieue him, but rather wiſht his deſtruction: but yet both hee and the citie eſcaped, and at the yeeres end AGISVLPHVS raiſed his ſiege and departed.

Prodigious viſions appeared to the Emperor Maurice, prognoſticating his death.

It is written, that vpon a day about noone, in the citie of *Conſtantinople*, in the open market place of that citie, there appeared a man to the Emperour in the habit of a Monk, holding a ſword in his hand, who ſpeaking with a lowd voice, ſaid, The Emperour MAVRICE ſhall die by this ſword: and this man preſently vaniſhed amongſt the people, ſo as no man could ſay from whence he came, neither what he was. This is written by Pope GREGORIE, which you may beleeue if you will.

They alſo ſay, that in his ſleepe he ſaw a ſouldier whoſe name was PHOCAS, who murthered his wife and his children, and afterwards ſlew him alſo. With this dreame he was ſo much troubled, that hee preſently commaunded his ſonne in law PHILIPPICVS to be ſent for, who was charged by him to haue had a determination to rebell againſt him; and he (not without great feare) came to him. And the Emperour after hee had deſired him to pardon him for the falſe accuſation wherewith he had ſlaundered him, asked him whether he knew any man of account in the armie called by the name of PHOCAS: whereto he anſwered, that he knew a Centurion in the campe of that name, whom hee had a little before made pouruour for the campe. And MAVRICE againe demaunded, what manner of man he was? Quoth he, he is a cholericke licentious young fellow, but therwith fearefull and a coward. Whereto they ſay, that the Emperour being much troubled and in deſpaire, replied: If he be a coward, of neceſſitie he muſt be cruel, and deſirous to ſhed bloud: and ſo ſhedding many teares, he told PHILIPPICVS what he had dreamed, who was therwith alſo much troubled. In the meane time there came meſſengers vnto him, which he had ſent to certaine religious perſons to deſire them to pray for him; which in ſome ſort did recomfort him, perſwading him to be of good cheere, for God would haue mercie on his ſoule: but yet he neuer ceaſed to bewaile his ſinnes, and liued in continuall ſorrow and contrition. And PHILIPPICVS perſwaded him to vſe ſome great liberalitie to his armie and men of warre, thereby to winne their loue, and the better to liue in ſafetie from them. But he followed not his good counſell, and ſo within few daies after his death was practiſed, in ſuch manner as followeth.

He commaunded his brother PETER, whom he had made Generall of his armie, and warred againſt the Slauons in *Slauonia*, that to the end to auoide charge and expences, in any caſe hee ſhould winter in the ſame prouince, and lodge his armie in ſuch villages and other places, where he might moſt annoy the enemie. Whereto notwithſtanding that PETER anſwered to the contrarie, and entreated that hee might not doe ſo, alleaging that the armie ſhould ſuſtaine intollerable

trouble

trouble and extremitie in thoſe mountaines; yet he continued ſo obſtinate in his commaund, that PETER of force muſt obey, although againſt his will: and the armie tooke this in ſo ill part, that without any reſpect of dutie and alleageance they mutined, and chuſing the aforenamed PHOCAS for Generall, they marched againſt PETER, who was lodged about a daies iourney from thence, and he fled to the Emperour. BLONDVS writeth that the captaines which fled, were THEODOSIVS the Emperors ſonne, and GERMANVS his father in law. But I herein follow the Commentaries of *Conſtantinople*, and ZONORAS, which ſeeme to bee more conformable to the truth: for they write, that the whole armie ſent an Ambaſſade to THEODOSIVS, willing him to come vnto them, and they would make him Emperour, and if he would not, that then GERMANVS ſhould come: but they refuſing, or not daring to accept their offer, the armie choſe the ſame PHOCAS for Emperor, and he tooke his way towards *Conſtantinople*. Which when the Emperour MAVRICE vnderſtood, calling to him his ſonne THEODOSIVS, and GERMANVS his father in law, with COMINCIOLVS, PHILIPPICVS, and other great captaines, hee began to take order for the defence of the citie, and to leuie ſouldiers, and to make preparation for the warres. But as this reuolt happened through the permiſſion and ordinance of God; ſo the people roſe in ſuch manner, that nothing could be done to any purpoſe, and there were many great tumults in the citie. And amongſt the people, and the Emperors owne kindred alſo, ſome laid the fault of what was befalne vpon others, and ſome were in hope to be Emperors if MAVRICE loſt the Empire, and others tooke part with PHOCAS the new tyrant, or Emperor. During this confuſion and hurly burly, PHOCAS ſo faſt as he could march came to *Conſtantinople*, accompanied with all the men of warre; and MAVRICE which (vntill then) had euer been ſo mightie againſt all nations, hauing now no ſufficient power to defend himſelfe, fled out of the citie, and tooke ſhipping in a ſmall barke, with his wife and children, and paſſed ouer the ſtreight called S. GEORGES Arme; and entring into the citie of *Calcedonia*, (which is on the other ſide) was there ouertaken and apprehended by PHOCAS his people, who was alreadie come to *Conſtantinople*: and being brought backe againe, PHOCAS commaunded him to be put to death; but he firſt made his two ſonnes, three daughters, and his wife the Empereſſe, for his greater torment, to be ſlaine in his preſence, which he ſaw and endured with admirable magnanimitie; and, as a faithfull Chriſtian, recommending himſelfe to God, he called vpon his holie name, many times repeating theſe words; *Iuſtus es Domine, & rectum iudicium tuum*. And ſo he patiently ſuffered death and had his head ſtriken off. Hee died in the 63. yeere of his age, and the twentith of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord (after moſt writers) 603. Some write that when he fled from *Conſtantinople*, he ſent his ſonne THEODOSIVS to the King of *Perſia*, there to be kept, and that afterwards he was deliuered into the power of PHOCAS. And ſo ended and was extinguiſhed the whole houſe and linage of the Emperour MAVRICE. There were alſo put to death by PHOCAS his commaundement, the Emperors brother, PETER, and other principall men. In time of this Emperour there were warres betweene the Kings of *Spaine* and *France*, and betweene the Saxons and the Sueuians, betweene the French and the Auares, and ſome others, which for that they concerne not my hiſtorie, I omit. In this time alſo the Turks began to be knowne in the world: for it is found written that they made warres in *Aſia* againſt the Perſians. Then alſo began the name of the Bulgarians to be knowne in *Europe*, a fierce people, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter.

Phocas choſen Emperour.

The Emperour Phocas fled from Conſtantinople.

The death of the Emperour Mauricius.

Anno Dom. 603.

THE LIFE OF PHOCAS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND THREE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

AFter the manner as I haue before declared, was the Emperour MAVRICE put to death, who, as he was valiant, wise, and venturous in the wars, if he had bin bountifull and liberall, hee had been accounted for a good Prince, and had longer enioyed the Empire. For all authors affirme, his niggardice and ſparing to haue bin the cauſe of his death, I meane of his corporall death: for the waies and iudgements of the Lord are vnſearchable and incomprehenſible. And to ſay the truth, couetouſnes is one of the moſt daungerous and hatefull vices wherewith a Prince can be infected: for beſides that it maketh him ill beloued and odious to his ſubiects, it is the fountaine and roote of greateſt euils in thoſe which are rich and mightie: for from thence grow violences, wrongs, rapine, briberie, extortion, crueltie, intollerable taxes, and impoſitions, no reward for ſeruice, condemning the innocent, abſoluing the guiltie for money, coueting other mens goods, vniuſt warre, and ſhamefull peace. Finally, in Kings and Potentates couetouſnes is the mother of all euils, and a vice which maketh their raigne and gouernment ſhort and miſerable; as may be prooued by many examples. And to the contrarie, liberalitie hath been the occaſion that many (notwithſtanding that they were wicked) raigned longer then others. And foraſmuch as I haue not time to make any long digreſſion, I conclude that the couetouſnes

and

and miſerable ſparing of the Emperor MAVRICE, made PHOCAS ſo mightie, as to be able to bereaue him of both his Empire and his life. And the ſame vice was afterwards the cauſe of his death alſo, as wee will ſhew you, ſo ſoone as we ſhall haue related what happened in the Empire. When the Emperor MAVRICE was dead, there was none that durſt lift vp his hand againſt PHOCAS, and therefore he was generally obeyed of all men (excepting NARSES the generall commaunder in the Eaſt, before named.) This NARSES when he vnderſtood that PHOCAS had cauſed MAVRICE to be ſlaine, he with an armie went into a citie of *Arabia*, called *Ediſſa*; with a reſolution to yeeld him no obedience, but with the aide of the Perſians to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt him.

But PHOCAS was crowned in *Conſtantinople* by the Patriarch thereof, with great ſolemnitie, and great ioy and gladnes of the people, which is euer deſirous of nouelties: And as they ſuddenly deſire them, ſo they as ſuddenly abhor them. And the like happened in *Rome* vpon the newes of his election: for the Romanes hated MAVRIDE, for the enmitie betweene him and the Pope whom they loued. And ſo ſoone as Pope GREGORIE vnderſtood that PHOCAS was made Emperor, he wrote vnto him a notable epiſtle, which vntill this day is extant; wherein he admoniſheth and counſelleth him what he ought to doe, to be a perfect Emperor.

The firſt thing that PHOCAS did, was to ſend into all the prouinces and nations of the Empire, priuiledges, exemptions and kind letters, with new garriſons and ſouldiers where neede required: all which he did with ſuch expedition and in ſo good order, that he made himſelfe well beloued of his ſubiects, and reſpected and feared by ſtrangers, but both in the one and in the other it continued but a little while. And to GERMANVS who was Pretor and gouernor in the Eaſt, he ſent commaundement preſently to goe and beſiege NARSES, which rebelled againſt him. In the meane ſeaſon, AGISVLPHVS King of the Lombards (who in the troubleſome time wherein PHOCAS was choſen; and before his election, had taken the cities of *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and *Volturnia*, and therein had done irrepairable harmes, aſwell in the walles and buildings of the citie, as among the cittizens, the inhabitants, and their goods) for feare of the new Emperor concluded a truce and a peace with SMARAGDVS the Exarch, and with Pope GREGORIE, and withall *Italy*, for one yeere. And from thenceforth to be the better able to liue in ſecuritie, he ſought to match his eldeſt ſonne ADOALDVS in mariage with the daughter of THEODOBERTVS King of *France*. And ſo PHOCAS raigned in great proſperitie the firſt yeere; vntill he began to diſcouer his baſe condition, and little worth, together with his extreme couetouſnes, and negligence in all things; by meanes whereof he became ſlightly regarded and eſteemed by all men, whereof enſued warres and troubles. In the ſecond yeere of his raigne died Pope GREGORIE, and SABINIANVS ſucceeded him, who alſo tooke truce for another yeere with AGISVLPHVS, which was afterwards prolonged for other three yeeres more, by Ambaſſadors ſent by AGISVLPHVS to the Emperor PHOCAS. And in the ſecond yeere alſo of the raigne of PHOCAS, began the warre againſt the Perſians, which in all mens iudgement was leaſt to be feared, conſideriug how greatly COSROES King of *Perſia*, ſtoode bound to the Emperor MAVRICE, and to the Empire, for reſtoring him to his kingdome. The cauſe of this warre is written ſo diuerſly, that I therefore leaue to ſet downe the ſame; in the beginning whereof, GERMANVS the captaine generall in the Eaſt, leuied an armie to make head againſt him, and they

Warre with the Perſians.

fought a battaile, wherein GERMANVS was ouerthrowne, and the greateſt part of the Imperiall armie ſlaine, and he wounded eſcaped by flight, and within eleuen daies died thereof. When PHOCAS vnderſtoode of this loſſe, he then graunted the peace, which we ſpake of, to the Lombards, and procured the like with the Bauares, with the Hunnes, and with the Slauons. And he with great diligence and little diſcretion, paſſed the greateſt part of his power into *Siria*, for the warres in the Eaſt, vnder the conduct of very good captaines; and commaunded LEONCIVS, and MAGNATES, which were two of them, to make warre vpon NARSES; who vpon the faith and ſecuritie giuen vnto him yeelded himſelfe: but PHOCAS breaking his faith and promiſe, made him moſt cruelly to be burnt. His armie in the Eaſt had yet another battaile with COSROES, and was againe ouerthrowne with great diſhonor and confuſion. And whileſt as the Emperors captaines loſt theſe battailes, there grew very great tumults and factions in *Conſtantinople*, and in many other cities in *Aſia*; which roſe of very light and friuolous occaſions. Which were, that as in auncient time, in *Rome*, and afterwards in *Conſtantinople*, they vſed certaine ſports and games of running with chariots, and on horſe backe, after a kinde of turneying, as heretofore in the life of DOMICIANVS we haue declared: ſo now in the like ſome clothing themſelues in greene, and others in gray, the common people which ſaw the ſame (as their manner is) affected ſome the one colour, and ſome the other; and this ſo much encreaſed, that (as in time paſt there had been great ſcandales, and murthers done vpon the like occaſions) ſo it pleaſed God to permit, that in the time of PHOCAS, the matter grew to that extremitie, that there were infinit ſlaughters and murthers committed, in *Siria*, in *Egypt*, in *Græcia*, and in many other prouinces: which the Emperor by his letters and commaundements was not able to remedie. For notwithſtanding that he was very cruell, and did wrongfully put many to death; yet was there ſmall account made of him; for all men knew the baſenes of his mind, and his diſordinate vices, and couetouſnes, and how that he applied himſelfe to nothing, but to his pleaſure amongſt women, and to ſeeke new meanes to encreaſe his tributes, and to heape money together: by reaſon whereof euery where were tumults, confuſions, and riots; and the princes and nations bordering vpon the Empire knowing this, determined to ſeiſe vpon ſuch part thereof as they could. CAYANVS with the Bauarians and Hunnes, comming from *Noricum* (by them called *Bauaria*) and from the countries of *Hungarie* and *Auſtrich*; after they had enlarged their territorie, concluded to make warre vpon the Lombards (which was the onely thing that kept the Empire in peace) and fighting a battaile with a great armie, and a captaine of them; the Bauarians obtained the victorie. After which CAYANVS tooke by force of armes a citie called *Forum Iulij*, which he wholy deſtroyed, and hauing done much harme and taken great ſpoiles in the prouince of *Venice*, he returned to his kingdome. Then the Slauons which before had made themſelues Lords of great part of *Illyricum*, in this time tooke all *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*, which now continued all the coaſt and countrey from *Friuli* to *Duraſſo*, by them called *Slauonia*. In this meane time, COSROES King of *Perſia* was not idle, but entred with a mightie power into *Meſopotamia*, and tooke it all into his power, and part of *Siria* alſo, where, in battailes and conflicts, he wholy defeated the legions and Romane armie. And on the other ſide, his men of warre made themſelues Lords of all *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia*, and did much hurt in other prouinces of the Empire. Whileſt theſe things paſſed in theſe parts in *Aſrica*, which of long time (euen euer ſince the

Phocas violating his faith made Narſes to be burnt.

Meſopotamia, Armenia, and Cappadocia taken from the Romanes by the Perſians.

death

death of the Emperor IVSTINIAN) had been in peace, and in the ſeruice and obedience of the Empire; HERACLIVS whom ſome call HERACLIANVS, which for the Emperor PHOCAS was gouernor thereof, ſeeing his puſillanimitie and euill gouernment, began to leaue his ſeruice and to doe what beſt pleaſed himſelfe, without any reſpect or regarde to his decrees or commaundements. And to the end that the miſchiefe ſhould be generall, and in all places, in the citie of *Antioch* in *Soria*, the Infidels roſe againſt the Chriſtians, and ſlew a great number of them, together with the Patriarch of that citie; vpon which PHOCAS commaunded great puniſhment to be inflicted. Finally, in all the prouinces there was great diſorder and little iuſtice, and thoſe prouinces which bordered vpon the enemies were deſtroyed, and great part of them loſt. And the matter came to this iſſue, that one of theſe two things of neceſſitie muſt enſue; which were, that either the Empire muſt be rent in ſunder, and wholy loſt, or elſe PHOCAS muſt die. Whereupon the moſt principall captaines, and his chiefeſt friends, ſeeing it expedient for the common good, and the eſtate of the Empire, conſpired againſt him, and reſolued to kill him. Amongſt which was his greateſt fauorit PRISCVS, who by letters agreed with HERACLIVS (which gouerned *Africa* and rebelled, and with whoſe daughter PRISCVS was married) that he ſhould kill him, and make his ſonne HERACLIVS which was his wiues brother, Emperor. There were alſo confederates in this treaſon (if it may be ſaid to be treaſon to kill a tyrant and a traitor) PATRICIVS, and other principall men. And as PRISCVS was in great credit with PHOCAS, ſo he fained to reduce his father in law HERACLIVS to his ſeruice; and vnder his pretect, he firſt brought his brother in law HERACLIVS to *Conſtantinople*, as for a pledge and an aſſurance of his fathers loyaltie. This treatie was double, for his father was preſently to come to *Conſtantinople*, with the greateſt power that he was able to make; vnder colour to paſſe into *Aſia*, againſt the King of *Perſia*; and according to this rumor he did ſo, and came with a very great nauie, and ſuddenly landed in *Thracia*, which coaſt is now called *Romania*. And his ſonne which remained in *Conſtantinople* with the fauour and in companie of PRISCVS, and many others, entred the pallace and ſlew PHOCAS; and then preſently arriued his father with his forces, and according to the agreement betweene them, yong HERACLIVS was made Emperor, and generally obeied. In the maner of PHOCAS his death, the authors which write thereof make ſome difference: but they all concur in this, that he was ſlaine through the conſpiracie of the captaines, and great men before named; in the eight yeere of his raigne, and of the incarnation of our Sauiour CHRIST ſixe hundred and eleuen, without leauing any ſonne to ſucceede him in the Empire.

Hard conditions for an Emperor.

Phocas ſlaine by Heraclius which after him ſucceeded in the Empire.

Anno dom. 611.

THE LIFE OF HERACLIVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FOVRE ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Heraclius hauing ſlaine the tyrant Phocas, without any contradiction was made Emperor; who found the Empire very weake and in great trouble. In the beginning of his gouernment, the citie of Ieruſalem was taken by Coſroes King of the Perſians; and the croſſe of Chriſt which was left there by Helena, mother of Conſtantine the great, was carried away. He obtained victorie againſt Iohn Campſinus a captaine of his, which rebelled againſt him, and made himſelf a tyrant ouer part of Italy; by another of his captaines whoſe name was Elutherius, who by reaſon of this victorie grew ſo proud, that he alſo dared to rebell, and to call himſelfe King of Italy; but he was preſently ſlaine by the ſame captaines which tooke his part. And hauing concluded a peace with the Bauarians, he made his ſonne Conſtantine Cæſar, and his companion in the Empire; and leauing him (for that he was very yong) vnder good keeping in Conſtantinople, he went againſt Coſroes, who had taken from him great part of the Empire. To which warre he went himſelfe in perſon, and hauing giuen his enemie two great ouerthrowes, he conſtrained him to flie. When he had expelled Coſroes, and recouered many countries of the Empire, he made peace with Coſroes his ſonne, which roſe againſt his father, for an iniurie receiued from him; which peace was a great helpe to the Empire, and very hurtfull to Coſroes: but by meanes thereof, the ſonne bereaued

the

the father of both his kingdome and his life. In these times sprang the sect of Mahomet, against which Heraclius in the beginning made no resistance, making no account thereof: but afterwards he began to feare the same when he could not represse it. This Emperour made a great exchaunge from vertue to vice; so as when he grew old, he became superstitious, an heretike, and libidinous, giuing himselfe to pleasure, as a young man, when it had been more requisite and more honorable for him to haue liued gravely, as an old man: and tooke to wife a young woman, giuing himselfe more to carnall delight, then for his yeeres, and the dignitie of so mightie an Emperor was fit. But falling into the disease of the dropsie, he died suddenly, when he had raigned twentie yeeres.

AS the life and conditions of PHOCAS were odious to the world, and his raigne so vnhappie and infortunate, that the Imperiall scepter and dignitie was likely to haue wholy falne and to haue come to ruine; so all men reioiced at his death. And forasmuch as HERACLIVS was the actor and executioner thereof, they very peaceably and ioyfully admitted and receiued him for Emperour; who was a man fortunate in the warres, and obtained many noble victories, and possessed the Empire many yeeres, although that in the end thereof many things happened contrarie, for his sinnes and little constancie in the Christian faith; as in his historie we will relate, as briefly as possibly we may. PHOCAS and those of his partie being put to death, HERACLIVS was with great ioy and solemnitie crowned in *Constantinople*, by the hands of SERGIVS Patriarch thereof; his father HERACLIVS being there present, with PRISCVS and other great men, which had bin confederates in the conspiracie against PHOCAS. And vpon the same day hee solemnized his marriage with a principall Ladie, whose name was EVDOXIA, who afterwards in the second yeere of his raigne died in childbed, of a sonne called CONSTATINE: and he married for his second wife with a neece of his owne called MARTINA, which also bare him a sonne called HERACLIVS. This Emperour HERACLIVS found the Empire in such trouble, and so rent in peeces, that it seemed impossible to hold and to continue. The affaires of the East were in such case, as we told you, where COSROES had defeated all the armies, and entring into the Empire, daily tooke townes and holds. In the prouince of *Arabia Petrea*, which bordreth vpon *Egypt* and *Iudea*, the Sarazins rebelled, with which the wicked MAHOMET afterwards made himselfe very mightie. CAYANVS and the Bauarians which inhabited *Bauaria*, *Austrich* and *Hungarie*, seeing the Empire so weakened, came into *Thracia*, and made warres therein. In *Illyricum* or *Slauonia*, the Slauons were of great power: and in *Italy*, although there was peace with the Lombards (for they were broken and weakened by the ouerthrowes which they had receiued from the Bauarians and Slauons) yet there wanted not commotions, and hurly burlies: for PHOCAS before his death had bereaued SMARAGDVS (oftentimes before named) of his Exarchat and gouernment, and had sent thither another Captaine called IOHN; who comming to *Rauenna*, with his wife and familie, and a great number of Iudges and officers for all *Italy*, PHOCAS was by that time dead; and IOHN being more earnest in requiring tributes, and other exactions then he ought to haue been, the people were therewith so much moued that they slew him: and so *Italy* remained without a gouernour. And at that time the Church of *Rome* was without a Bishop, and so by the death of Pope BONIFACE, and by meane of discord among the Clergie, that seate was voide the space of eight moneths. And a Captaine which liued in *Naples*, whose name was IOHN CAMPSINVS, and gouerned that citie with the territorie thereof, determined to rebell, and to make himselfe Lord of *Pulia*, *Calabria*,

In what state Heraclius found the Empire.

At what time Mahomet began to grow mightie.

bria, Campania, and of great part of that countrie, which at this day is the kingdom of *Naples*; imagining that the new Emperour ſhould haue enough to doe to defend or to recouer the reſt, and ſo he might make himſelfe King of *Italy*.

HERACLIVS comming to the Empire ſo torne and diſmembred; to encounter with ſo many extremities, in the beginning vſed not ſuch diligence, as was requiſite, neither had he power or meanes thereto. For as al authors write he found the Empire ſo diſarmed and vnfurniſhed of men of warre, that there were neither old ſouldiers, neither experienced legions left, but were all ſlaine and ſcattered. Neuertheleſſe he began to make Captaines, and to leuie men of warre, and ſent CRISPVS with ſuch forces as he could get, together with thoſe which his father brought him out of *Africa*, into the prouinces of *Aſia* the leſſe (now called *Turkie*) to guard and defend the ſame, ſeeing they were not able to giue battaile to the Perſians; and cauſed his father to returne into *Africa*, which was all that the Empire peaceably enioyed, together with *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*; and he himſelfe remained in *Conſtantinople*, procuring peace with the Bauarians and their King CAYANVS, by all poſſible meanes, as well by gifts as entreatie. But theſe things were ſo long a doing, that COSROES King of *Perſia*, as maſter of the field, taking ſome cities by ſurpriſe, and others by force of armes, came conquering all *Siria*, and thence into *Paleſtina*, and ſo to the citie of *Ieruſalem*; not the old *Ieruſalem*, for that (as is alreadie ſaid) was deſtroyed and laid waſte by TITVS and VESPASIAN, but to that which the Emperour ADRIAN new builded, in the ſame place, or at leaſt neere vnto it, as alreadie is declared; which then was a great and an excellent citie. And entring it by force of armes he vſed great crueltie, and did much harme to the Chriſtians; ſo as therein (as it is written) were ſlaine 80000. perſons; and taking the wood of the croſſe of Chriſt, which HELEN mother to CONSTANTINE the Great had left there, and carrying it thence with him, he ſet it with great reuerence vpon the top of his chaire, or royall throne, made of fine gold, ſet with many iewels and pearles. And hee likewiſe carried with him priſoner ZACHARIAS the Patriarch of *Ieruſalem*, who was an excellent Prelate. This taking of *Ieruſalem*, ſome authors write to haue happened about the end of the raigne of the Emperour PHOCAS: but the moſt certaine and true opinion is, that it befell in the time of HERACLIVS, wherein I place the ſame. CRISPVS which was ſent by the Emperour, and then was in the prouince of *Cappadocia* in *Aſia* the leſſe, endeuoured to leuie ſouldiers, and to prouide (ſo much as in him lay) for the defence of thoſe countries, againſt the great power of the Perſians: but it auailed not at that time. And for as much as it was bruted that the Perſians meant to goe into *Egypt*, and thence to go to make a conqueſt of *Africa*; HERACLIVS father to the Emperor being then in the citie of *Carthage*, leuying a great number of men of war, departed thence, marching along the Sea coaſt, to goe into *Egypt* to make head againſt the Perſians; where we wil leaue him, to the end to tel you firſt what enſued after that IOHN CAMPSINVS rebelled with the citie of *Naples*, and al that prouince, as we ſaid. The Emperor being much moued with his audacious rebellion, ſent a captain into *Italy*, whoſe name was ELEVTHERIVS, with a good number of ſouldiers; which captain was of a great & noble parentage, & very wiſe and expert in the warres. And he ſo ſoone as he arriued at *Rauenna* with his fleete, was receiued and obeyed therein; and vnderſtanding what they were which conſpired in the rebellion and inſurrections paſt, he puniſhed ſome of them, vſing greater clemencie then ſeueritie. And therewithall he ſpeedily aſſembled ſuch forces as remained in the gouernment of *Rauenna*; with which, and with thoſe which he

The citie of Ieruſalem taken by the Perſians.

Eleutherius ſent by the Emperour againſt Iohn Campſinus.

he brought with him, he purposed to take his way against CAMPSINVS, who lay in *Naples*, and by the way went to *Rome*, where he was well receiued and honored by DEVS DEDIT, who then was Pope. And being past towards *Naples*, CAMPSINVS considering that by prolonging the warres hee daily lost, and the Emperors partie encreased; with the greatest and best power that he was able to make he tooke the field, and neere to the citie of *Naples* they two fought a cruell battaile; and ELEVTHERIVS obtained the victorie (although very hardly) for CAMPSINVS fought valiantly, and died fighting. After this battaile, ELEVTHERIVS with small difficultie recouered all that CAMPSINVS had vsurped, and returned with victorie to *Rome*: and for his better securitie, and to bring to effect such things as he had proiected (which we will presently tell you) he practised to prolong the peace with AGISVLPHVS King of the Lombards, which was concluded for other tenne yeeres. And he procured and leuied money, wherewith he paied and contented his souldiers and men of warre: for which his doings so valorously and so speedily accomplished, the Emperor HERACLIVS sent him the authoritie and title of Exarch and gouernour of all *Italy*; wherewith he came to *Rauenna*, which was the seate of the gouernours, leauing all *Italy* in peace and in quiet subiection (*Lombardy* excepted, and the rest which the Lombards possessed) by meanes whereof he grew so proud and so ambitious, that without the feare of God, or of the Emperour, knowing himselfe to be greatly beloued by his souldiers, he rose and rebelled against his soueraigne Lord, and tooke vpon him the title of King of *Italy*, and presently departed with his armie from *Rauenna* towards *Rome*, to the end to make himselfe Lord of all the land. But it pleased God to giue him speedie punishment: for the same captaines which aduanced him, and vpon which he had grounded his disloyaltie; the same I say to shew themselues loyall to the Emperour, within few daies iourney from *Rome* slew him, when he nothing suspected any such matter; and the armie approoued his death, and they altogether returned to *Rauenna*, and sent his head to the Emperor to *Constantinople*; who being aduertised of what passed, was very well pleased with what they had done. And sent for a new Exarch, a great noble Constantinopolitane, called YSANCIVS, who was very well receiued. And at the same time died the valiant AGISVLPHVS king of the Lombards, and his son ODOALDVS being a child of tender age, was made their king; and the wise and Christian Queene THEVDELINDA his mother, tooke vpon her the gouernment, and ruled and gouerned that kingdome very wisely and discreetly, and obserued and renewed the peace with the Italians, and the Imperialists; and so *Italy* remained for some space in rest. But in the wars against the Persians, matters happened to the contrarie: whereof wee will make a briefe relation, and of what end it had.

Campsinus ouerthroune and slaine by Eleutherius.

Eleutherius rebelled and called himselfe king of Italy.

Eleutherius slaine and his head sent to the Emperor.

The death of Agisulphus king of the Lombards.

HERACLIVS the Emperours father, who was gouernour of *Africa*, marching with great power towards *Egypt*, to make head against the Persians, being very ioyfull, and of great power, by the way died of an infirmitie. And by his death all was out of order and came to nothing: for there was not any man amongst them capable of the gouernment, or fit to leade an armie. This happened in the sixt yeere of the raigne of the Emperor HERACLIVS, who al that time remained in *Constantinople*, giuing himselfe to pleasure and his ease. When the King of *Persia* vnderstood of the death of HERACLIVS the gouernour of *Africa*; with the greatest haste that he could make, he sent a very mightie armie into *Egypt*; and as that kingdome was vnfurnished of men of warre, and the Persians came victorious, so in few daies they made themselues absolute Lords thereof, and the same

The death of old Heraclius.

yeere

yeere passing further forwards, they conquered *Africa* euen to the citie of *Carthage*; for no citie neither people were of power able to make head against them. Which HERACLIVS well vnderstanding, sent Ambassadors to King COSROES, with milde words entreating him for peace, desiring him to desist from shedding so much bloud, and to rest satisfied with what hee had done. To this Ambassade the Infidell made answere, so hautily, and with such pride, that among other things he sent him word, that he would graunt no peace to HERACLIVS, except he would renounce the faith of IESVS CHRIST, and adore his Idols. With this answere the Ambassadors returned, and the Persians the yeere following (prosecuting their warres) besieged the citie of *Carthage*, and tooke it, with the marches thereof, and leauing gouernors and garrisons in that countrie, returned into *Asia* most richly loden with spoiles.

The insolent answere of the King of Persia to the Emperor Heraclius.

The citie of Carthage taken by the Persians.

HERACLIVS hauing seene and considered how much of the Empire he had lost, resolued with himselfe to goe in person to recouer the same, or to lose the rest; whereto the Bauarians and their King CAYANVS, were a great hinderance. But to the end that the reader may the better vnderstand the matter, let him know, that these Bauarians (in former time called Hunnes Auares) of a long time called their Kings CAYANI, as the Egyptians called their Kings PHARAONES, and as many other nations gaue their Kings ordinarie and peculiar names. I say then, that CAYANVS returned with his forces to infest the countrie of *Thracia*, which vntill then had free passage. And this was the cause that the Emperor HERACLIVS was detained the space of two or three yeeres, after that which happened in *Africa*; vntill that at length he sought all waies and meanes to come to a peace with CAYANVS, although to his dishonor and with losse of reputation. Finally, it was concluded and confirmed with great othes and promises, and so leauing all *Italy* and *Græcia* in peace, he determined to depart of set purpose against the Persians, and to that end hee named and ordained for CÆSAR and his companion in the Empire, his sonne CONSTANTINE, to make his abode in the citie of *Constantinople*. And forasmuch as he was very yong, he appointed SERGIVS Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and BONOSVS a wise and noble gentleman, for his gouernors and tutors. Which being ordained, preparing the greatest power and munition that hee was able, with many praiers and solemne processions, he departed from *Constantinople* with great solemnitie; and embarking himselfe with his people, he passed ouer into those prouinces which were vnder his obedience in *Asia*, & entertained into his pay many other nations. And forasmuch as his souldiers were but newly raised, he thought it not fit presently to march vntill that they were better practised and trained. Which being done, calling vpon the Lord for aide, he entred into his enemies countries. This his iourney was so much bruted, noted and regarded by all the nations of the world, that there was no man that had not an especiall eye thereto.

Heraclius made his sonne Constantine Cæsar.

Heraclius in Asia.

COSROES King of *Persia*, being well informed, how valiant and how good a captaine HERACLIVS was, and how resolute an armie he led, determined not to giue him battaile, but retired himselfe within his countrie, and made all the victuales to be withdrawne and carried away, and the trees to be cut downe, and laid athwart the waies where he supposed the Emperor would passe. And on the other side, he sent an huge armie of very expert old souldiers, vnder the leading of a captaine called SAVARAGVS, or SALVARVS (for in these names the authors euer vary) to the end that hee should charge the Emperor, either in the flancke, or in the backe; who with great resolution and in good order marched

against

againſt King COSROES; and by the way recouered and wonne many cities. But holding it for no aſſured courſe to leaue ſo great an armie behinde him, he tooke another way, and ſought out SARAVAGVS; and hauing paſſed the great mountaine *Taurus*, the two armies drew neere the one to the other, neere vnto a riuer: before which time there paſſed many conflicts and other accidents betweene them, which I cannot poſſibly ſet downe at large. The concluſion thereof was, that they came to blowes, and as the Perſians of long time had been victorious, and made ſmall account of the Romanes (I alwaies call thoſe Romanes which were of the Emperors armie: for although that the ſeate of the Empire was in *Gracia*, yet the Emperors euer tooke a glory to be called Romane Emperors, and their armies, the Romane armies) and as the Imperialiſts holding themſelues for diſgraced and diſhonored, had a great deſire to be reuenged (the preſence and great valor of the Emperor being a great helpe thereto) both the one and the other fought, with ſo great courage and obſtinacie, that the battaile continued long, and was very cruell. And although that in the beginning it was very doubtfull, yet in the end the Emperour obtained the victorie, and made great ſlaughter of his enemies. With this victorie the Imperialiſts were ſo much incouraged, that they left of the feare, which vntill then had poſſeſſed them; and the Emperor was incredibly ſolaced, and ioyfull to ſee himſelfe victorious. And foraſmuch as winter drew on, he purpoſed to retire himſelfe, being loden with exceeding rich ſpoiles, and many priſoners; to the end to returne againe the next ſpring with greater force, which was in the eleuenth yeere of his raigne.

A battaile betweene the Romanes and the Perſians, with the ſucceſſe.

But on the contrarie ſide, COSROES was very ſorrie, and much grieued; and imputing the fault to his Generall, depoſed him from his charge, purpoſing to haue cauſed him to be ſlaine, and made another Generall, called SAIN, or SATHIN, a very valiant man and of great account, and gathering together the remainder of the laſt armie, commaunded him to raiſe one farre greater; and that he ſhould follow the warre with a greater reſolution and vehemencie. And the Emperor which had not ſhaken off all care that was needfull, although he would willingly haue accepted of peace, conditionally that he might haue had that reſtored which was taken from him (which he attempted, but could not obtaine) after that he had made his accuſtomed praiers to God, couragiouſly returned to the warres. And as this SAIN deſired to excell his predeceſſor SARAVAGVS, and to recouer what he had loſt, without delaying of time, went to meete the Emperor, and deſiring to come to a battaile with him, he drew his armie neere vnto his; which wanted neither force nor courage to fight. The next day in the morning (ſeeing themſelues ſo neere together, they began to ſet their people in order: but their troupes of either ſide were ſo great, that they therein ſpent almoſt one whole day. Whereupon they tooke truce, vntill the next day, to the end to auoide fighting by night: ſo reſolute was either partie, and ſo they ſlept in the ſame places, and in the ſame order as they were ſet. The next morning by ſunne riſing, the one armie began to moue towards the other, and there began one of the moſt bloudie and cruell Battailes that hath been in the world, which continued vntill a good ſpace afternoone, without any ſigne of aduantage or victorie of either ſide, fighting at equall hand: but by that time the Perſians had ſo oppreſſed the Romanes, that they began to ſhew their weaknes, & the Emperor was in feare to haue been ouerthrowne: but it pleaſed God miraculouſly to relieue him, for ſuddenly fell ſo much raine and haile, with ſo terrible winde and tempeſt, beating in the backes of the Romanes, and the faces of the Perſians, and did ſo much trouble

A truce for one night betweene the Perſians and the Romanes.

A miraculous victorie.

them and put them ſo out of order, that in a very ſhort ſpace they were broken and ouerthrowne, and turning their backes they ranne away. And the Emperor HERACLIVS remained with the victorie, maiſter of the field, when he had ſlaine thirtie thouſand of his enemies in the battaile; although with no ſmall loſſe of his owne people; hauing obtained two ſo great and notable victories againſt the Infidels. And the Emperor ſent to make the ſame knowne in *Conſtantinople*, in *Italy*, and in all the other prouinces of the Empire; for which euery where was made great ioy; and in the meane while he himſelfe was not idle, but reinforcing his armie, and encouraging his people, he recouered great part of *Siria*, and *Meſopotamia*, which he had loſt; part in his owne perſon, and part by his captaines, and he ſtill followed his victorie, vntill that the great waters, which by reaſon of the winter ſtaied him and forced him to returne, and to winter that yeere in the prouince of *Albania*. And COSROES King of *Perſia*, as he was a mightie prince, and his dominion great, ſo the loſſe of theſe two battailes, was not ſuch as to bereaue him of meanes againe to make head againſt his enemie: for gathering together his whole forces, he leuied men of warre, and iſſuing his treaſure, raiſed a greater and a more mightie armie, then any of the former; and made a prudent and reſolute captaine called RAZATENES Generall thereof, who being very valiant, was not afraid to draw neere to the way, where he knew that the Emperor was to paſſe the next ſpring. Finally, after many skirmiſhes and effuſion of much blood, and ſuch like caſualties of the warre, HERACLIVS putting his whole truſt in God, ſought to come to a battaile, which the Perſian refuſed not; ſo as with equall mindes and in a manner, with equall force and armies, two ſquadrons firſt began the fight in the morning, and afterwards others, and in the end all, and this battaile continued vntill about ſun-ſet, wherein the Imperialiſts, in power and courage ſurpaſſing the Perſians, conſtrained them to turne their backes, and to yeeld themſelues for ouerthrowne. And RAZATENES as a good captaine, failing in no part of his office, died fighting, for that he would not liue being ouercome, after that many thouſands of men were ſlaine and wounded of the one ſide and the other. In theſe three eſpeciall battailes, and in many other of leſſe account, it is written, that the Emperor himſelfe in perſon, ſhewed great valour; principally that in this laſt, he ſlew with his owne hand, three excellent men which he encountred in ſundrie places of the battaile, beſides others which he ſlew and wounded of leſſe account.

The Perſians the third time ouerthrowne by the Emperor and their generall ſlaine fighting.

By meanes of this victorie, HERACLIVS grew ſo mightie, and COSROES ſo weake, and his forces were ſo much diminiſhed, that daring no longer to defend that which he had vſurped in *Armenia*, and *Meſopotamia*, he abandoned the ſame; and paſſing ouer the riuer *Tigris* fled into *Perſia*: HERACLIVS alſo paſſed that riuer, and ouerranne the countrie burning and ſpoiling great cities. And in this manner conquering the kingdomes of COSROES, and COSROES not ſo hardie as to defend the ſame, but by flight hiding himſelfe; for his refuge and defence, in his life time he made his ſecond ſonne whoſe name was MEDARSES, againſt all equitie and reaſon, equall with himſelfe in his kingdome; for he had an elder ſonne, a man of greater ſpirit, and of more diſcretion, called SIROES, and (as it often happeneth to the wicked) through the meanes whereby he thought to haue defended his kingdome, he loſt it, together with his life: for his eldeſt ſonne tooke this iniurie done to him by his father in ſo ill part, that he practiſed his death, and to bereaue him of both life and kingdome. To which purpoſe he began by letters and ſecret meſſengers, to treate with the Emperour, entreating

Coſroes abandoning vvhat he had vſurped fled into Perſia.

Coſroes made his ſecond ſon equall with him in his kingdome, whereby he loſt the ſonne together with his life.

entreating his fauour, and to be at peace with him: in requitall whereof, when he ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the kingdome, he promiſed to yeeld vnto him what he ſhould require, if it were in his power. In concluſion, briefly to ſet down the compoſition, they agreed vpon theſe conditions: That he ſhould reſigne to the Emperour all thoſe lands and countries which his father and predeceſſors had vſurped in the prouinces of *Aſia*, and all that which they had gotten by conqueſt in *Africa*, and all the treaſure of his fathers royall houſe. And that he ſhould reſigne the two inuincible fortreſſes, which the Perſians held in the principall paſſages of the riuer *Tigris*, with the croſſe, and the Patriarch which they brought from *Ieruſalem*, and that he ſhould be a perpetuall friend and allie to the Emperour.

This league being concluded, SIROES was ſo magnanimous, and therewith ſo well beloued, that within few daies ſpace, with the aide and fauour of HERACLIVS, and ſuch forces as he ſent him, he gat both his father and his brother into his power, which he apprehended and cauſed to be ſlaine; and throughly performed all that which he had agreed vpon with HERACLIVS, and ſo enioyed the kingdome in peace, although of leſſe power then his father was. And HERACLIVS returned, leauing all the prouinces of the Empire reſtored and furniſhed, and all the paſſages of the riuer *Tigris* fortified; the moſt ioyfull and honoured Prince that then was in the world. And being come to *Ieruſalem*, he ſent his captaines into *Africa*, which he wholy recouered and reduced the ſame to his quiet gouernment. This was in the ſixt yeere after that he began the warre in his owne perſon, and the ſixteenth and ſeuenteenth of his raigne; although in theſe computations there be euer ſome difference betweene the authors. When hee came to *Ieruſalem*, he reſtored ZACHARIAS the Patriarch thereof, and the croſſe which had been foureteene yeeres in the power of COSROES, and came into the citie bearing the ſame vpon his ſhoulders, with the greateſt ioy, feaſting, and ſolemnitie that could be made: and this reſtitution of the croſſe was ſo highly eſteemed, that it was afterwards ſolemnized euery yeere vpon the foureteenth day of September, which is called the exaltation of the croſſe.

Heraclius reſtored the croſſe to Ieruſalem.
The exaltation of the croſſe.

In thoſe daies the falſe Prophet MAHOMET, the deceiuer and ſeducer of the greateſt part of the world, with his illuſions and tromperies, in the countrie of *Arabia* drew many to his ſect, and grew mightie and a tyrant; whom HERACLIVS might then eaſily haue defeated: but making ſmall account of him, he contented himſelfe with the taking of a certaine people from him called Sarazins, which falſely boaſted themſelues to be deſcended from SARA, ABRAHAMS wife; which were alſo called Scenites, and liued in the fields, as the Arabians doe at this day; and giuing them pay, the Emperour ſent them into other prouinces, which at that time ſeemed to haue been a ſufficient redreſſe. And hauing taken order for his affaires in thoſe quarters, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, whither he came with the greateſt triumph that could be made. Herein is ſome difference: for ſome authors write, that before his going to *Ieruſalem* he returned to *Conſtantinople*: but it importeth not whether were the firſt; but in the end the Emperour came to repoſe himſelfe in *Conſtantinople*, with very great honour and reputation amongſt his ſubiects, and was by all other Kings and Princes at that time much beloued and feared.

The ſucceſſe of the falſe prophet Mahomet.

The Emperour Heraclius came victorious and triumphant to Conſtantinople.

In *Italy* all was in peace with the Lombards in thoſe daies, ODOALDVS raigning with his mother THEVDOLINDA; and ſhe dying, the ſubiects making no account of him, for that he was a very childe, denied him their obedience, and choſe ARIOLDVS, who was of the bloud royall: and he maintained the peace

with the Empire in as ample manner as did ODOALDVS and THEVDOLINDA. HERACLIVS hauing ſo good ſucceſſe in all things, as aforeſaid, proſperitie (as ordinarily it worketh in many men) made him proud and careleſſe, forgetting God, and thoſe workes and exerciſes whereby he had attained to that proſperitie. For in ſteede of prayer and contemplation, he gaue himſelfe to pleaſure, to augurie, ſouthſaying and diuination, prognoſticating things to come, by ſuperſticious and vnlawfull Arts and meanes; and from one to another fell into hereſies: for being ſeduced by two wicked Prelates, the one called PIRRHVS, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the other a Biſhop called CIRVS, he came to beleeue that there was a will onely in Chriſt, and ſo conſequently he denied the two natures, diuine and humane. Neither could the admonitions and letters of Pope HONORIVS auaile to diſſwade him from that hereſie, who baniſhed PIRRHVS into *Africa*. It pleaſed God to permit in his ſecret and incomprehenſible iudgement, that MAHOMET began ſo to proſper and preuaile in his proceedings, that HERACLIVS began to ſtand in feare of him, of whom in former time he had made ſmal account: for he had daily newes that he leuied men of warre, which came vnto him as well out of *Arabia*, as out of *Perſia*; ſome illuded through his allurements and ſuggeſtions; others to enioy the great libertie which he gaue them to robbe and ſteale: for theſe were the miracles wherewith in the beginning he planted his diuiliſh ſect. And it followed that the Sarazins, which we ſaid HERACLIVS had gotten from him, by reaſon of the Emperours ill pay and entertainment, mutined, and went to MAHOMET into *Arabia*. So as hee went out of *Arabia Felix*, where he firſt gathered head, and making himſelfe Lord of the three *Arabia*, went into *Egypt*, and afterwards into *Siria*, and into *Meſopotamia*, and had ſo good ſucceſſe, that with thoſe Sarazins and ſuch other forces as hee could get, he reſolued to make himſelfe King of *Perſia*. Whereto this was a great helpe, for as much as that kingdome was much waſted and weakened, as well by ciuill diſſention, as through the great ſlaughter made therein by HERACLIVS: and beſides this, the inhabitants of meere lightnes reuolted to MAHOMET.

Heraclius became an heretike.

Mahomet his ſucceſſe.

There raigned at that time in *Perſia*, a great man whoſe name was HORMISDA, allied to the forepaſſed Kings: for SIROES (who was HERACLIVS his friend) raigned but one yeere in that kingdome, and after him his ſonne ADHESSER other ſo long time onely. By the death of which two, HORMISDA attained to the kingdome, but not in peace or without great tumults and contradictious. At that time MAHOMET marched towards *Perſia* with his Sarazins, and much other people, againſt whom came HORMISDA, and they two fought a very great battaile, wherein HORMISDA was ouerthrowne and ſlaine. Yet ſome write, that MAHOMET was firſt ouerthrowne. This onely battaile, and the illuſion and deceit of his ſect and ſuperſtitious religion, brought all *Aſia* vnder his obedience, together with all *Africa*, *Babylon*, and all the other prouinces ſubiect to the mightie kings of *Perſia*. And he wholy ſubuerted that Empire, ſo as from that time forwards it had not any title of any kingdome, but all thoſe nations loſt their names, and from thenceforth were called Sarazins, and Mahometiſts, after their falſe Prophet and leader. Whereas in truth they ought to haue been called Agarenes Iſmaelites: for MAHOMET deſcended from ABRAHAM, by the way of AGAR a bondwoman, and his ſonne ISMAEL. The Emperor vnderſtanding of theſe victories, applied not himſelfe to reſiſt the courſe therof, with ſuch magnanimitie as he ought to haue done; notwithſtanding that he knew that hee returned into *Siria* and *Paleſtina* with a determination to take *Ieruſalem*: but hee ſent thither to fetch from thence

The originall of the Sarazins and their ſucceſſe.

thence the crosse of CHRIST only, & to bring it to *Constantinople*, from whence afterwards in processe of time it was brought to *Rome*. MAHOMET thē came and tooke many great cities in *Siria*, wherein he found small resistance, and amongst them the citie of *Ierusalem*, publishing himselfe euery where to be the Prophet of God. Yet some write, that *Ierusalem* was not taken by MAHOMET, but by his successors, after that he was dead: but it importeth not greatly whether it were taken by him or the others. Within few daies after these victories, MAHOMET deceased, being of the age of two and fortie yeeres: but leauing disciples of his wickednes, his sect and superstition died not, nor tooke any end, but continueth vntill this day, and will continue vntill it shall please God for his mercies sake to cure this contagion. For his successor remained a great Arabian Captaine, called CALIPHA; and him others succeeded, which conquered *Africa*, and other countries, as in the processe of this historie shall be expressed.

The death of Mahomet.

Calipha Mahomets successor.

While these things passed in the East; in *Italy*, notwithstanding that there was peace with the Lombards; as it is oftentimes seene that forraine peace causeth ciuill warre; so MAVRICE CARTVLARIVS who was President of *Rome*, making small account of the Emperor, or of his Exarch ISANCIVS, rebelling made himselfe a tyrant: against whom ISANCIVS came from *Rauenna*, and after many aduentures apprehended him, with many other his confederates; and carrying him to *Rome* smote off his head; and shortly after this ISANCIVS died: And the Emperour HERACLIVS sent a Nobleman called THEODORE GALLIOPA, to be gouernour of *Italy*. But none of all these things could moue the minde of HERACLIVS to leuie any armie against the Sarazins, hee gaue himselfe so much to his pleasure and licentious liuing, marrying in his old age with his brothers daughter, which was a young damsell called MARTINA: and so it pleased God that vpon a day he was taken with the dropsie, whereof he died suddenly, when hee had raigned thirtie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 641. Others say that hee died of a disease called *Priapismus*, a straunge sicknes, and such as with modestie cannot be expressed. He left behind him two sonnes, and one daughter, which he had by his first wife: his daughters name was EPIPHANIA; one of his sonnes was called HERACLIVS; the other CONSTANTINE, whom he made CÆSAR, when hee went to the warres in the East against the Persians. By his second wife he had one sonne, a child of ten yeeres old, called HERACLIVS also. And so ended this Emperour, of whom it may be said that two Emperors might well haue been made; one very good, and the other passing ill, considering the contrarietie in his actions.

Theodorus Galliopa.

The death of Heraclius. Anno Dom. 641.

At what time as the Emperour HERACLIVS died, the Empire of the East was much decaied: for all the prouinces, of *Siria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia* were in the power of the Infidels. In *Italy*, THEODORE GALLIOPA was gouernour, and in *Lombardy*, through the death of ARIOLDVS, ROTARIVS was king. The Slauons possessed *Illyricum*, and the Hunnes and Bauarians held *Hungarie*, *Bauiere*, and *Austrich*. In *Spaine* raigned the Gothes, and the French prospered in *France*: and in *Germany* sundrie other Princes. So as the Empire contained *Thracia*, the prouinces of *Gracia*, the Iles of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, and the greatest part of *Italy* in *Europe*: And in *Asia*, *Armenia*, *Asia* the lesse, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Galacia*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other prouinces therein, with all *Africa*; which I haue set downe of purpose, to the end that the reader may the better vnderstand what shall be said hereafter.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FIVE ROMANE EMPEROR: AND of his brother HERACLIANVS.

IN the Historie of the liues of the two sonnes of the Emperour HERACLIVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS and BEDA seeme to dissent from the other Historiographers; first placing the Empire of HERACLIANVS, who was yonger then CONSTANTINE, and son of his second wife MARTINA; but I follow the opinion of the other authors. The Emperor HERACLIVS being dead and buried, there was no open contradiction that might hinder his eldest sonne, borne of his first wife EVDOXIA which died in childbed of this CONSTANTINE, (which CONSTANTINE had a young man to his sonne called CONSTANS) from obtaining the Empire: aswell for that he was made CÆSAR in his fathers time, as also for that in right he ought to haue it, being his fathers eldest sonne and of full age; and also for the hope which they conceiued that he would proue a good prince. He was then presently accepted and crowned with great ioy and solemnitie, although to the great discontentment and griefe of his mothe

mother in law MARTINA; whose wickednes did so much abbreuiate the raigne of her sonne in law, that there can no notable thing be written of him, that he either did, or that passed in his time; sauing that he gaue good signes and shewes of a good Emperor, and began to be beloued by his subiects; which encreased the hatred of that mischiuous woman his stepdame; and he reposing his trust in hir, she gaue him poison in his meate, whereof he died in the fourth moneth of his raigne: and they also say, that it was done by the direction and counsell of PETER the hereticall Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Emperor CONSTANTINE being thus wickedly made away; the murthereſſe MARTINA, with such fauour and aide as she procured, made her sonne HERACLIANVS Emperour, brother to him whom she had poisoned, being of the age of eleuen yeeres; and she tooke vpon her the gouernment: but this villany could not long continue, for the nobilitie detesting so detestable a fact, rose against MARTINA and her sonne, when he had raigned scarcely two yeeres: in which time I finde not any notable thing written to haue been done of any importance; and therefore I cannot diuine ought, sauing that in this yeere the Sarazins tooke the citie of *Cesaria*, which they had besieged the space of seuen yeeres; and therein slew seauen thousand souldiers of the Empire. The Senate and nobilitie ioyning with CONSTANS, sonne of the deceased CONSTANTINE, and Nephew of the Emperor HERACLIVS, made him Emperor; apprehending MARTINA and her sonne HERACLIANVS: and so ended the vnluckie and infortunate raigne of those two brothers, which scarcely merit to be accounted amongst the Emperors. So soone as the mother and sonne were apprehended, the mother had her tongue cut out, and the sonne his nose cut off, and both were exiled into the prouince of *Cappadocia* in *Asia* the lesse. Also PIRRHVS the Patriarch which came from banishment out of *Africa*, and came to intrude himselfe into these counsels, died likewise, as an heretical Wolfe clad in shepheards rayment; and in his place was chosen PAVL, who in the end proued like to his predecessor. Which befell in the yeere of our Lord sixe hundred foure and fortie.

The Emperor Constantine the third poisoned by his stepmother Martina.

Heraclianus succeeded his brother Constantine in the Empire.

Heraclianus and his mother Martina were throwne out of the Empire, he hauing first his nose cut off and she her tongue.

Anno Dom. 644.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANS THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND SIXE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

Constans by some called Constantine.

THE making of CONSTANS Emperour (whom some call CONSTANTINE) by the Senate of *Constantinople* (which we may call Romane;) and the apprehension of his vncle HERACLIANVS, of whom we now left writing, was all at one instant: and the great wickednes vsed by MARTINA in poisoning his father, made the raigne of the sonne more firme and assured. But CONSTANS proued not to be such as they hoped of him, and as in deede was needfull for the present estate of the Empire; for he was infected with the Arrian Heresie: and concerning the affaires of the East, he contented himselfe to make head against MAHOMETS successors; by placing garrisons in the passages of *Cilicia*, to keepe them from entring into *Asia* the lesse; and so they remained Lords of those prouinces which they had gotten in the East. Pope THEODORE vnderstanding that PAVL the new Patriarch of *Constantinople* held some erronious opinions of the Christian faith, wrote vnto him certaine louing monitorie letters, perswading him to amendment, and to reduce himselfe to the truth. But when he perceiued his labour to be in vaine, he proceeded otherwise against him, and depriuing him of his dignitie, commaunded him to be banished: but the new Emperor would not permit it, but rather shewed himselfe to be of the same opinion; which made a generall confusion euery where; for the head being sicke, the rest

of

of the members ill execute their office. In *Constantinople* and in *Gracia*, the catholike Christians were much troubled with the new heretikes; for that the Emperor tooke their part; and in *Asia*, they held warres with the Mahometicall Sarazins. In *Italy*, although there were peace with the Lombards, through the good gouernment of the Exarch THEODORVS, and the care and endeuour of the Pope, the diuell after his accustomed manner sowed tares among the good seede, which was; that by the meanes of some of his disciples, he perswaded ROTHARIVS King of the Lombards to leane to the infirmitie of his aunceſtors, which was the Arrian hereſie; and the more earneſt the catholike Christians were in reſisting the ſame, with ſo much the greater obſtinacie he placed in euery citie an Arrian Biſhop, where before had been catholike Biſhops. And Pope MARTIN who ſucceeded Pope THEODORE, againſt the new hereſie held by the Emperor and ſome prelates in the East; aſſembled a counſell of one hundred and fiue Biſhops; wherein they which held thoſe opinions, were condemned and proclaimed heretikes, and he depriued the ſaid Patriarch and ſundrie Biſhops of their prelacie and dignities: wherewith the Emperor CONSTANS was highly offended, and did that which hereafter ſhall be declared. On the other ſide, the Pope by all meanes ſought a reformation in the Lombards, which he could not effect ſo long as ROTHARIVS liued; for he made warre againſt the Imperialiſts, after that they had liued many yeeres together in peace: which warre was very reſolutely begun with great preparation by ROTHARIVS of his part; and by the Exarch THEODORE of the other partie. And the Exarch comming from *Rauenna* drew his forces to an head in the citie of *Bologna*; for now the cities of *Italy* by reaſon of their long peace and reſt, were growne rich and populous; and ROTHARIVS leuied no leſſe an armie in the citie of *Parma*; and the one taking his way againſt the other, they came to ioyne neere the citie of *Modena*: where (as SIGIBERTVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS doe report) after ſome encounters and skirmiſhes, they fought a very cruell battaile; wherein the Romanes were ouerthrowne, and ſeauen thouſand of them ſlaine; and the Exarch THEODORE eſcaped by flight. ROTHARIVS after that he had obtained this victorie, came to the coaſt of *Genoa*; and aſſaulted and tooke many cities, which vntill then he could not doe; and ſo marched victorious, vntill that THEODORE the Exarch gathering together thoſe which were ſcattered, leuied a new armie: wherewith he entertained the enemie, and victualled his frontier garriſons. The Emperor CONSTANS vnderſtanding hereof, tooke no care to relieue his Exarch, but being very much offended with Pope MARTIN, he put THEODORE out of the gouernment of *Italy*; and in his place ſent another called OLIMPIVS (as very an heretike as himſelfe) giuing him direction, to ſeeke to bring all the Biſhops in *Italy* to hold of his opinion; and if that he could not bring it to paſſe, that then he ſhould vſe his beſt meanes to get the Pope into his hands, or to kill him. With which commiſſion and reſolution being arriued in *Italy*, he departed from *Rauenna*, and tooke his way towards *Rome*, vnder colour to goe to ſee the Pope; accompanied with many ſouldiers and men of warre; firſt procuring an agreement and truce with the Lombards. And being come to *Rome* he ſought how to apprehend the Pope; and being vnable to effect the ſame, he agreed with a deſperate venturous bold ſouldier to kill him; but it tooke no effect.

A councell held in the time of Pope Martin.

VVarres betweene the Lombards and Imperialiſts.

The victorie of the Lombards.

In the time that theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, the principall infidels (MAHOMETS ſucceſſors) were growen ſo mightie, that they now contented not themſelues with *Egypt*, and thoſe prouinces which they held in the East; but preparing

ring a great fleete in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, they inuaded the Ile of *Rhodes*, and tooke it, and afterwards other Ilands in those Seas; and from thence came spoiling and robbing through all the East Seas, euen to the Ile of *Scilia*, wherein they tooke some townes vpon the Sea side; and landing their armie, burnt and spoiled the countrie in the maine land: whereof when OLIMPIVS the gouernour or Exarch of *Italy* was aduertised, within whose gouernment *Sicilia* was also contained; comming first to an agreement with the Pope, he tooke his way towards *Naples*; whither hee had commaunded to come, and to be brought, the greatest number of men and ships that could be gotten from all parts of *Italy*: and finding himselfe sufficiently furnished, he went in quest of his enemies, resolute and in very good order: and they vnderstanding of his comming, assembled themselues, with a determination to fight with him, which he refused not: And so, so soone as the two Nauies came within sight the one of the other, they set themselues in order, and each Generall animated and encouraged his people, and the fight began with great furie, and was maintained with such resolution, that many thousands of men of the one and other side were slaine. And notwithstanding that in the end the victorie appeared to encline to the Imperialists; yet before they could obtaine it, they had lost so many men and ships, that although that the Exarch might haue driuen the enemies out of the Iland, and haue recouered what was lost; yet hee was so beaten and distressed, that it seemed not that he had ouercome. And (as the Historians affirme) he endured so great trauaile, and was so much tired in the battaile before and after it, that he fell so extremely sicke, that within few daies he died.

Spoile made by the Sarazins.

The death of the Exarch Olimpius.

The Emperour CONSTANS vnderstanding of this victorie; by reason of the discontentment betweene them sought the destruction of the Pope: and to that end gaue the charge of the gouernment againe to THEODORE, from whom he had taken the same. In the end he sent THEODORE into *Italy*, with a secret charge and commaundement, to doe that which he afterwards performed, and I will discouer: and for his consort and companion therein, another aduenturous fellow whose name was PAVLVS PELLARIVS. In this time died ROTARIVS King of the Lombards; and another called RODOALDVS succeeded him; who shortly after falling in loue with a principall mans wife, and being taken with her, was slaine by her husband; and ARRIOPERTVS succeeded him. All which obserued the peace with the lands of the Empire. And the new Exarch THEODORE comming into *Italy*, and with him his friend and companion, was very well receiued; and afterwards in *Rome* whither hee came: for from the first time of his being there, the people were well content with his gouernment. And he remaining certaine daies in *Rome* with his people, concealing his purpose, went one day to the palace, as though he had gone to visite the Pope, and seising thereon, apprehended him, and deliuered him to his associate PAVL, who presently departed with him towards *Rauenna*, and speedily took the Sea and went to *Constantinople*, where the Emperour held him for certaine daies prisoner, and then banished him to *Cherſona* in *Pontus*, which was in the confines of the Empire; where he afterwards died, when hee had been Bishop of *Rome* sixe yeeres. A little before this died the king of the Lombards ARRIOPERTVS, who (as I said) succeeded RODOALDVS. This ARRIOPERTVS left behinde him two sonnes, which were but young, the one called PERTHERITVS, and the other GVNDIBERTVS; between which (each desiring to be absolute) there grew dissention and discord: and GVNDIBERTVS which was the younger rose with *Milan*; the elder brother, which ought to haue

Theodore sent into Italy.

The death of Rotaris king of the Lombards, whom Rodoaldus succeeded.

Pope Martin apprehended and sent to Constantinople.

Pope Martin died in exile.

The death of Arriopertus king of the Lombards.

been

been King, remaining in *Pauia*, then the head of that kingdome. When this came to the knowledge of one GRIMOALDVS, a great captaine of the Lombards, and Duke and gouernour of *Beneuent*, and other townes; he leauing his sonne ROMOALDVS with a good garrison therein, came to the citie of *Pauia*; which he entred by force of armes, and thence draue out the young King PERTHERITVS, and tooke such order in all the rest, that the two brothers were driuen to abandon their countrie; and he remained in their place a mightie King.

Grimoaldus made king of the Lombards.

The Emperor CONSTANS in *Constantinople*, surmizing that by meanes of the warres which the Lombards made amongst themselues, he comming with any great power might driue them out of *Italy*; which his desire he determined to put in execution, and to that effect made his sonne CONSTANTINE his companion in the Empire, to the end to remaine in *Constantinopl.*. And so preparing a great fleete by Sea, and a great armie by land, he came into *Italy* to the citie of *Tarentum*; where landing his people, he marched therewith to ioyne with the ordinarie companies which THEODORE commaunded. And GRIMOALDVS the tyrant King of the Lombards (more like a wise and prouident Prince, then one that was any way fearefull or a coward) had by that time leuied all the power that he was able to make, both to defend himselfe and to offend his enemie. After many aduentures in this warre, the Emperour went to besiege RIMOALDVS the sonne of GRIMOALDVS in *Beneuent*, and did put him and the citie to great distresse: and shewing himselfe very valiant, he published abroad that he came to restore *Italy* to her former libertie, and that he would againe make *Rome* the seate of the Empire: alleaging that it was greater reason to honour the mother, then the daughter. Whether this were fained, or in earnest, I know not; but I am sure the Kings sonne being besieged, sent to his father for aide, who (as I said) was not careless thereof, but daily engrossed his forces, to the end to come to fight with the Emperour. But as he staying longer then ROMOALDVS would (for so was the sonne called) he wrote certaine pitifull letters to his father, by one which was his nurse, who was husband to her which had nursed him at her breast: whom the father meeting vpon the way, sent backe againe to certifie his sonne of what he had seene, and to tell him that hee came to vnset him. This man seeking to get into the citie, was apprehended by the Emperours souldiers; and being brought into his presence, and examined, and his reports found conformable to that whereof he was otherwise aduertised; the Emperour being in great feare resolued not to abide his comming: but desiring first to doe some notable exploit, whereby he thought to haue taken the citie, it happened contrary to his expectation; which I haue thought good to relate for an example to others which are seruants and vassals to Kings and Princes: which was thus. CONSTANS promising great matters to his nurse, requested him to go to the walles; and that calling the besieged Prince, hee should aduise and counsell him to giue vp the citie; for that his father was not able to relieue him. And herewithall hee threatned the nurse, that if he did not so, he would presently cause him to be slaine. The nurse seeing that there was no other way left for him to encourage the besieged; fayning a desire to satisfie the Emperour, promised to performe his commaund. Whereupon the Emperour the next night following, commaunded him to be brought neere to the wall, with a guard which held him fast bound; and he comming thither, called alowd to those within, willing them to call ROMOALDVS to him, for that there was a man which much loued him, desired to speake with him. ROMOALDVS so soone as he was aduertised hereof came to the wals, and with a lowd

The Emperor Constans made his sonne Constantine his companion in the Empire.

The Emperour Constans in Italy.

lowd voice asked who would speak with him. His nurse knowing him well by his speech, and he him also, answered; It is the nurse which bringeth you an answere from your father; who willeth you to be of good cheere, for this day he arriueth at the riuer *Satrico*, and within these three daies will be here with an infinite army: I can say no more, for I am in the enemies hands which alreadie begin to murder me; I recommend vnto thee my wife and children. Hauing said these words, those which were within the citie were therewith greatly encouraged; and those without were so much despited, that they presently killed him, by the Emperours commaundement: who not daring to stay any longer (to his great shame and dishonour) raised his siege from before *Beneuent*, and tooke his way with his army towards *Naples*. GRIMOALDVS being come with a very great armie, sent an excellent captaine called VITOLA, with the best and most choice men of the armie to pursue the Emperour: and hee marching a great pace, ouertooke him at the passage of a riuer called *Caloro*: And the Emperour being alreadie past with the greatest part of his armie, VITOLA charged his arrierguard, and there began a fierce battaile, wherein the Emperors people (for that they could not be seconded by reason of the riuer) were ouerthrowne, and the most part of them slaine: and so the Emperour was driuen to retire to *Naples* with both losse and dishonor. And being to depart from *Naples* to *Rome*, hee commaunded a Captaine of his whose name was SABVRVS, borne in *Naples*, that he with twentie thousand chosen men should stay behinde to guard that citie and prouince: who more hardie then wise (the Emperour being gone) with the armie aforesaid, drew so neere to the Lombards, that the Kings sonne, ROMOALDVS desiring his father to giue him leaue, came with his forces to fight with him; in such sort that with equall desire of both the captaines the two armies ioyned, with Ensignes displaied; and after great slaughter of men of the one and other side, the Lombards obtained the victorie, and following the chace slew SABVRVS the Generall, and many of his people. The Emperor with all his troupes was solemnely receiued into *Rome*, as well by VITILIANVS who then was Pope, as by the citizens and inhabitants thereof; but he remained but twelue daies therein: and when he had visited the whole citie, not as an Emperor and their Lord, but rather like an enemie, he commaunded to be borne out of the citie all the best statues of Marble and mettall, of most excellent and curious workmanship, and much gold and siluer, and other rare things: all which being brought aboord his ships and gallies, he commaunded them presently to depart; and he himselfe from *Rome* went to *Naples*, without making any prouision against the Lombards: by reason whereof they became more mightie then before. The Emperour then came to *Naples*, purposing to passe ouer into *Sicilia*; and being past with much people he went to the citie of *Siricusa*, now called *Sarragossa*, hauing (to no purpose) all his armie together in armes, as though he had meant to haue done some great exploit therewith; so as men greatly suspected it, and were of sundrie opinions. But he did it to no other purpose, then vnder colour to repaire the harmes which he had receiued, with excessiue greedines to gather the rents and seruices of al the prouinces of the Empire; and to impose new taxes and tolls in *Africa*, in *Italy*, in the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Sicilia*, and in all the rest in his subiection: which as it vsually happeneth vnto all Princes which doe so, without iust cause or reason, made him extremely hated through all the Empire, and was afterwards the cause of his death. He remaining thus in the Ile of *Sicilia*, continually feasting and banketting, neuer leauing to require loanes and imprests, and to lay new impositions vpon the people, ransom-

The loyaltie of a nurse.

The victorie of the Lombards.

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ing and pilling them through all the Iland; and in *Africa* and *Italy* alſo; in ſuch manner, that being hated of all men, the Sicilians aduentured vpon a day (he being in a bath) to kill him; by the direction and commaundement of a captaine of his called MICENCIVS, or as others write, MEZENCIVS and MAGVENCIVS, a bold audacious fellow and well beloued: more for the conſtitution of his body (which was very comely, tall, and well proportioned) then for his valour or nobilitie. This happened in the ſeauen and twentie yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, ſixe hundred ſixtie and eight. CONSTANS left behinde him three ſonnes; CONSTANTINE who remained in *Conſtantinople*, for CÆSAR and gouernour, HERACLIVS and TIBERIVS. About this time in *Italy* dyed King GRIMOALDVS, whom we but now ſaid to haue made warres with the Emperor: and he being dead, thither came out of *France*, whither before he fled for refuge, PARTHARIS or PARTHERITVS King ARRIOPERTVS his ſonne, whom GRIMOALDVS had diſpoſſed and throwne out of *Pauia*, as we haue alreadie recited.

Conſtans ſlaine by the Cicilians in a bath.

Anno Dom. 668.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND SEAVEN ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE Emperor CONSTANS (as I haue ſaid) was ſlaine in *Sarragoſſa* in *Sicilia*, and ſo ſoone as he was dead MEZENCIVS who cauſed him to be ſlaine, or (after ſome) which himſelfe killed him; with the fauour of thoſe which aſſiſted him in that action tooke vpon him the title of Emperor, and for the preſent, all the reſt of the people of *Sicilia* approued and confirmed the ſame; more for the deſire of innouations which are euer pleaſing, then for any good liking they had to his perſon. Whereof the Emperors ſon CONSTANTINE was ſoone aduertiſed, who then remained in *Conſtantinople*, and held the name of Emperor, and had done ſo euer ſince that his father departed from thence,

Mezentius made Emperor.

and hee was therewith ſo much perplexed and in ſuch feare, conſidering the ſtrangenes of the accident, that he for the time not onely had not the heart to doe ought in reuenge of his fathers death, but was alſo in feare to haue loſt the name of Emperor, which he then held; and therewithall ſcarcely durſt to maintaine what he poſſeſſed in *Græcia*. And the like in a manner befell THEODORE the Exarch or gouernor of *Italy*: for notwithſtanding that he had a good number of men of warre, well trained, and of good experience; yet he durſt not ſeeme to be greatly grieued for the death of his ſoueraigne Lord; neither to attempt ought againſt MEZENCIVS. Whereof the cauſe was that all the people greatly reioyced at his death; for he was generally abhorred of all men for his couetouſnes. And in this confuſion in all things paſſed ſome daies; all men expecting the ſucceſſe of the new tyrant; not daring to declare themſelues either for the one or other partie; for he had with him many good men of warre. But as his entrie was by treaſon, and grounded vpon an ill foundation; and in him were neither the vertues nor merites requiſit in an Emperor; the captaines and men of warre began to murmur at what he had done, and to wiſh his death; which was ſpeedely publiſhed euery where, and gaue occaſion to all men to take heart, and to ſeeke reuenge for the treaſon & murther committed vpon the perſon of the dead Emperor CONSTANS. The firſt were the Italians; and ſo THEODORE the Exarch began to ſtirre, leuying and muſtring forces, therewith to paſſe into *Sicilia*, as he did; and the companies which were in the prouinces of *Africa* did the like; whereto the peace with the Sarrazins and other nations, was a great helpe; for it ſeemeth, that CONSTANS being in *Sicilia* ſo accompanied with men of warre, they durſt not make warre againſt him. So great forces comming into *Sicilia* againſt MEZENCIVS, and he being ſlenderly ſupported by his owne people, was in ſhort ſpace taken and ſlaine; and many of his friends which were with him, were taken and carried priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, to the young Emperor CONSTANTINE; who preſently after this victorie began euery where to be obeied and held for Emperor, and tooke vpon him the minde and courage of a prince. Some alſo write that he went into *Sicilia*. And notwithſtanding that afterwards he proued a good and perfect Emperour; yet in his beginning he committed a moſt cruell fact, which was; to put to death his younger brothers, thereby to be aſſured that they ſhould not ſeeke to depoſe him: and ſome alſo write that he cauſed the toppes of their noſes to be cut off: but the truth is, that he commaunded them to be ſlaine; and ſo he became Lord of the whole Empire, without any difficultie. But the Sarrazins Mahometiſts, and PHADALAS or SOPHIAS their King, perceiuing the hurlie burlie, and the fit oportunitie to inuade the Empire, by reaſon of the before recited accidents in *Sicilia*, and alſo for that it ſeemed that CONSTANTINE was not yet firmely ſettled in his throne; they the moſt cloſely and couertly that might be, rigged vp a mightie nauie at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; with a determination to inuade *Thracia*, and *Græcia*: and if the diſſention happened which they expected, then to take thoſe prouinces: but afterwards as matters proued better in *Conſtantinople* then was hoped for; they altered their determination, and inuaded *Sicilia*, which was left ill prouided of men of war: and they came with ſuch force and power, that they entered the citie of *Sarragoſſa*, and ſome other townes; where robbing and ſpoiling, they continued certaine daies; and it ſeeming to them an hard matter to hold thoſe places, carrying away with them an infinit number of priſoners and great richeſſe of gold, ſiluer, and other iewels; they returned to *Alexandria*. In the Conſtantinopolitane commen-

Mezencius ſlaine.

Conſtantine made Empe-ror.

The Sarazins made warre in Sicilia.

taries

taries I finde this warre written more a large; where it is affirmed, that they first made warre in the coast of *Thracia* and *Græcia*, the space of many daies, and tooke many places; and that in the end being repelled thence by the Emperor, they went to *Sicilia*, so writeth ZONARAS: but after the first manner, writeth PAVLVS DIACONVS, an author neere to that time, and afterwards others of lesse antiquitie. I sometimes take the paines to set downe the sundrie opinions of the authors (although it shall not be needfull alwaies to doe so;) to the end to satisfie the curious readers, and that they shall not condemne my historie, finding therein contrarie or different from what they shall reade in some others. But although that I do not alwaies thus, let them rest assured, that I follow an author, which writeth it as I relate it; for in the diuersitie of opinions, I follow that which seemeth to be most true and probable, weighing the many coniectures: and when I cannot or desire not to doe so, I briefly set downe both opinions, as now I haue done. That which to me seemeth to be the most certaine, is, that they first inuaded *Sicilia*, and did as I recounted; and afterwards raising greater power through their successe and victorie, there ensued that which these authors alleadge, which is, that they along time made war in the coast of *Græcia*, and in the confines of *Constantinople*; wherein they tooke many places; out of which by the diligence and valour of the Emperor, they were driuen by force of armes: this warre lasted sixe yeeres. And all authors affirme that CONSTANTINE herewith not contented, sent a great armie by land against the Mahometicke Sarrazins, into the prouince of *Soria*, which is the auncient *Syria*, which fought with all their whole power, and the Christians obtained the victorie; and of the infidels were slaine thirtie thousand. And they were brought to such distresse, that their prince or King, whose name was MAVIAS, sent to entreate the Emperor for peace, offering very profitable and honorable conditions; and thereby bound himselfe to pay yeerly to the Emperor, a great number of pounds or markes of golde; and for the present, to release many thousand prisoners, which he held captiues: whereupon the peace was graunted and confirmed by CONSTANTINE, to ease himselfe of that trouble; and to the end to apply himselfe to the reformation of some other matters concerning the Christian faith; for he was concerning what he ought to beleeue, a very good Christian. This was concluded in the tenth yeere of his raigne.

Victory of the Christians against the Sarazins.

Mauias King of the Sarazins sought to the Emperor Constantine for peace.

But there presently ensued another trouble and a warre equall to the former; which was, that a certaine people of the prouinces of *Scithia* (the fountaine of many others before mentioned) called Bulgarians; not those which I heretofore spake of, but others a new, of the same name and stocke came downe into *Thracia*, being in number aboue one hundred thousand persons; and they began to make warre in the Empire, with a desire to take some good countrie, wherein they might dwell and inhabit, as many other nations before them had done. For the Northeren countries are barren and ill inhabited; yet by reason of the cold, men multiplie and encrease in them exceedingly, as we daily see by experience, and PAVLVS DIACONVS noteth the same. The furie wherewith this people came, was so great, that they did infinite harme; and they made themselues Lords of some especiall countries; which being seene and perceiued by the Emperor (in whom there wanted not the minde of a valorous prince) he raised his forces, and in his owne person went to defend his subiects; and the war for some daies space was very sharpe and cruell; and the Bulgarians sought to fight with him in the plaine field, which he (presuming much of his people, as a

Warres betweene the Emperor and the Bulgarians.

A battaile betweene Constantine and the Bulgarians, wherein he was ouerthrowne and put to flight.

valiant Prince) refuſed not; and they fought with banners diſplaied, and the battaile was exceeding terrible. But it ſeemeth that through ſome his ill direction, or the great force of his aduerſaries, the Emperour was ouerthrowne, and many of his people ſlaine, and he himſelfe was conſtrained to vſe the common remedie of thoſe which are ouercome, which is to flie, by that meane to eſcape and to ſaue his life. And as in the battaile he had done what he was able; ſo afterwards gathering his people together, he retired with great good order and diſcretion. And it pleaſed God that at what time, as it ſeemed, and when it was alſo feared, that the Bulgarians would haue brought the Empire into great diſtreſſe, meerely of their owne accord they ſent to the Emperour, and ſuing for peace deſired him to giue them ſome place wherein they might inhabite, and they would become his friends, yea and euen his ſubiects: whereto he gaue eare, conſidering his preſent eſtate, with a very good will. And ſo treating of the matter for a certaine ſpace to the purpoſe, the prouince of the lower *Miſia* was aſſigned vnto them, and was (after their name) called *Bulgaria*: wherein they haue quietly and peaceably inhabited, vntill that of late yeeres they were ſubdued by the Turkes; a new ſcourge and plague to the Chriſtians, after MAHOMET.

The Bulgarians ſue to Conſtantine for peace.

The prouince of Seruia giuen to the Bulgarians, and therfore called Bulgaria.

While theſe things paſſed in *Sicilia*, in *Græcia*, and in *Aſia*, which was the ſpace of tenne yeeres; in *Italy* although there were peace betweene the Lombards and Italians, yet there failed not other miſeries and perſecutions: And there happened ſo great and ſo many tempeſts and alterations in the ayre, that it ſeemed that the foure elements had conſpired againſt mankinde: for the windes were ſo furious and violent, that they ouerthrew many buildings, and rooted vp many trees by the rootes: and the raine likewiſe was ſo great and tempeſtuous, that it deſtroyed all their tillage, as well for breadcorne as al other kind of hearbs and ſeedes: And therewith fell an infinite number of thunderbolts, and fires from heauen, which ſlew a great number of people: and the earth with theſe ſo great alterations became ſo corrupt, that there enſued many very contagious diſeaſes. Wherfore the people repenting them of their ſinnes, made their prayers and ſupplications to God, that it might pleaſe him to ceaſe theſe ſo great calamities: but yet the reliques thereof remained a long time after. At this time died Pope DEODATVS, and by reaſon of his death the ſeate was void foure moneths: and making a new election in *Rome*, DONVS onely ſo called, was choſen Pope, who was held for a Saint, and liued two yeeres and a halfe (as ſaith PLATINA). In his time THEODORE Archbiſhop of *Rauenna* wholy ſubmitted himſelfe to the Church of *Rome*, whereas ſome of his predeceſſors, with the fauour of the Exarchs or gouernours had before him denied the ſame. Others (amongſt which is BLONDVS) affirme, that this happened in the time of his ſucceſſor AGATHVS, who liued two yeeres and a halfe: in which time, although but ſhort, he treated with the Emperour concerning a generall councell to be held, principally againſt the hereſie of the Monothelites, which was diſperſed ouer all the Churches of *Græcia*, which confounded the two natures in Chriſt, humane and diuine; affirming that in him was but a will onely. And ſo for this time the Greeke Church remained conioyned with the Latine: but it pleaſed God afterwards to ſuffer it to come (as wee now ſee) into the power and ſubiection of Infidels. In this councel were many other matters handled concerning the reformation of the church and the ceremonies thereof: and this was the ſixt of thoſe Councels, which for their excellencies were ſo renowned and famous, and among the reſt called vniuerſall. About this time Pope LEO the ſecond ordained the Paxe to be giuen in

Wonderfull alteration of the elements in Italy.

A Councell held in Conſtantinople.

the

the Church, which is obſerued in the Church of *Rome* vntill this day. And he being dead, BENEDICT the ſecond ſucceeded him, with whoſe election the Emperour was ſo well pleaſed, that after that he had confirmed the ſame, he renounced the right and cuſtome which the Emperours held to confirme the election of the Popes: to the end that from thencefoorth, ſo ſoone as by the Clergie they were choſen, they might vſe their authoritie, without any neede of the Emperors confirmation, or of their Exarchs or gouernours, as of long time they had vſed.

CONSTANTINE liuing in this proſperitie, had peace with the Sarazins; and the prouinces of *Africa*, and the Ile of *Sicilia* were in quiet, and ſo was *Italy*: for the Lombards being at variance and diſſention among themſelues, very firmely maintained the peace with the lands of the Empire: and the eſtates of *Græcia* with the territorie of *Conſtantinople*, were all in very quiet ſubiection. But this good forme and manner of gouernment was diſturbed by the Emperors death, which ſhortly after enſued; when he had raigned ſeuenteene yeeres, and had protected and defended the Empire which he enherited, with iuſtice and equitie, reforming errors in the Chriſtian religion, as aforeſaid. And thus it was, that falling grieuouſly ſicke in *Conſtantinople*, and the incurablenes of his diſeaſe being in ſhort ſpace bruted abroad through the world (as vſually it happeneth) in ſome parts his death was publiſhed before that he was dead: whereof GIZET King of the Sarazins, whom they called AMVRATES, being aduertiſed, and beleeuing the ſame to be true, with all haſte leuied a very great armie both by Sea and land, which he ſent from *Egypt*, and conquered all the coaſt of *Africa* to *Carthage*: wherein, by reaſon of the Emperours death, he found no ſufficient reſiſtance. The warres of *Africa* proceeding in this manner, the Emperor died before he was able to prouide for the ſame, as he would haue done if he had liued. He departed out of this world in the yeere of our Lord, ſixe hundred foureſcore and ſixe; his wiues name was ANASTASIA, by whom he had lawfull heires; of which IVSTINIAN and IVSTIN ſucceeded him in the Empire, as preſently ſhall be declared.

Warres made by Gizet King of the Sarazins

The death of the Emperour Conſtantine. Anno Dom. 686.

THE LIFE OF IVSTINIAN THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Emperour attained to his dignitie being very young: in the beginning of his raigne he made warres against the Turkes, and constrained them to sue for peace: which for that he maintained not, it so happened that he losing a battaile in the second warre, was driuen to sue to them for peace: and returning home with disgrace was deposed from his Empire, hauing his nose and his eares cut off: and in his place Leoncius a Captaine of his was made Emperour. Afterwards another of his Captaines, whose name was Tiberius, rose against Leoncius, and deposed him from the Empire, and condemned him to perpetuall imprisonment, with a determination to haue put him to death with greater torment. Which Tiberius was likewise driuen out of the Empire by Iustinian: who with the aide of his father in law the King of Bauaria, returned and recouered the Empire; wherein vsing extreme crueltie against the fauourites of Tiberius and Leoncius: finally mouing warres against the Bulgarians, wherein he had but little good fortune, he was compelled to returne home, to his great shame and dishonour. And beginning to stand in feare of one Philippicus, whom Tiberius had banished, and seeking meanes to kill him; Philippicus arose against him, and being made Emperour came to a battaile, wherein both Iusti-

nian

nian and his ſonne Tiberius miſerably ended their tragedie, repreſented in this ſcene of the world; with ſuch varietie of fortune, that neuer any other Emperour was ſo much toſſed and turmoiled as he was: and gouerned the Empire at both times ſixe and twentie yeeres.

IT is a rule in Rhetorike, vſed and obſerued by great Orators, in the beginning of what they purpoſe to treate of, whither in writing, or pleading; to procure the attention, and willing audience of their hearers, or readers: which is principally done when they extoll or magnifie that which they haue to ſay; ſignifying to them that it ſhall be very agreeable or profitable: for with the deſire to know ſome great matter, or moued with the greedines of the profit, or allured with the hope of the delight and contentment which is promiſed them, they attentiuely heare, or willingly reade what is proponed: yet the author alwaies ought to take good heed that he performe what he promiſe, and that in his ſpeech he come not ſhort of the expectation held of him. *A rule in Rhetorike.*

I now comming to write the life of the Emperour IVSTINIAN the ſecond, ſonne of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the fourth; with an imagination to be found true in what I ſhall ſay, and that he which ſhall reade the ſame ſhall not be deceiued, doe entreate the reader to be attentiue. And although I tell not wonders and marueilous things happened in the heauens and in the earth: yet truly hee which with attention ſhall reade the hiſtorie of fifteene yeeres following, ſhall ſee and vnderſtand a pleaſant and ſtrange comedie, which fortune, or (to ſay better) the world repreſented in thoſe times. The principall and chiefe parts whereof, we may ſay, were acted by the perſon of IVSTINIAN; who ſometimes as an Emperour, and ſometimes as a priuate man, entred vpon the ſtage: I may well ſay ſo, for that he was twice choſen and obeyed, and other twice depriued and bereaued of his Empire: ſo that it ſeemed that he went in and out, making a ſhew vpon the theater of the world: and with him other two or three Emperors or tyrants, which were in his time: as LEONCIVS, TIBERIVS, and PHILIPPICVS: which like comedians or actors in a tragedy did nothing but put off and on their maskes: for ſomtimes you ſhould ſee them come in with a noſe, and ſomtimes noſeleſſe: ſometimes by force of armes, and ſomtime by fauour; the one ſupplanting the other. Finally, I ſay that in my opinion, this hiſtorie ſeemeth to be as an old wiues tale, or a fained fable, only to depaint ſome great aduentures, or great misfortunes, it being for certain a moſt true hiſtorie: from which may be drawne a notable example of the inconſtancie and incertaintie of the eſtate of this life, and lightly to account thereof; and to the end that men leaue to toyle and to take ſuch care for the obtaining of riches and ſoueraigntie; and that they grow not proud when they haue compaſſed the ſame, neither be ſorrowfull or diſmaied when they loſe them, but alwaies account them for doubtfull matters, without any firme perſeuerance: ſeeing and conſidering how great perill and daunger they paſſe in getting them, and how little aſſurance they haue to enioy them. Comming now to our hiſtorie, it paſſed thus: After the death of the Emperour CONSTANTINE, as he held the Empire in good order and gouernment in his life time; ſo his ſonne IVSTINIAN after his deceaſe found no difficultie, but was gladly receiued and obeyed by all men: and notwithſtanding that he was very young, being but ſixteene yeeres old, yet hee began peaceably to gouerne his Empire; ſauing that in *Africa* in the time of his fathers ſicknes, and after *Iuſtinian his acts.*

ter his deceaſe, the Sarazins became Lords of great part thereof. In the beginning of his raigne he commaunded great forces to be leuied, for the defence and recouerie of *Africa*; and as to a new Prince, ſo many and ſo good men of warre made repaire vnto him, that the Sarazins ſtood in feare of him. Wherefore VALDVLA their King and Captaine which ſucceeded GIZITES (the authors differ much in theſe names) ſent to him for peace: and for as much as he offered very large conditions, IVSTINIAN graunted the ſame for tenne yeeres. The firſt of which was, that he ſhould reſtore all that which he held in *Africa*; which was the citie of *Carthage*, and all that which lieth betweene that and *Egypt*, neere vnto the Sea ſide, beſides other contributions of money and horſes, which were to be paid vnto him yeerely: and this peace being confirmed, there was generally peace through all the whole Empire, without any ſuſpition of warre: yea and ſome Hiſtorians report, that there was an vniuerſall peace through all the world: ſo as neither the Kings of *France*, *Spaine*, nor *England*; neither the Princes of *Germany*, or the kings of the Bauarians, of *Slauonia*, of *Miſia*, of *Bulgaria*, neither the Hunnes which inhabited *Hungarie*, among themſelues had any warres, or were at any contention with any others: the like was in the eſtates and prouinces of the Eaſt. Which peace and quietnes IVSTINIAN through pride and euill counſell diſturbed, by warring contrary to his promiſe and agreement made with the Sarazins; which he began very reſolutely with great preparation: and after that he had ſent LEONCIVS for his Generall, he went in perſon and did much harme, and recouered ſome countries in *Soria*, and entred *Meſopotamia*; where the Sarazins reinforcing their troupes, and repairing their armes, gathered together an infinite number of them, and came to giue him battaile; which the yong Emperor refuſed not: but yet after great ſlaughter of his people he was ouercome, and driuen to flie, and to abandon what he had recouered, and was brought to ſuch extremitie, that he was faine to ſue and entreate them for peace: which after many treaties and demaunds was concluded, and the Sarazins for that time remained in quiet. In this time died THEODORE Exarch or gouernour of *Italy*, and in his place was ſent another principall man called IOHN, and Pope CONON aforeſaid alſo died: and after much controuerſie about the election of a new Biſhop, for an Archbiſhop called THEODORE, and another called PASCVAL, ſought to haue been Popes, and with money had bribed the Exarch IOHN, to aſſiſt them with his voyce and fauour: And the matter being likely to haue come to blowes, they all agreed to chuſe one whoſe name was SERGIVS, borne in the citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*, who was held and obeyed for Pope: yet afterwards there were ſome commotions about that matter, which concerne me not to recite. In thoſe daies died CVMPERTVS, who then was King of the Lombards, and him ſucceeded a ſonne of his called LIMPERTVS, of which we haue not made any mention, for that they liued in peace with the Italians and the Emperours ſubiects. The Emperour IVSTINIAN being returned out of *Aſia* to *Conſtantinople*, with great loſſe and diſgrace for the warre aforeſaid; repairing his loſſes and harmes receiued, and making new prouiſion with little diſcretion and worſe direction, reſolued to begin the warre againe: wherein he had no better ſucceſſe then in the former: And this was againſt the Bulgarians which inhabited *Miſia*, with which his father had eſtabliſhed a perpetuall league and amitie; and IVSTINIAN (as a light inconſtant young man) breaking the conditions, entred their countrie with a great armie, with ſuch power and furie, that neither the Bulgarians, nor their King durſt take the fields to giue him battaile; but retired, and abandoning many places, fortified them,

Iuſtinian contrary to his league, made warres againſt the Mahumetanes, and what enſued.

VVarre made by Conſtantine againſt the Bulgarians.

themſelues in the ſtrongeſt; which ſo much emboldened the Emperour, that he proſecuted this warre with leſſe heede and circumſpection, then ſo important a caſe required: which when the Bulgarians perceiued, recouering courage, they aſſembled a great number of men, and cutting off all victuals from the Emperors armie, and ſtopping the paſſages of certaine riuers, they brought him to ſuch extremitie, that although he would retire, he found ſo great daunger and difficultie therein, that hee was compelled to ſue to them for peace; againſt whom, of his owne minde, voluntarily and without reaſon he made warre; which they graunted, vpon condition that hee ſhould reſtore to them all the priſoners, and the townes and other things which hee had taken: and that hee ſhould perſonally ſweare, well and faithfully to maintaine the ſame, as well by himſelfe as by all his Princes and principall Captaines. IVSTINIAN returning from this iourney, with no more honour then from the laſt, cauſed a new Councell to be aſſembled in *Conſtantinople*, to the end to reuoke and diſanull that which therein in the former was determined, concerning certaine points in religion: and the Pope being herewith diſcontented, ſent his Legates to hold his place therein, and to ſee what the Councell would treate of: wherein by the Emperours authoritie there were ſome things handled againſt the determination of the laſt Councell: whereof the Pope being aduertiſed, reproued and diſanulled what was therein concluded; and approoued and confirmed the laſt Councell, and ſent commaundement to diſſolue the preſent. Wherewith the Emperour was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he preſently ſent ZACHARIAS the Commander generall of all his men of warre to *Rome*, with commiſſion to apprehend the Pope and to ſend him to *Conſtantinople*: And ZACHARIE being arriued in *Italy* about this exploit, notwithſtanding that he diſſembled the matter, yet was it ſoone diſcouered, and SERGIVS had ſo wonne the hearts of the people, that all the companies which lay in *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, and in other parts of *Italy*, came with all ſpeede to *Rome*, with intent to haue ſlaine ZACHARIE, and to haue releaſed the Pope, whom ZACHARIE had alreadie apprehended. When ZACHARIE vnderſtood with what furie theſe men of warre came againſt him, deſpairing of any other remedie, hee yeelded himſelfe to the Popes mercie, whom he then held priſoner: and the Pope pardoning the offence, protected him, and hid him in his palace; and ſitting in his throne, holding great eſtate, hee attended the comming of the armie which came from *Rauenna*, together with the Romane people: and they very earneſtly deſiring him to deliuer ZACHARIE into their hands, hee made an oration vnto them, perſwading them to moderate their diſpleaſure, ſeeing that he had pardoned the offence: whereto they all conſented, and ZACHARIE being brought into his preſence, had leaue to depart, although with much ſhame and diſgrace. And the Pope ſo cunningly handled the matter, that hee brought the Emperour into ſuch hatred, and made him ſo odious to the people, that their whole ſtudie was how to depoſe him from the Empire: and as they were all willing thereto, the effect eaſily enſued.

Conſtantine ſued to the Bulgarians for peace.

The Pope began to contend with the Emperour.

Pope Sergius diſanulled the Councell aſſembled by the Emperour Conſtantine.

IVSTINIAN hauing repreſented (as I ſaid) the firſt act of the Comedie, a great Captaine called LEONCIVS before mentioned, whom he had of long time held priſoner, determined to rebell againſt him: and hauing ſecretly conferred of the matter with GALLICANVS the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and with his other friends; vpon a day he ſuddenly came from his houſe, accompanied with many armed men; and calling and gathering men together againſt the Emperour, hee went to the Iayles, and ſet all the priſoners at libertie; and the people very willingly

Leoncius rebelled againſt the Emperour.

lingly accompanying him, he went to the Emperors pallace, and easily apprehended him: and proclaiming himselfe Emperor, depriued the other of his Empire; and was crowned with great ioy of the people, which euer delighteth in nouelties, but chiefly with the chaunge of princes, and great magistrates; for the present estate doth neuer please them, they euer commend that which is past, and still desire a new. LEONCIVS was crowned, and IVSTINIAN had his eares and his nose cut off, and some say his tongue also, to make him seeme vgly and the more to be abhorred; and hauing brought him to this estate, he banished him for euer, to the citie of *Cherſona* in *Pontus*, the furthermost boundes of the Empire. Which befell him in the tenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, sixe hundred fowerscore and sixeteene, yet some say more; where let vs leaue him for some space, whilest that LEONCIVS may in the meane time represent that part of the comodie, which we promised you.

Leoncius made Emperor.

Anno Dom. 696.

The great hatred which the people bare against the Emperor IVSTINIAN, was the principall occasion that moued the tyrant LEONCIVS to rebell and to take the name and state of Emperor: for IVSTINIAN was brought into such hatred with the people, that they would haue accepted of any man that had dared to attempt to haue made himselfe Emperor; and much sooner of LEONCIVS, who was a valiant and expert man of warre, and had held great charges and offices therein. In the beginning all things happened vnto him, according to his desire; for IVSTINIAN had neither the heart nor meanes, in his banishment, to restore himselfe; neither was there found any resistance or contradiction in any other man in the Empire: and so LEONCIVS began to enioy his Empire in peace. But the Sarazins or Agarenes and HADIMILECH their King, who alreadie had a determination to subuert and wholy to destroy the Empire; seeing the dissention therein, and accounting the state of LEONCIVS not to be firme; they with a great and mightie armie from *Egypt* (as at other times they had done) inuaded the prouinces of *Africa*, and tooke many cities and strong holds therein: against which LEONCIVS with no small feare and care, sent a singular captaine called IOHN; but he gaue him no such armie as therewith he might be able to giue his enemies battaile in the plaine fields; by reason whereof, he was constrained by wildes and stratagems to maintaine the warres; and defended the countrie for some time, daily solliciting the Emperor, to send him such supply of souldiers, as therewith he might be able to fight with them: and seeing that neither by letters nor messengers he could obtaine his sute, vpon a time when he thought his absence might be least preiudiciall; leauing his armie in the best order that he could, and a very good captaine called TIBERIVS ABSIMARVS for commaunder in his place; he tooke his way towards *Constantinople*, to the end to conferre with LEONCIVS about the sending of some better supply for the warres of *Africa*, and comming suddenly thither, he found not that prouision which he expected and as was needfull; and therefore was driuen to stay longer then was expedient; for the Emperor busying himselfe about other matters of small profit, tooke least care for those things which were of greatest importance. The armie in *Africa* seeing his long absence, began to murmur against their captaine, for so leauing them; and likewise against the Emperor LEONCIVS: and from murmuring in speeches, they became so audacious, as to perswade TIBERIVS ABSIMARVS, who was left for their commaunder, to make himselfe Emperor: and he was presently created and obeyed by the whole armie. And as ambition and desire to commaund is a thing which chiefly moueth

The Sarazins inuade Africa.

ueth men in this world; ſo TIBERIVS to his owne harme, accepted that which they offered him; as hereafter this hiſtorie ſhall make manifeſt. But as he was neither careleſſe or a coward; ſo he ſpeedely ſo ſoone as he had taken vpon him the title of Emperor, determined to procure the poſſeſſion and gouernment thereof; and preparing with the greateſt haſte that might be to take the Emperor LEONCIVS vnprouided, he departed from *Africa*, abandoning the ſame to the Infidels, which was the cauſe that afterwards it was wholy loſt: and he with a very good fleete, brought his people to the coaſt of *Græcia*; where, with the aide and fauour of his friends and kindred, which were on land, he tooke harbourgh, and came to *Conſtantinople*, wherein LEONCIVS had fortified himſelfe, thinking to defend the ſame: whereupon they came to blowes, without iuſtice, or iuſt cauſe of either ſide; for hee which came to take away the tyrant, did it to the end to be ſo himſelfe, and was ſo already: but betweene the two euils the laſt preuailed, and TIBERIVS entred by force of armes, and became Lord both of the citie and of LEONCIVS alſo; although not without much trouble and ſlaughter of many men. And vpon LEONCIVS he commaunded the ſame puniſhment to be inflicted which he had giuen to IVSTINIAN; which was to haue his noſe and his eares cut off, and to be commited to perpetuall impriſonment; with an intent to haue ſhewed him greater crueltie: LEONCIVS hauing raigned three yeeres onely; which was within little (more or leſſe) of the yeere of our Lord, ſixe hundred nintie and nine. And in this manner LEONCIVS went out of the Theater, and TIBERIVS plaied his part therein, during the time that LEONCIVS was in priſon, and IVSTINIAN baniſhed; and vntill ſuch time as IVSTINIAN returned to the ſtage, which was ſo ſoone as TIBERIVS had acted his part.

Abſimarus created Emperor.

The loſſe of Africa.

Leoncius depoſed by Tiberius.

Leoncius his noſe and eares cut off.

Anno Dom. 699.

In ſuch manner as I haue declared, TIBERIVS tyrannized the Empire, and as it may be coniectured by the hiſtories, had continued a long time, if he could haue been contented, and not haue attempted more then was fit for him to haue done; ſo as he himſelfe wrought his owne confuſion. The firſt thing that he did after that he was Lord and abſolute; was to commaund many of LEONCIVS his friends to be either ſlaine, or deſpoiled of their goods; as fauorits of a tyrant. And truly he had reaſon on his ſide, if he had had authoritie to haue inflicted ſuch puniſhment, and had not himſelfe been guiltie of the ſame crime, and been a traitor and a tyrant to him, to whom he had ſworne fidelitie, as to his Emperor; and alſo to the captaine which left him in his place: puniſhing the treaſon, wherein he himſelfe had been a partaker, and had approued the ſame. And this his holy zeale extended it ſelfe ſo farre, that a great familiar friend of his whoſe name was PHILIPPICVS, and who had greatly aided him in his enterpriſe, and to bring him to that eſtate, onely for ſaying that vpon a night in his ſleepe he dreamed that an Eagle alighted vpon his head (imagining that to prognoſticate him to be an Emperor) was by his commaundement apprehended and baniſhed into an Iland, wherein he could haue no conference or ſocietie with any body: notwithſtanding that hee was a noble gentleman, and of high linage, from whence he afterwards ſent him, to the citie of *Cherſona*, whither the depoſed Emperor IVSTINIAN was alſo baniſhed. We will tell you hereafter what happened vnto this PHILIPPICVS; for he was one of the actors in this comodie. TIBERIVS hauing executed theſe his cruelties, ſent his brother HERACLIVS with an armie to aide the Armenians, which in auncient time had been ſubiect to the Empire, and now roſe and rebelled againſt the infidels: and he

Philippicus baniſhed for a dreame.

wonne

wonne a great battaile, and slew a great number of them: but it seemeth that he did not long enioy the victorie; for the Infidels in processe of time preuailed, and their Empire greatly encreased. In *Italie* also there fell discord and dissention betweene the Lombards and Italians, which had liued together a long time in peace. The cause whereof was for that TIBERIVS, through the death or absence of IOHN the Exarch aboue named, sent into *Italie* for Exarch or Gouernor, a chamberlaine of his, called THEOPHILATVS, wherewith all *Italie* was much grieued; for the greatest part thereof now pretended to be subiect to the Pope; or at least abhorred the gouernment and Empire of the Greekes. THEOPHILATVS came not to *Rauenna* as his predecessors vsed to doe, but landed in *Sicilia*, from thence to come to *Rome*: which so soone as it was published, all the companies which lay in *Rauenna*, and in other places, came to *Rome*, attending his comming; rather as an enemie, then as their Generall. And so being arriued, if IOHN which at that time was Pope, had not protected him, he had there been slaine. But through his fauour he had libertie freely to depart and to goe to *Rauenna*; out of hope to doe what he had proiected, for in *Rome* they would not obey him: whereupon hee procured the Lombards to make warre against the Romanes, or at least against those cities which the Romanes held neerest to *Rome*, principally *Beneuent*, whereof was Duke and Gouernor a great man whose name was SISVLPHVS, who was therewith much annoyed: but the Pope redressed and restored all his losses with his riches and treasure, and buying peace, the estate of *Italie* recouered rest and quiet. But our Lord would not permit TIBERIVS to rest in peace: for waxing iealous of the Emperor IVSTINIAN, which careless and noseless liued exiled in *Cherson*, or as some say, vnderstanding that IVSTINIAN purposed to procure aid, to returne to challenge the Empire, whereof he was dispossessed by the Emperor LEONCIVS; he began to practise his death: and to that effect, sent some to deale with the inhabitants of that citie. IVSTINIAN being aduertised hereof, and standing in great feare of his life, in the best manner that he could, tooke shipping, and sailing ouer the sea called *Euxinum* or *Ponticum*, landed in *Europe*, and came to the King of the Bauarians, who was a very mightie prince; by whom he was not onely well receiued, but was also married to his sister or daughter. And hee appointed him an house and estate, promising him all aide and fauour to restore him; so as there began to bee a great alteration through all the Empire, seeing that IVSTINIAN was now to returne to play his part vpon the stage of the world. TIBERIVS being aduertised hereof, tooke it to heart (as indeede hee had reason) and imagining that hee should preuaile little by force, he practized to see whether money would take effect, which commonly can doe more then either sword or launce; and to that effect delt with CAYANVS (for as I said so the Bauarians called their King) to deliuer IVSTINIAN into his hands; for whom he would giue him a great sum of money, and this couetous and inconstant King, greedy thereof agreed with him vpon the summe, and promised to accomplish his desire; and being readie to haue put it in execution, by chaunce IVSTINIAN had intelligence thereof; and so alone pursued by him which was either his father in law, or his brother in law, he escaped by flight. And about one yeere after that he had long wandred, hee went to the King of *Bulgaria*, whose name was TERBELLIVS; who pitying his calamitie, gaue him great entertainement; and in short space made so great prouision of men and armes, that he tooke his way with him towards *Constantinople*; wherein were many which desired his returne, for the hatred which they

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they bare to TIBERIVS. To be briefe, in short time and with little difficultie, although with some effusion of bloud, he came to the Imperiall citie, and entring it by force of armes, TIBERIVS fled from it: but being afterwards ouertaken and brought backe into his power, he committed him to that prison wherein LEONCIVS was, which had deposed him, and cut off his nose and his eares: and making them both to be first carried through all the most publike streetes of the citie, he caused them openly to be slaine, after that TIBERIVS had raigned seuen yeeres. Such are the rewards which the world giueth to those, which to the end to beare sway and to commaund therein, forget God. And so ended these two mightie Emperours, or more properly, proud tyrants. And IVSTINIAN not contented to execute his wrath vpon those two alone, made TIBERIVS his brother to be hanged; and many of the friends vnto both of them, to be either robbed or slaine: and the Patriarch GALLICANVS who conspired with LEONCIVS against him, had his eyes pluckt out. And they further report of him, that so often as he would haue wiped his nose (if he had had it) he caused some of those which had been followers of his enemie LEONCIVS to be slaine. And so the banished Emperour IVSTINIAN recouered his throne and Empire; and returned againe to the theater, to act the rest of his comedie, which was nine yeeres after that he was cast out of it; in the yeere of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST seuen hundred and fixe.

Iustinian made Tiberius his brother to be hanged.

Iustinian made the Patriarch of Constantinople his eyes to be put out.

Iustinian returned to his Empire. Anno Dom. 706.

Presently after that IVSTINIAN saw himselfe restored and confirmed in his Empire, and hauing executed so great cruelties, as the like had seldome bin heard of, vpon those which he supposed had offended him; he sent great and rich presents to TREBELLIVS King of *Bulgaria*, who had holpen him to recouer his dominion, with a very gracious and pleasing ambassade: but as it shall hereafter appeare, he continued but a while so gratefull. He also sent for his wife THEODORA, daughter of CAYANVS King of the Bauarians, from whose Court he fled; she liuing in a certaine place absent from her father; for as some write, she aduertised her husband of the treason which her father pretended against him. And she being come, hee made her to be honoured as Empresse and Augusta: and his young sonne whom hee had by her in time of his exile, he caused to be chosen and called Emperour. Other matters concerning his gouernment and execution of iustice, were corrupt and out of order: for as the princes were wicked, so were the subiects; for such as is the head, such are the members: so that so farre as I can coniecture, these were the most miserable and lamentable times, that euer the Christian Common-wealth endured since CHRIST was borne; God permitting it for a punishment of the wicked, wherwith the world did then abound; and for the greater reward of those which suffered amongst them: for besides the warres and troubles of the Emperours, which tyrannized the Empire, there was so little faith and feare of God, that the Church lost in those daies all the prouinces of *Africa*, wherein, in steed of CHRIST perfect God and man, MAHOMET is adored and worshipped vntill this day, without recouerie. Which to relate in such manner as it passed, I neither haue time thereto, neither doe I finde it distinctly written: but that after that TIBERIVS went thence with the name of Emperour, and deposed LEONCIVS from the Empire; the Sarazins seeing the countrie abandoned, came out of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and other prouinces of the East, and made a conquest thereof; finding so small resistance, that within the space of foure yeeres they became Lords of all the countries from *Egypt*, vnto the prouince of *Mauritania Tingitana*, and to that which now is *Ceuta*, *Taniar* and *Arcila*:

The Infidels conquered Africa.

la: wherefore we call those of *Mauritania*, Mauri or Moores and Arabians, for that they came out of *Arabia*; being one hundred and seuentie yeeres after that *Africa* was recouered from the Vandales, and had serued and been subiect to the Empire. And within tenne yeeres after this, with the furie and ioy of their victorie (DON RODRIGO then raigning King in *Spaine*) they being aided by a traytor an Earle called DON IVLIAN, and others, came ouer into *Spaine*, and in three yeeres conquered almost all the land, slaying in battaile King RODRIGO, and the most part of the Gothes, excepting some few which liued in the mountaines of *Biscay*, *Galicia* and *Ouiedo*: from whence afterwards (although abandoned by the Christian Kings and Princes) they haue by little and little, not without great trouble and effusion of much bloud, recouered their countries: and finally about one hundred yeeres since, the Infidels were driuen out of all *Spaine* by King FERDINAND and Queene ISABEL. So as if the other Christian Kings had done their parts as well as the Kings of *Spaine*, it is to be beleeued that Christiandome had not been so much diminished, but had againe recouered what it then lost, and had been restored to that greatnes wherein it was in the time of some ancient Emperours. But for as much as it is the iudgement of God, wee will leaue it to him, and returne to our historie, which is of the Emperours onely. IVSTINIAN being in *Constantinople*, executing his cruelties against the friends and parents of TIBERIVS and LEONCIVS, it so happened that the subiects to the King of *Bulgaria*, which had been so much his friend, fell at oddes with some of the Emperors subiects of *Thracia*, a prouince of the Empire, wherein standeth *Constantinople*, about parting their bounds: which when he vnderstood (forgetting the benefits receiued) vpon this small occasion hee raised an armie against TREBELLIVS King of *Bulgaria* aforesaid, and entring his countrie, destroyed many places and did much hurt: wherewith the King being greatly moued, gathered such forces together as he could, and came to fight with the Emperour; and they two fought a cruell battaile, wherein the Emperour was iustly ouerthrowne, and fled out of the countrie of the Bulgarians: and so this warre was ended to his dishonour. But as God neuer made any thing without some propertie; so this Emperour euer respected and reuerenced the Church of *Rome* and the Pope, namely CONSTANTINE which then was Pope, after the two IOHNS, the sixt and the seuenth, which succeeded SERGIVS, who went to *Constantinople* to see the Emperour, and by the way met with IOHN TOZOCOPOS, which came to be Gouernour of *Italy*; and comming to *Rome* would haue taken vp the Church rents and goods, but was resisted by the Popes ministers, and he slew some of them: wherfore he grew so hatefull, that he was driuen to go to *Rauenna*, where for the same cause, or the hatred which they bare against the Exarchs and former gouernours, the people vpon a day arose and killed him. The Pope was with great honour receiued by the Emperour, and when they had seene the one the other, the Emperour prostrated himselfe vpon the earth, and so much abased himselfe, as to kisse the Popes foote, with vnmeasurable shew of obedience: for as it may be gathered by this Princes doings, he was both fearefull and reuengefull, which are vices which vsually goe together.

The conquest of Spaine by the Infidels Moores.

Infidels made warre vpon the king of Bulgaria, and ouerthrowne in battaile.

And here hence it sprang, that in time of his greatest prosperitie, he began to stand in feare of PHILIPPICVS, who liued in exile in *Pontus*, by the commandement of the tyrant TIBERIVS; and that for no other cause, but for saying that he had dreamt of an Eagle. And IVSTINIAN desired also to be reuenged of the citie *Cherſona*, alleaging for his reason, that the citizens had misused him when hee

lay

lay there in time of his baniſhment: wherefore he commaunded a great armie to be leuied, and a nauie to be rigged, to the end to goe to deſtroy that citie, and to take and kill PHILIPPICVS, who liued there merrily and well content with his baniſhment, if they would haue ſuffered him to haue been at reſt. And it pleaſed God to order matters in ſuch manner, that what IVSTINIAN did to aſſure himſelfe in the Empire, was the cauſe of his deſtruction, and the loſſe thereof: for PHILIPPICVS vnderſtanding that he came againſt him, and acquainting thoſe of *Cherſona* therewith, which alſo expected their owne deſtruction, he reſolued to take vpon him the name of Emperour, and to die like a man at armes fighting. Before which, there paſſed other matters, which I omit: but the concluſion is, that ſeeing no other remedie they all conſented together, and the armie and captaines, ſent by IVSTINIAN againſt *Cherſona*, forſaking him reuolted to PHILIPPICVS, who by his ſurname was called BARDANIVS. And he ſeeing himſelf with power fit for his purpoſe, in ſteed of being aſſailed reſolued now to giue the aſſault; and therefore in great haſte with a very great power, he tooke his way towards *Conſtantinople*, where IVSTINIAN expected him: for after that hee vnderſtood what paſſed, hee had raiſed a new armie, and encamping himſelfe about twelue miles from the citie, attended the comming of PHILIPPICVS: who ſo ſoone as he arriued ſet himſelfe in order of battaile, and IVSTINIAN did the like, and they fought the greateſt part of the day very reſolutely: but in the end the victorie remained with PHILIPPICVS, and IVSTINIAN was ouerthrowne and ſlaine in the battaile, and together with him his ſonne TIBERIVS, being but a very childe, with much people of either ſide: And ſo ended the cares and Empire of the moſt infortunate and vnluckie prince IVSTINIAN; ſeeing that in his time were ſo many diſaſters & calamities in the world: whoſe life & acts were ſuch as I haue ſhewed you. And if the reader haue attentiuely read what I haue written, I geſſe he will not hold me for a lier, in that which I ſaid in the beginning, that the hiſtorie of his time, for the varietie of chaunges which then happened, was as a fained Comedie, or to ſay more properly, a Tragedie, conſidering the beginning and end thereof. He died in the yeere of our Lord, ſeuen hundred and twelue, little more or leſſe, and in the ſeuen and twentith yeere after he firſt began to raigne.

Iuſtinian and his ſonne ſlaine in a battaile againſt Philippicus.

Anno Dom. 712.

wonne a great battaile, and slew a great number of them: but it seemeth that he did not long enioy the victorie; for the Infidels in processe of time preuailed, and their Empire greatly encreased. In *Italie* also there fell discord and dissention betweene the Lombards and Italians, which had liued together a long time in peace. The cause whereof was for that TIBERIVS, through the death or absence of IOHN the Exarch aboue named, sent into *Italie* for Exarch or Gouernor, a chamberlaine of his, called THEOPHILATVS, wherewith all *Italie* was much grieued; for the greatest part thereof now pretended to be subiect to the Pope; or at least abhorred the gouernment and Empire of the Greekes. THEOPHILATVS came not to *Rauenna* as his predecessors vsed to doe, but landed in *Sicilia*, from thence to come to *Rome*: which so soone as it was published, all the companies which lay in *Rauenna*, and in other places, came to *Rome*, attending his comming; rather as an enemie, then as their Generall. And so being arriued, if IOHN which at that time was Pope, had not protected him, he had there been slaine. But through his fauour he had libertie freely to depart and to goe to *Rauenna*; out of hope to doe what he had proiected, for in *Rome* they would not obey him: whereupon hee procured the Lombards to make warre against the Romanes, or at least against those cities which the Romanes held neerest to *Rome*, principally *Beneuent*, whereof was Duke and Gouernor a great man whose name was SISVLPHVS, who was therewith much annoyed: but the Pope redressed and restored all his losses with his riches and treasure, and buying peace, the estate of *Italie* recouered rest and quiet. But our Lord would not permit TIBERIVS to rest in peace: for waxing iealous of the Emperor IVSTINIAN, which eareless and noseless liued exiled in *Chersona*, or as some say, vnderstanding that IVSTINIAN purposed to procure aid, to returne to challenge the Empire, whereof he was dispossessed by the Emperor LEONCIVS; he began to practise his death: and to that effect, sent some to deale with the inhabitants of that citie. IVSTINIAN being aduertised hereof, and standing in great feare of his life, in the best manner that he could, tooke shipping, and sailing ouer the sea called *Euxinum* or *Ponticum*, landed in *Europe*, and came to the King of the Bauarians, who was a very mightie prince; by whom he was not onely well receiued, but was also married to his sister or daughter. And hee appointed him an house and estate, promising him all aide and fauour to restore him; so as there began to bee a great alteration through all the Empire, seeing that IVSTINIAN was now to returne to play his part vpon the stage of the world. TIBERIVS being aduertised hereof, tooke it to heart (as indeede hee had reason) and imagining that hee should preuaile little by force, he practized to see whether money would take effect, which commonly can doe more then either sword or launce; and to that effect delt with CAYANVS (for as I said so the Bauarians called their King) to deliuer IVSTINIAN into his hands; for whom he would giue him a great sum of money, and this couetous and inconstant King, greedy thereof agreed with him vpon the summe, and promised to accomplish his desire; and being readie to haue put it in execution, by chaunce IVSTINIAN had intelligence thereof; and so alone pursued by him which was either his father in law, or his brother in law, he escaped by flight. And about one yeere after that he had long wandred, hee went to the King of *Bulgaria*, whose name was TREBELLIVS; who pitying his calamitie, gaue him great entertainement; and in short space made so great prouision of men and armes, that he tooke his way with him towards *Constantinople*; wherein were many which desired his returne, for the hatred which they

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they bare to TIBERIVS. To be briefe, in ſhort time and with little difficultie, although with ſome effuſion of bloud, he came to the Imperiall citie, and entring it by force of armes, TIBERIVS fled from it: but being afterwards ouertaken and brought backe into his power, he committed him to that priſon wherein LEONCIVS was, which had depoſed him, and cut off his noſe and his eares: and making them both to be firſt carried through all the moſt publike ſtreetes of the citie, he cauſed them openly to be ſlaine, after that TIBERIVS had raigned ſeuen yeeres. Such are the rewards which the world giueth to thoſe, which to the end to beare ſway and to commaund therein, forget God. And ſo ended theſe two mightie Emperours, or more properly, proud tyrants. And IVSTINIAN not contented to execute his wrath vpon thoſe two alone, made TIBERIVS his brother to be hanged; and many of the friends vnto both of them, to be either robbed or ſlaine: and the Patriarch GALLICANVS who conſpired with LEONCIVS againſt him, had his eyes pluckt out. And they further report of him, that ſo often as he would haue wiped his noſe (if he had had it) he cauſed ſome of thoſe which had been followers of his enemie LEONCIVS to be ſlaine. And ſo the baniſhed Emperour IVSTINIAN recouered his throne and Empire; and returned againe to the theater, to act the reſt of his comedie, which was nine yeeres after that he was caſt out of it; in the yeere of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST ſeuen hundred and ſixe.

Iuſtinian made Tiberius his brother to be hanged.

Iuſtinian made the Patriarch of Conſtantinople his eyes to be put out.

Iuſtinian returned to his Empire.

Anno Dom. 706.

Preſently after that IVSTINIAN ſaw himſelfe reſtored and confirmed in his Empire, and hauing executed ſo great cruelties, as the like had ſeldome bin heard of, vpon thoſe which he ſuppoſed had offended him; he ſent great and rich preſents to TREBELLIVS King of *Bulgaria*, who had holpen him to recouer his dominion, with a very gracious and pleaſing ambaſſade: but as it ſhall hereafter appeare, he continued but a while ſo gratefull. He alſo ſent for his wife THEODORA, daughter of CAYANVS King of the Bauarians, from whoſe Court he fled; ſhe liuing in a certaine place abſent from her father; for as ſome write, ſhe aduertiſed her husband of the treaſon which her father pretended againſt him. And ſhe being come, hee made her to be honoured as Empereſſe and Auguſta: and his young ſonne whom hee had by her in time of his exile, he cauſed to be choſen and called Emperour. Other matters concerning his gouernment and execution of iuſtice, were corrupt and out of order: for as the princes were wicked, ſo were the ſubiects; for ſuch as is the head, ſuch are the members: ſo that ſo farre as I can coniecture, theſe were the moſt miſerable and lamentable times, that euer the Chriſtian Common-wealth endured ſince CHRIST was borne; God permitting it for a puniſhment of the wicked, wherwith the world did then abound; and for the greater reward of thoſe which ſuffered amongſt them: for beſides the warres and troubles of the Emperours, which tyrannized the Empire, there was ſo little faith and feare of God, that the Church loſt in thoſe daies all the prouinces of *Africa*, wherein, in ſteed of CHRIST perfect God and man, MAHOMET is adored and worſhipped vntill this day, without recouerie. Which to relate in ſuch manner as it paſſed, I neither haue time thereto, neither doe I finde it diſtinctly written: but that after that TIBERIVS went thence with the name of Emperour, and depoſed LEONCIVS from the Empire; the Sarazins ſeeing the countrie abandoned, came out of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and other prouinces of the Eaſt, and made a conqueſt thereof; finding ſo ſmall reſiſtance, that within the ſpace of foure yeeres they became Lords of all the countries from *Egypt*, vnto the prouince of *Mauritania Tingitana*, and to that which now is *Ceuta*, *Taniar* and *Arcila*:

The Infidels conquered Africa.

THE LIFE OF PHILIPPICVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND NINE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THe Emperor IVSTINIAN being ouerthrowne and ſlaine, PHILIPPICVS called alſo BARDANIVS or BARDANES, remained Emperor, of whom there is little to be written, for that he ſo ſmall a time enioyed the Empire, and for that the authors which I follow, make ſmall mention of him. And of that little which we know of him, the firſt is, that ſo ſoone as he came to *Conſtantinople*, and was there ſworne and crowned, he began to hold certaine doubtfull opinions of the Chriſtian faith; aſwell concerning the diuinitie of CHRIST, as ſome other matters, contrary to the determination of the ſixth generall councell, holding with the Monothelites: and hereupon he aſſembled certaine Biſhops in *Conſtantinople*, baniſhing CYRVS the Patriarch thereof, and in his roome placing a Monke called IOHN. And therewith not ſatisfied, he wrote his letters and ſent an Ambaſſade to the Pope, requiring him to approue his opinions. Which the Pope not onely refuſed to doe, but for anſwere, commaunded him vpone great curſes and excommunications to renounce the opinions which he held

Cyrus Patriarch of Conſtantinople baniſhed by Philippicus.

held: and in *Rome*, in the Cloiſters, and in the Porches of Saint PETERS Church, he commaunded to be painted and written the determinations of the ſixth generall councell, to the end that all men might know and beleeue the ſame. Whereof when the Emperour was aduertiſed, he preſently commaunded that painting and writing to be raſed and defaced, and the like to be done to all the crucifixes, images, and pictures of CHRIST, of our Ladie, and of the Saints, which he affirmed not to be adored, or to be ſet vp in Churches. But his commaundements were little regarded by the Pope, or the Romane people; for by a generall decree they proclaimed him for a ſciſmatike and an heretike, and the Pope further commaunded that in their diuine ſeruice hee ſhould not bee prayed for, neither ſhould there be any mention made of his name in any publike act or proclamation, which was executed accordingly: by meanes whereof he became odious and hatefull to the people of *Rome*, and generally of all *Italy*, wherein the Empire and gouernment of the Greekes began to bee of ſmall authoritie; by reaſon of the great power of the Lombards; and the great commaund and authoritie of the Popes. For as much as the Emperors were contrarie to them in ſome points of religion, the people abhorred them, and denied to be their ſubiects: but PHILIPPICVS, notwithſtanding the Popes fulminations, would not be diuerted from his determination; wherefore and for ſome other occaſions, certaine principall men ſecretly conſpired againſt him; the chiefe of which, was one ANTHEMIVS; which followed in this manner. The Emperour reſting himſelfe vpon an Whitſonday euen, after certaine diſports on horſebacke, vſed in thoſe times; the conſpiratours violently ruſhing into his lodging apprehended him, and carrying him thence to another place pluckt out his eyes, and leauing him blind and impriſoned, refuſing to kill him, they deprined him of his Empire, when he had raigned but one yeere and a halfe only: and they aduanced the ſame ANTHEMIVS to the Empire, and gaue him to name, ANASTASIVS.

Philippicus excommunicated by the Pope.

Philippicus being depoſed, had his eies put out.

This happened in the yeere of oure Lord ſeanen hundred and fourteene. *Anno Dom. 714.*

THE LIFE OF ANASTASIVS THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND TENNE ROMANE EMPEROR.

IF the desire and libertie to sinne in that time, had not taken such roote amongst men, ANASTASIVS had been an excellent Emperor, and had well gouerned the Common-wealth; for hee was a vertuous and a iust man, and of a deepe vnderstanding and iudgement: but by reason of the former gouernment, the wicked were so accustomed to the libertie of ill doing, that they could not endure to bee ruled by any one that should minister and execute iustice. For as in a body diseased and so full of corrupt humors, that naturall vertue is therewith oppressed and ouercome, being vnable to resist the humour, no phisicke can preuaile or worke any effect, but is rather loathsome and cast vp againe: euen so it happened to ANASTASIVS, and to THEODOSIVS the third also, who was his successor: for men were then so hardened and nousled vp in doing ill; and so accustomed to escape cleere without any punishment for the same, that it seemed an hard and intollerable matter for them to endure their good gouernment, for the small time that they liued in subiection, as in their places shall appeare.

Anastasius his chiefest care.

So soone as ANASTASIVS was Emperour, of two things he tooke especiall care; the first and principall was for the Christian faith and religion, wherein some

of

of his predeceſſours had erred: the other was to take order for the defence of the Empire, which he found ill guarded and out of order. Touching the firſt, he ſent his letters and ambaſſadours to the Pope, whereby he proteſted to beleeue and to hold that faith which the Church of *Rome* beleeued, and approuing and ratifying the generall councels, he commaunded all his ſubiects to hold and beleeue the ſame. And as concerning the Empire, knowing that the greateſt harme that it receiued was from the Sarazins (MAHOMETS diſciples) which then had conquered all *Africa*; againſt them onely he determined to employ all his whole force and power, ſeeing that he could not obtaine the peace which he had firſt procured. And thereupon he ſpeedily leuied captaines and ſouldiers, and made a principall man (whoſe name was LEO) Generall of his army for the defence of the frontiers againſt *Soria*, for from thence the Infidels inuaded *Aſia* the leſſe. And for the ſeas he rigged vp a verie great fleet, and therein ſhipped his mightie army with an intent to ſayle into *Egypt*, and to make a conqueſt thereof, attempting firſt the citie of *Alexandria*. All which being ſet in order, and ſufficient prouiſion made of all things neceſſarie, the Emperour being verie ioyfull, hoping that ſome great exploit would haue been done, the fleet departed from *Conſtantinople* and ſayled to *Alexandria*, wherein the feare wherewith the inhabitants were ſtriken, was greater than the hurt they receiued: for the imperialiſts hauing beſieged the citie, through want of certaine neceſſaries (either in deed or fained) raiſed their ſiege, and returning to their ſhips, ſayled to the Ile of *Rhodes*, and ſome ſay to *Phœnicia* in *Aſia* the leſſe, to make prouiſion of engines, and other neceſſaries, which they ſaid were needfull for the battering of *Alexandria* and other townes. Whereof when the Emperour had intelligence he was greatly diſpleaſed, and reprehending his captaines, ſent them new prouiſion of all things neceſſarie, commaunding them preſently to returne to the warre which they had alreadie begun. But in that age militarie diſcipline was as much decaied and corrupted as other ſciences, and as I ſaid in the beginning, The people being accuſtomed to liue after their owne fantaſie, and being diſcontented with the gouernment of a good Emperour, the army mutined, and agreed among themſelues to leaue their enterpriſe againſt the Infidels, and to turne head againſt the Emperour ANASTASIVS; and taking land in *Aſia* the leſſe, the greateſt and moſt principall part of the armie marched ouer land; and imagining, that without an head and leader the army could hardly be well gouerned, they made choiſe of one to be their Emperour, whoſe name was THEODOSIVS, a man of meane parentage, but yet honeſt and of good behauiour, and well knowne to them all, for he had been treaſurer or receiuer of the Eſchequor, and of the reuenues of the Empire: who for his good conditions was well beloued of all men, and him they choſe and made Emperour perforce and againſt his will. In my iudgement he had reaſon to refuſe it: for in truth the eſtate of the Empire and the faith and obedience borne to the Emperours in thoſe times was ſuch, that not onely thoſe which were vnworthy ought not to accept of the Empire, but euen thoſe alſo which were capeable, and moſt ſufficient and of greateſt power, had reaſon by all waies and meanes poſsible to eſchue the ſame.

Theodoſius choſen Emperour.

ANASTASIVS vnderſtanding of the rebellion of his men of warre, and how they had choſen THEODOSIVS for their Emperor, made little account thereof, (for he diſdained him for the baſenes of his linage, and the ſmall experience hee had in the warres) neuertheleſſe he raiſed a great power, and went into *Aſia* to ſeeke him, and meeting him neere vnto the citie of *Nicea*, the principall citie in

Anastasius taken prisoner by Theodosius.

Bythinia, they fought a battaile, wherein through the secret iudgement of God, ANASTASIVS was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, when hee had raigned one yeere and three moneths onely; yet some say three yeeres: And the new chosen THEODOSIVS remained with the victorie, together with the Empire, and ANASTASIVS being deposed, remained prisoner and in his power, whom he made a priest. Which after the computation of ABBAS VVESPERGENSIS, and of MATHEVV PALMERIVS, was in the yeere of our Lord, seuen hundred and seuenteene; PHILIPPICVS being yet liuing, whom ANASTASIVS had depriued of the Empire; so as he was his companion both in estate and fortune. It seemeth that in the time of this ANASTASIVS, the Infidels made an end of the conquest of *Spaine*.

Anno Dom. 717.

THE LIFE OF THEODOSIVS, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND eleuenth Romane Emperour.

THEODOSIVS seeing himselfe such as he neuer thought to haue been; obeyed, and sworne Emperour, without any resistance or contradiction; went to *Constantinople*, and as he was noble in bountie and goodnesse, so he lost no iote of his good conditions, by being aduanced to the greatnesse and height of the Empire, but rather seemed to haue increased the same. First he would not suffer ANASTASIVS to be put to death, neither to be any way grieued in his person; but onely to be assured of him, he caused him to be made a priest, and gaue him exhibition, wherin he continned vntill the time of the Emperour LEO, when by persuasion of a certaine captaine he sought to haue recouered the Empire, which cost him his life, as hereafter we will recount, if so it shall be expedient. THEODOSIVS hauing set matters in order in generall, particularly commaunded the images and pictures which PHILIPPICVS had caused to be rased and defaced, to be repaired and new made; and in other matters concerning religion,

Theodosius made Anastasius to become a priest.

gion, he commaunded his ſubiects to obſerue and hold that which the councels had decreed, and the Church of *Rome* maintained, and ſo made ſhew of a pleaſing Emperour. But fortune neuertheleſſe ſhewed her ſelfe his enemy; for *Leo* whom his predeceſſour ANASTASIVS had made Generall for the defence of *Aſia* the leſſe againſt the Sarazins, and who yet had not done him any homage, vnder the pretence and colour to reſtore his maſter ANASTASIVS, ioyned himſelfe with ARTAMASDVS another captaine, which in the confines of *Armenia* commanded the ordinarie garriſons of the Empire, & they both with all their whole power came againſt THEODOSIVS; and comming to *Nicomedia* they apprehended a ſon of his, which was there, and from thence marching forwards he began to vſurpe the name of Emperour. Againſt this force and rage wherewith LEO came, THEODOSIVS durſt make no reſiſtance; but vpon aſſurance that he ſhould not be put to death, or receiue other wrong in his perſon, he yeelded himſelfe into his hands, and choſe to liue a religious life in a Monaſterie, and taking the habit remained therein; before that one yeare was expired, after that (againſt his will) he was made Emperour, ſo as now with him there were three Emperours which liued depoſed. The firſt was PHILIPPICVS, whom ANASTASIVS had caſt in priſon, and had pluckt out his eyes, whoſe end what it was I find not written: the ſecond was ANASTASIVS, whom (as I ſaid) this THEODOSIVS made to take religious orders and habit: and now the third was the ſame THEODOSIVS, who yeelding himſelfe to LEO, made choiſe rather of a religious life than to ſtand to his defence. Wherein if voluntarily he did it, or at leaſt endured it with patience, (as is moſt likely) ſeeing that he was made Emperour perforce and againſt his will, truly he was in the right, and choſe the better part and left the worſer to LEO, which was the Empire: which he moſt wickedly gouerned, as hereafter ſhall appeare. This was in the yeere of our Lord ſeuen hundred and ſeuenteene.

Leo entitled himſelfe Emperor.

Three Emperors liued at one time depoſed.

Theodoſius became a Monk.

Anno Dom. 717.

THE

THE LIFE OF LEO, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND twelfth Romane Emperour.

WHILEST that theſe Emperours of a yeares ſtanding, as Conſtables of countrey villages, or (to ſpeake more properly) tyrants, did ſtriue to ſubuert the one the other, without any conceit of making head againſt the Sarazins and Infidels, which daily increaſed and grew more mighty, ſo that Chriſtendome was diminiſhed and oppreſſed: for beſides that which happened in the Empire, which now was of ſmall force, in the kingdomes of *France* and in *Germanie*, were alſo warres betweene the French and the Burgonians, and likewiſe betweene the Frizons and the Sueuians, and betweene the Saxons and the Bauarians, and other nations too long to be recited in this hiſtorie. At which time CHARLES MARTEL in *France* (through the fame of his noble actes) grew to bee verie much eſteemed, and he conquered and ſubdued ſome, or the moſt part of all theſe ſaid nations. This CHARLES MARTEL was Pretorian Preſect, or rather High Conſtable of *France*, which was the higheſt dignitie in that time next to the king; who by reaſon of the inſufficiencie of king CHILDERICVS, who afterwards was depoſed, and of his owne great valour (although the other had the name) yet hee had

The originall of Charles Martell.

had the authoritie of king. And in *Italy* alſo were ſome innouations, ſo as the Infidels daily more and more preuailed: and hauing conquered the greateſt part of all *Spaine*, they extended their power thence into *France*, and tooke *Catalonia*, and and afterwards *Narbone*, and beſieged *Auignon*; which was within the bounds of the Gothiſh kings of *Spaine*. But thoſe countries being afterwards recouered by the kings of *France*, continued in their ſubiection. Theſe heathen Princes alſo conquered the Iles of *Maiorica* and *Minorica*, and other Ilands in that Sea, with the Ile of *Sardinia* alſo. Preſently after that THEODOSIVS was depoſed from his Empire, and that LEO the third of that name, was receiued and eſtabliſhed, who was vnworthie thereof; ZVLEMON (whom ſome call after another manner) king and captaine of the Sarazins, and now Lord of *Aſia*, of *Africa*, and of *Spaine*, making ſmall account of LEO, or of the decaied and weakened Empire; reſolued with himſelfe wholy to ſubuert the ſame: and to that effect vſed all meanes and deuices poſſible, to amaſſe men and ſhipping, to the end to goe or ſend againſt the great citie of *Conſtantinople*, together with all *Thracia* and *Gracia*. The prouiſion which he made was ſo great, that ſome authors affirme that he had in his fleete three thouſand ſaile of ſhips, and an incredible number of men of warre, which he ſent vnder the conduct of two Generals, the one called MASOILDVS, and the other SOLIMAN. Theſe armies came into *Europe*, and paſſed the ſtreight of *Conſtantinople*, without any reſiſtance: for although that the Emperour LEO had intelligence of their comming, yet was hee not able to raiſe ſo great power as might ſuffice to keepe them from landing. Wherefore he thought it a better courſe to defend the citie, and ſo ſuffered himſelfe to be beſieged therein, rather then to abandon it to the enemies, which made themſelues Lords of both Sea and land, and beſieged the citie round both by land and by ſea, for the ſpace of three yeeres continually. And notwithſtanding that the beſieged valiantly defended it, yet it was thought for certaine that it would haue been loſt, if in the beſiegers there had been ſuch valour and policie, as was to haue been expected in ſuch men: but through the deſire to robbe, they diſperſed themſelues ſo wide ouer the land, that they were thereby greatly endamaged, and the citie was the leſſe diſtreſſed, and had the better oportunitie to prouide ſuch things as were wanting. And particularly ſome captaines with part of this armie, ſeeing that no man made reſiſtance againſt them, roued vp and downe the countrie ouer al *Thracia*, killing and robbing vntill they came into *Bulgaria*, which in ancient time was called the lower *Miſia*: for defence whereof, the king of that countrie ſent ſo good an armie, that he not onely defended his frontiers, but brake and ouerthrew his enemies, and ſlew of them (as ſome Hiſtorians haue written) two and thirtie thouſand. But their power was ſo great, that all Chriſtiandome ſtood in extreme feare of them, and held the Emperour LEO, and all *Gracia* for loſt. At that time there reſted ſo much ambition, and ſo little charitie amongſt chriſtians, that they could not be induced to giue ouer the warres, and priuate contentions amongſt themſelues: for in *Italy* the Lombards enlarged their dominion, and tooke all ſuch townes as they could get either by force or policie. The Frenchmen and other princes did the like; and euen their owne captaines and ſeruants failed them in this extremitie: for SERGIVS who was Pretor or Gouernour for LEO in *Sicilia*, holding the Emperour for loſt, with the conſent of ſome others, choſe one GREGORIE for Emperour; and making him to chaunge his name, they called him TIBERIVS; what end he made I will tell you hereafter. Onely the Bulgarians aſſiſted the Emperour, for in truth they had intereſt therein, conſidering the daunger that hung

Zulemon king of the Sarazins made warr againſt the Empire.

Conſtantinople beſieged by the Sarazins.

Bulgaria nowadaies called the lower Miſia.

Gregorie called and choſen Emperour.

hung ouer their owne heads, if the Sarazins preuailed. And the Christians which in *Constantinople* were besieged, made such prayers and supplications, that it seemed the Lord tooke compassion of them, and protected them: for no humane power was sufficient to haue resisted so great forces. Which as Historians affirme, was manifestly of diuine miracle, that in so long time as the siege lasted, the whole Empire had not been lost, considering and comparing the garrison which was within to defend the city, with the multitude and power of those which without besieged it; to whom by Gods ordinance, befell so many misfortunes and disasters, that without any mans helpe they were destroyed. First in the time of the siege died their King ZVLEMON, whom they also called AMVRATH; and about the chusing of a new king they fell at so great variance and dissention among themselues, that they were disordred, and the besieged greatly recomforted, vntill at the last AMINTHAS HVMAR was chosen, who followed the warre more faintly and retchlesly then before: and there afterwards followed so cold weather, such stormes, and so many plagues of famine and pestilence amongst them, that the greatest part of them died, as well by land as by sea. Besides this, there followed so many tempests and violent windes vpon the seas, that in the best and safest harbours, their ships were ouerset and cast away; in such sort, that the Infidels were so much diminished and decayed, that the citie of *Constantinople* was not only freed and deliuered from that siege, but that few of them escaped with their liues from before it: for of three thousand saile which they brought thither in the beginning, so few returned with their people, that it seemeth to be a matter incredible; and besides that they were cast away in foule weather at sea, the Historians recount, that very many of their ships were burned by one mans industrie. Finally, all that great multitude and number of men and shipping, which seemed to haue been sufficient to haue ouerrunne the whole world, and to haue laid the same waste; in little more then two yeeres was lost and consumed: and LEO remained the sole absolute Lord of all that which before he possessed, who shewed not himselfe so thankfull to God for his so great benefits as he ought to haue done. He had also no lesse good happe against TIBERIVS a tyrant, which rebelled in *Sicilia*, who in short space was brought to confusion: for the Emperor LEO sending from *Constantinople* the captaine of his horsemen called PAVL, with title and authoritie of Gouernour of *Sicilia*, with letters to the captaines and souldiers there: which PAVL by a stratagem gat into the citie of *Siracusa*, now called *Sarragossa*; where shewing his authoritie to those of the citie, and of the armie; and they all knowing that the Emperour whom they held for lost, was aliue and at libertie, obeyed his commaund; and with such fauour receiued and entertained their new Captaine, that they apprehended their new king, and deliuered him into the power of this PAVL, who put him to death: and SERGIVS the Pretor of *Sicilia*, who was the author and originall of this rebellion, fled into *Italy* to the Lombards; and so that Iland remained in peace and obedience to the Emperour.

The death of Zulemon king of the Sarazins.

Aminthas Humar chosen king of the Sarazins.

Tempest, famine and pestilence fell in the armie of the Sarazins by sea and land.

Paul put Gregorie to death.

The Emperour LEO being freed from so great distresse and oppression, ought truly to haue applied himselfe to the seruice of God, and to haue rendred thankes for the same, and to haue relieued his poore subiects and vassals, of the losses and harmes by them sustained: but hee to the contrarie, vnder colour to recouer the charges which he had been at, laid new impositions and taxes vpon the people, and tooke order that the Churches should haue been ransacked; against which Pope GREGORIE, to the vttermost of his power, opposed himselfe; by reason

whereof

whereof (enmitie growing betweene them) the Emperour ſought to haue made away the Pope, or to haue taken him priſoner; and to that end ſent thither for Gouernor one MARINVS, and afterwards the Exarch PAVL, and there happened many accidents which I omit, vntill that at laſt the Pope found reliefe where he neuer thought to haue had any, which was in LEVTPRAND king of the Lombards. After this, the Emperour ſeeming deſirous to be at peace with the Pope, requeſted him to cauſe the images to be taken from the Altars, and to be put out of the Churches and Temples, in ſuch manner as he had done in *Conſtantinople*: whereto the Pope making a preſumptuous anſwere, with great authoritie diſpatched and ſent his letters and Buls through all Chriſtendome, excommunicating the Emperour, and commaunding the images to be honoured and had in reuerence. The pontificall commaund of this Pope GREGORIE, was of ſuch authoritie, and the Emperour was therby brought into ſuch diſliking with the people, that the moſt of the citties in *Italie*, and the men of warre in *Rauenna* tooke part with the Pope againſt him; and there was ſo great debate and diſſention in *Rauenna*, that they ſlew the Exarch PAVL, and deſired the Pope to depoſe the Emperour LEO, and to chuſe another in his place. This diſſention gaue occaſion and opportunitie to the Lombards (contrarie to the peace) to take the cittie of *Bologna*, and many other citties and townes in that quarter. Which the Emperour perceiuing, deſired and practiſed the Popes death or impriſonment, and to that end ſent a new Exarch or gouernour into *Italie*, called EVRISTIVS; who landing in *Naples* (to be neere to *Rome*) endeuoured either by force or pollicie to execute his commiſſion, writing letters to many his friends in *Rome* and elſewhere, to that effect, which put the Pope and his friends in great feare and perplexitie, ſeeing themſelues of the one ſide oppreſſed by the Emperour, and on the other ſide ſtanding in feare of the Lombards: wherefore they ſought by all meanes to be at peace with them, which LEVTPRAND their king in conſideration of his owne aduantage and benefit, granted, and came to *Rome*; hauing occaſion to paſſe by it with an army againſt certaine captaines which rebelled in *Spoleto* and *Beneuent*, ſo as the Emperors practiſe was the ſecond time made fruſtrate, but he had his will in throwing downe and burning all the images: and for as much as the Patriarch GERMANVS would not conſent thereto, he depoſed him from his prelacie, and placed another in his roome. And the caſe ſtanding in this eſtate, Pope GREGORIE died, which was the ſecond of that name; and him ſucceeded another of the ſame name borne in *Syria*, who commanded a generall councell to be aſſembled in *Rome*, whither came many biſhops, and therein the vſe and veneration of images was againe approoued and ratified, and the Pope proceeded againſt the Emperor, in ſuch manner, that he was excommunicate and Anathematized by the councel. In that time hapned many terrible earthquakes, whereby many cities in *Aſia* the leſſe, and in *Græcia*, were deſtroyed: and the Sarazins came out of *Syria* into *Aſia* the leſſe, and did much hurt, and tooke certaine cities in *Cappadocia*. Before this, the Emperor made his eldeſt ſonne being a young man, whoſe name was CONSTANTINE, CÆSAR, and nominating him his ſucceſſor, married him to the Kings daughter of *Bauaria* called YRENE. This ſeemeth to haue paſſed in the ſeauenteenth yeere of his raigne, all which time with the reſt of his Empire, which was in all foure and twentie yeeres, he gouerned with greater rigor then beſeemed a King or an Emperor; and notwithſtanding that he wanted neither valour nor policie to continew himſelfe in the Empire; yet matters were carried by ſuch violence and couetouſnes, that in his

Leo ſought to kill or impriſon Pope Gregorie.

The Emperor Leo excommunicated by the Pope.

The Popes ſulminations.

The Emperor ſought the Popes death.

The kingdome of Antechriſt erected.

The Emperor Leo excommunicated by the councell beld in Rome.

Leo made his ſonne Conſtantine Ceſar and his ſucceſſor in the Empire.

time were great warres. In *Italy* the Lombards tooke many cities, and beſieged *Rauenna*, and the people within it, once againe ſlew their Exarch or gouernor. In *Aſia* the leſſe the Infidels entred the countrie, and robbing and ſpoiling the ſame, carried away an infinit number of captiues, and made a conqueſt of great part of the land. And all the prouinces thereof, with *Græcia*, *Italie*, the Iſles of *Sicilia* and *Creta*, now called *Candia*, which were in his ſubiection, were greatly oppreſſed with tributes, impreſts, and other intollerable exactions, in ſuch manner, that many reioiced at his death, which happened in the yeare of our Lord ſeuen hundred and one and fortie, he dying of a *Diſſenteria*; and in his place remained his ſonne CONSTANTINE the fift of that name, who was verie like to his father. The houſe and kingdome of *France* in theſe daies greatly increaſed, through the valour and wiſedome of CHARLES MARTEL, which conquered and annexed to that kingdome the countries of *Freezeland*, *Saxonie*, *Auſtrich*, *Burgundie*, and other great eſtates. The cittie of *Venice* was now verie great and famous, and began to be gouerned by Dukes.

The death of Leo Emperor of Conſtantinople. Anno Dom. 741.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND THIRTEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

CONſtantine being eſtabliſhed in the Empire, made preſent preparation for the warres againſt the Infidels in Egypt; but hee was moleſted and hindred by Artauſus a tyrant, which roſe againſt him, and intitled himſelfe Emperor: wherefore he returned, notwithſtanding that he was alreadie arriued at Alexandria, and tooke Conſtantinople by force, and puniſhed the tyrant, although not with ſuch ſeueritie as his offence deſerued. At that time Aiſtolphus King of the Lombards making warre againſt Rome, Pope Stephen ſued to the Emperor for aide, but he prouided no ſuch armie as the importance of the caſe required, thinking to paciſie Aiſtolphus by letters and ambaſſades: whereupon the Pope ſeeing the delay and

and little regard of the Emperor, called the French-men into Italy to relieue him; and they comming, twice freed the citie of Rome from the hands of the Lombards: wherewith Constantine (vnderstanding what the Pope had done) was displeased, and sent him an ambassade promising succours, which came not in time; for the French being already passed the Alpes, had compelled Aistolphus to render the cities, which Pepin gaue to the Church of Rome. A councell was called in Rome, and the Emperor was condemned for an heretike about the pulling downe of Images; and at that time also ended the kingdome of the Lombards vnder Desiderius their King. And Constantine making warre against the Bulgarians, fell sicke of a kinde of leprosie, called Elephantia; and dying, left the Empire to his sonne Leo, when he had gouerned the same fiue and thirtie yeares.

NOTVVITHSTANDING that LEO was but a bad Emperor, and therefore ill beloued; yet so soone as he was dead, his sonne was receiued and obeyed, in hope that he would haue prooued better than his father, or else for that in his fathers time he was growne so mightie, that they durst not attempt to make choise of any other. But he prooued so good a scholler to his father LEO, that in all things he excelled and surpassed him much, and liued longer than he: so that these seeme not to be the liues of Emperors which we now relate, in comparison of those which are past; but like as in great vessels wherein wine or some other good liquor hath bin kept, as it consumeth, so it becommeth of a worse tast, and in the bottome there remaine some lees and dregs: so befell it in the East Empire, wherein had been verie great and mightie princes, whose head and beginning was such as you haue seene, and whose end we may say drew neere, seeing that within few yeares the title and dignitie of the Empire was translated from them to the Frenchmen and the Germanes: notwithstanding that in *Grecia* there remained Emperours a long time after. Presently after that CONSTANTINE was crowned, to the end to giue a signe of a future good Emperour, he prouided a great armie and a nauie, therewith to go in person into *Egypt*: and Pope ZACHARIE vnderstanding thereof, sent him two ambassadours to congratulate his comming to the Empire, according to the custome of his predecessors; dissuading him from his fathers opinions, and exhorting him to beleeue as did the Church of *Rome*, and he therewith sent him in writing the Articles which hee would haue him to beleeue. These ambassadours staied so long vpon their way, that when they arriued at *Constantinople*, the Emperor was alreadie departed with his fleet towards *Egypt* against the Infidels, thinking to haue surprised the citie of *Alexandria*, and afterwards to haue conquered the whole land: for in that kingdome, and in other prouinces which were but lately lost, liued many Christians which continued therein a long time; and in some cities were bishops, by the permission of the Sarazins. Within few daies after the Emperour was embarked, a principall man which remained in *Constantinople*, whose name was ARTHAVSTVS, being assisted by many which tooke his part, rose with the cittie and was called Emperour: whereof CONSTANTINE was speedily aduertised, euen at such time as with his fleet he was come within sight of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. So soone as he had certaine notice thereof, without any longer stay he returned towards *Constantinople*; and ARTHAVSTVS which was in possession thereof, put himselfe in armes, with much people to defend the same. But CONSTANTINE landing, besieged the cittie, and entring it by force, apprehended the tyrant, and commaunded his eies to be pluckt out, & him to be perpetually banished; which in my opinion was too small a punishment for so great a treason: but then was

Pope Zachary sent his legates to Constantinople with articles to be held and beleeued.

Arthaustus tooke vpon him the name of Emperor.

Constantine put out Arthaustus his eies.

vſed ſo much diſloyaltie, that it was not puniſhed accordingly as it deſerued. And this being ſoone ended (although not without bloudſhed) he heard the Popes ambaſſade, finding his ambaſſadours there in that confuſion; which he anſwered with good words, but without performing what they required: perſiſting in his opinion concerning the aboliſhing of images, and other points which his father held, and therewith he deſired that the Church of *Rome* ſhould doe the like: which put the Pope into a great agonie, as well by reaſon hereof, as of the tyrannie and warres of the Lombards. And the Emperours ſuccours fayling, it pleaſed God to ſend it from elſewhere: all which from the root and ground paſſed in this manner.

At that time the Chriſtian faith and religion flouriſhed in the kingdome of *France*, principally amongſt the princes and great lords thereof; wherein by the death of CHARLES MARTEL, who as we ſaid was high Conſtable of that kingdome, his two ſonnes, whereof the one was called CARLOMAN, and the other PEPIN, remaining in their fathers place, came to the gouernment as abſolute lords of the whole land. Which kingdome was then much greater than now it is (although it be yet verie great) for beſides that which the French now hold, they then poſſeſſed a great part of *Germanie*, as *Auſtrich*, *Saxonie*, *Flaunders*, *Burgundie*, *Suenia*, and other prouinces. The elder of theſe two brothers (which was CARLOMAN) making no account of the world, wherein he had ſuch part (as I ſay) determined to leaue it, and went to *Rome* to Pope ZACHARY, who gaue him Church orders, and hee became a Monke of the order of Saint BENEDICT, wherein he continued and ended. And his brother PEPIN remained alone in the gouernment of the kingdome of *France*, and did many noble feates of armes, in enlarging that kingdome againſt the enemies thereof, and gouerned the ſame ſo well, that there was no ſpeech or mention made of King CHILDERICKE: wherefore, and foraſmuch as in truth the King was a man of ſmall diſcretion, and altogether incapable of the gouernment, Pope ZACHARY depoſed him from the kingdome, and confirmed and approued the election of King PEPIN, as write THOMAS AQVINAS, ROBERT GAGVIN, and PAVLVS EMILIVS, French hiſtoriographers. And CHILDERICKE became a religious man, and in him ended the line and lineall deſent of the Kings of *France*, extract from the bloud of the famous FRANCONS; and the crowne paſſed to the linage of this PEPIN, wherein it continued almoſt two hundred and fortie yeeres, vntill ſuch time as there happened another change, as ſhall be declared when time and place ſhall permit. This PEPIN was father to CHARLES the great, which afterwards was Emperor: wherefore it behoueth me heere to make mention of him.

Carloman became a Monke.

Pope Zachary depoſed Childerick King of France from his crowne.

The ſtate of *France* ſtanding in this manner, in *Italy* died Pope ZACHARY, and STEPHEN the ſecond of that name ſucceeded him; in the beginning of whoſe papacie, AISTVLPHVS was King of the Lombards; and as we may ſay, of all *Italy*; for his brother RACHISIVS which was King became a Monke, of the order of Saint BENEDICT. This new King ſeeing the ſmall care that the Emperor tooke for the affaires of *Italy*, breaking the peace whereto he himſelfe was ſworne, raiſed a great power of men of warre (as a man that had ſufficient meanes thereto) and cruelly harried the land, and then beſieged, battered, and tooke the citie of *Ranenna*, which of long time (excepting *Rome*) had bin the principall citie of all *Italy*, and the ſeate of the Exarches or gouernors; and he alſo won many other townes, which vntill then had valiantly defended themſelues; ſo as there remained no more but the citie of *Rome* and the territorie thereof: for in a manner all *Pulia*, and

Rachiſius King of the Lombards renounced the kingdome and became a Monke.

Calabria

Calabria were held by them. Which when Pope STEPHEN the second saw and considered, he sent to giue the Emperour to vnderstand thereof; plainly manifesting vnto him, that if he did not speedily send reliefe, all *Italy* would come into the power of the Lombards.

The Emperour in this case made not such prouision of an armie and men of warre, as the necessitie of the cause required, and sent but only an Ambassadour to the king of the Lombards; and other Ambassadours were sent by the king to the Emperour, and long treaties and many speeches were spent about the matter: but AISTVLPHVS without respect of any person sent to the Pope, requiring him to giue vp the citie of *Rome* into his power; if not, that he would then come and take it by force of armes, and strike off the heads of all such as he should finde therein. *King Aistulphus his message to the Pope*

The Pope seeing this, after long consideration and consultation had about the matter, with the consent of the whole citie, seeing there was no other remedie, agreed to send to PEPIN king of *France* for reliefe, which was done with the greatest secrecie that could be; he seeking by other meanes to entertaine king AISTVLPHS with presents and promises. The king of *France* willingly heard his ambassade, and promised to doe what he required; and therewith sent to the Pope, counselling him for his more safetie to come into *France*. In the meane time returned the Ambassadours which were sent to the Emperour to *Constantinople*, which brought no other redresse, but direction for the Pope to goe in person to king AISTVLPHVS, and to entreate him for peace. The Pope hauing alreadie fully determined of his iourney, must of necessitie passe through AISTVLPHVS his dominions, and therefore resolued to doe both: and so departed from *Rome*, accompanied with the Ambassadours of both the Kings, and of the Emperour, and came to *Pauia*, where the proud King AISTVLPHVS then lay; but could not come to any composition with him, for he required to haue the dominion and rule of *Rome*, and the rest of all *Italy*; and that they should yeerely giue him a certaine peece of gold for euery head. And notwithstanding that they treated of peace, yet he neuertheless daily made preparation for the warres: so as the Pope in the best manner that hee could tooke his leaue of him, and by long iourneys came into *France*, holding his way towards king PEPINS court, who commaunded his eldest sonne CHARLES, which afterwards was Emperour, that so soone as he were come into *France*, he should conduct and accompanie him; and hee himself afterwards came three miles from *Paris*, where he then held his court, to meete him: and alighting from his horse he kist the Popes foot, and would ride no more, but led the Popes horse by the bridle: and in this manner with exceeding humilitie, he conducted him to his palace, where he was magnificently receiued, and royally entertained, and there hee confirmed king PEPINS election; and so annointed and crowned him king of *France*. And king PEPIN after many matters which passed about this businesse, resoluing to relieue the Pope, caused an armie to be leuied: but he first sent Ambassadours to king AISTVLPHVS, to treate with him concerning an establishment of peace, offering him reasonable and honorable conditions. Whereto he answered with greater pride then befitted him: for making small account of king PEPIN, he reposed his chiefe trust in the multitude of his people. The peace being broken, and the warre determined, PEPIN commaunded his troupes to march; whose auauntguard in passing the Alpes, fought with AISTVLPHVS his forces which guarded the passages; which being broken and scattered, the king passed with his whole armie; and AISTVLPHVS staying in the plaines with the rest of his power, and vnable to make head *Warres betweene King Pepin and Aistulphus king of the Lombards.*

againſt him, was conſtrained to retire, whom king PEPIN purſued vntill that hee had encloſed him in the citie of *Pauia*, where (being maſter of the field) he beſieged him: during which ſiege, many rapines, robberies, and outrages were committed. Pope STEPHEN ſeeing what ill was befalne; notwithſtanding that he apparantly ſaw the victorie, and that he himſelfe was the procurer of the warre, yet he procured peace, and dealt with AISTVLPHVS to that effect, perſwading him to reſigne what he had taken, and to binde himſelfe by oth to maintaine the peace, and to giue hoſtages and ſecuritie for the obſeruing of the ſame. AISTVLPHVS being thus beſieged, & hearing theſe newes, in outward ſhew praiſed God, faining great humilitie and thankfulnes to the Pope, and extolling him, promiſed and ſware to be his moſt obedient ſon, & ſo the matter was agreed vpon: for king PEPIN pretended nothing, but reſtitution to be made to the Pope, and the quiet of the Church of *Rome*, and as it ſeemed that he had effected the ſame, taking with him fortie men of account, which AISTVLPHVS deliuered vnto him for hoſtages and pledges, for the performance of his promiſe, hee within a certaine prefixed time, raiſed his ſiege from before *Pauia*, and returned towards *France*, leauing a great noble man called VARNERIVS to ſee the conditions perfourmed: whereof the Pope holding himſelfe aſſured, departed alſo towards *Rome*, and AISTVLPHVS accompliſhing ſome matters of ſmall importance, with faire words deferring the principall (which was the rendring of cities and townes) temporized, vntill that king PEPIN was returned into his countrie. And afterwards contrarie to his oth, would performe nothing of what he had promiſed, but went to *Rauenna*, and thither ſent for the greateſt part of his forces; and continuing his pretended purpoſe, within a very ſmall time after, tooke his way towards *Rome*, where the Pope was; and encamping himſelf before it, held it beſieged the ſpace of three moneths; in which time (as all hiſtories beare record) he did greater harme in the fields and territorie thereof, then had been done before in three hundred and fortie yeeres, by the Viſogothes, the Oſtrogothes, the Heruli, the ſame Lombards themſelues, or any other nation. In the beginning of this ſiege, what paſſed I haue not time to ſet downe; but that the Pope ſent his Ambaſſadours downe the riuer *Tiber*, and thence by ſea to king PEPIN into *France*, then the Popes only refuge, to entreate him to come to his reliefe; whom they found buſie in making preparation for his comming, notwithſtanding that they had not requeſted him: but with their comming the farre greater haſte was made. Whereof when AISTVLPHVS had intelligence, he raiſed his ſiege from before *Rome*, and came into *Lumbardy*, with an intent to haue ſtopped king PEPINS deſcent from the Alpes; where we will leaue them for a while, to the end hereafter to make an end of the ſtorie. And let vs now ſpeake of *Conſtantine*, of whom this Chronicle is, whom wee haue not without reaſon forgotten, for in truth it hath bin to giue light to the reader, to ſee and to vnderſtand the cauſe and reaſon why the Pope tranſported the Empire into the Weſterne parts, firſt into the houſe of *France*; for which cauſe it was requiſite to declare what is ſaid, and what ſhall be ſaid hereafter: for although it be not directly of the Emperours, yet it is very expedient for the hiſtorie of them, and the cleerenes and order of what we ſhall write hereafter. I ſay then that CONSTANTINE was not idle all the while that theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, but attempted to make warre againſt the Infidels, ſometimes in *Egypt*, and ſometimes in *Syria*, but euer with ill ſucceſſe. His Empire was alſo much diſtreſſed and weakened, by reaſon of a great peſtilence, which fell among the inhabitants in thoſe parts, which was ſo terrible, that it was feared that the

Peace between Pepin and the Lombards.

Rome beſieged by the Lombards.

the land would haue been dispeopled; which as HVGO FLORIACENSIS writeth, began in *Calabria*, and from thence passed into *Sicilia*, and afterwards into *Græcia*, and to *Constantinople*, afflicting those countries. So that it is beleeued and held for certaine, that if there had not happened to arise new and vnexpected enemies against the Sarazins, the East Empire had been in great danger to haue been lost. But in time of this aduersitie the Turkes descended, in a most huge multitude, out of *Scithia Asiatica*; for being in a manner innumerable, and in a cold and barren countrie; moued thereto through the fame of the wealth of *Asia*, they came into the prouince of the Alanes, and afterwards into the countries of the *Colchi*, and from thence descended into *Armenia*; and lastly into *Persia*, and so into *Asia* the lesse, robbing and subduing those countries: in such sort that the Mahometists could not attempt ought against the Christians, neither were of power sufficiently able to defend themselues, and therefore concluded a peace with them: and so the Turkes remained Lords of great part of those prouinces, and afterwards receiued the accursed sect of MAHOMET, which they found in the countries by them subdued. The Sarazins being much troubled in this warre, suffered CONSTANTINE to liue in peace. But the same Turkes did him much harme, for they tooke from him certaine prouinces in *Asia* the lesse, and therein, and in the rest of *Asia*, remained a long time after, mixed with other nations, hauing no rule or dominion, but liued obscurely, vntill that about two hundred and fiftie yeeres afterwards, as when time shall serue wee will tell you, one amongst them whose name was OTTOMAN, began the dominion and empire which they hold this day. This nation of the Turkes (setting a part all other opinions) had their originall beginning in *Scithia* in *Asia*: Of all the ancient writers, onely PLINI in his sixt booke, and POMPONIVS MELA in the end of his first booke, make mention of them, and place them amongst the Sarmates in the confines of *Scithia*, ouer the Caspian passages in the *Hiperborean* mountaines; and they say that they liued dispersed in the fields, by that which they could get by hunting; so as they were vnknowne (yet some mention was made of them) vntill this their descent in the time of CONSTANTINE the fift; and so for almost other fiue hundred yeeres, there was no great account made of them. The opinion of those which say that the Turkes descended from the Troianes, is meerely false, and shall not neede to be reproued, or impugned, for that it is ridiculous, and not to be regarded, for what is before said is true. But returning to my storie, I say that the affaires of the East remaining in this estate, and the Emperour knowing that AISTVLPHVS king of the Lombards had besieged *Rome*, & that the Pope had sent to the French king for aide, and that he made preparation to come to vnset him; being greatly grieued therewith, in great haste he sent two of his fauourites to the Pope, requesting him not to retaine the succours of *France*, for that he himselfe would relieue him. But this tooke no effect, for as much as they spake too late, and also for that the Pope and state of *Rome* had no good conceit or hope of him: so as the Emperors Ambassadours staied not in *Rome*, but went to the French court, where they sought to haue diuerted the King, and to haue dissuaded him from going into *Italy*. But king PEPIN notwithstanding relented not, but rather with a greater and better armie passed the Alpes; in which passage were many skirmishes, and many men were lost of the one side and of the other. But in the end AISTVLPHVS durst not abide the battaile, but setting all matters in the best order that possibly he could, he retired himselfe into the citie of *Pauia*, which was the head and royall seate of that kingdome; wherein king PEPIN againe besie-

The origine of the Turkes.

Ottoman king of the Turkes.

King Pepin came the second time into Italy.

againſt him, was conſtrained to retire, whom king PEPIN purſued vntill that hee had encloſed him in the citie of *Pauia*, where (being maſter of the field) he beſieged him: during which ſiege, many rapines, robberies, and outrages were committed. Pope STEPHEN ſeeing what ill was befalne; notwithſtanding that he apparantly ſaw the victorie, and that he himſelfe was the procurer of the warre, yet he procured peace, and dealt with AISTVLPHVS to that effect, perſwading him to reſigne what he had taken, and to binde himſelfe by oth to maintaine the peace, and to giue hoſtages and ſecuritie for the obſeruing of the ſame. AISTVLPHVS being thus beſieged, & hearing theſe newes, in outward ſhew praiſed God, faining great humilitie and thankfulnes to the Pope, and extolling him, promiſed and ſware to be his moſt obedient ſon, & ſo the matter was agreed vpon: for king PEPIN pretended nothing, but reſtitution to be made to the Pope, and the quiet of the Church of *Rome*, and as it ſeemed that he had effected the ſame, taking with him fortie men of account, which AISTVLPHVS deliuered vnto him for hoſtages and pledges, for the performance of his promiſe, hee within a certaine prefixed time, raiſed his ſiege from before *Pauia*, and returned towards *France*, leauing a great noble man called VARNERIVS to ſee the conditions perfourmed: whereof the Pope holding himſelfe aſſured, departed alſo towards *Rome*, and AISTVLPHVS accompliſhing ſome matters of ſmall importance, with faire words deferring the principall (which was the rendring of cities and townes) temporized, vntill that king PEPIN was returned into his countrie. And afterwards contrarie to his oth, would performe nothing of what he had promiſed, but went to *Rauenna*, and thither ſent for the greateſt part of his forces; and continuing his pretended purpoſe, within a very ſmall time after, tooke his way towards *Rome*, where the Pope was; and encamping himſelf before it, held it beſieged the ſpace of three moneths; in which time (as all hiſtories beare record) he did greater harme in the fields and territorie thereof, then had been done before in three hundred and fortie yeeres, by the Viſogothes, the Oſtrogothes, the Heruli, the ſame Lombards themſelues, or any other nation. In the beginning of this ſiege, what paſſed I haue not time to ſet downe; but that the Pope ſent his Ambaſſadours downe the riuer *Tiber*, and thence by ſea to king PEPIN into *France*, then the Popes only refuge, to entreate him to come to his reliefe; whom they found buſie in making preparation for his comming, notwithſtanding that they had not requeſted him: but with their comming the farre greater haſte was made. Whereof when AISTVLPHVS had intelligence, he raiſed his ſiege from before *Rome*, and came into *Lumbardy*, with an intent to haue ſtopped king PEPINS deſcent from the Alpes; where we will leaue them for a while, to the end hereafter to make an end of the ſtorie. And let vs now ſpeake of *Conſtantine*, of whom this Chronicle is, whom wee haue not without reaſon forgotten, for in truth it hath bin to giue light to the reader, to ſee and to vnderſtand the cauſe and reaſon why the Pope tranſported the Empire into the Weſterne parts, firſt into the houſe of *France*; for which cauſe it was requiſite to declare what is ſaid, and what ſhall be ſaid hereafter: for although it be not directly of the Emperours, yet it is very expedient for the hiſtorie of them, and the cleerenes and order of what we ſhall write hereafter. I ſay then that CONSTANTINE was not idle all the while that theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, but attempted to make warre againſt the Infidels, ſometimes in *Egypt*, and ſometimes in *Syria*, but euer with ill ſucceſſe. His Empire was alſo much diſtreſſed and weakened, by reaſon of a great peſtilence, which fell among the inhabitants in thoſe parts, which was ſo terrible, that it was feared that the

Peace between Pepin and the Lombards.

Rome beſieged by the Lombards.

the land would haue been diſpeopled; which as HVGO FLORIACENSIS writeth, began in *Calabria*, and from thence paſſed into *Sicilia*, and afterwards into *Græcia*, and to *Conſtantinople*, afflicting thoſe countries. So that it is beleeued and held for certaine, that if there had not happened to ariſe new and vnexpected enemies againſt the Sarazins, the East Empire had been in great danger to haue been loſt. But in time of this aduerſitie the Turkes deſcended, in a moſt huge multitude, out of *Scithia Aſiatica*; for being in a manner innumerable, and in a cold and barren countrie; moued thereto through the fame of the wealth of *Aſia*, they came into the prouince of the Alanes, and afterwards into the countries of the *Colchi*, and from thence deſcended into *Armenia*; and laſtly into *Perſia*, and ſo into *Aſia* the leſſe, robbing and ſubduing thoſe countries: in ſuch ſort that the Mahometiſts could not attempt ought againſt the Chriſtians, neither were of power ſufficiently able to defend themſelues, and therefore concluded a peace with them: and ſo the Turkes remained Lords of great part of thoſe prouinces, and afterwards receiued the accurſed ſect of MAHOMET, which they found in the countries by them ſubdued. The Sarazins being much troubled in this warre, ſuffered CONSTANTINE to liue in peace. But the ſame Turkes did him much harme, for they tooke from him certaine prouinces in *Aſia* the leſſe, and therein, and in the reſt of *Aſia*, remained a long time after, mixed with other nations, hauing no rule or dominion, but liued obſcurely, vntill that about two hundred and fiftie yeeres afterwards, as when time ſhall ſerue wee will tell you, one amongſt them whoſe name was OTTOMAN, began the dominion and empire which they hold this day. This nation of the Turkes (ſetting a part all other opinions) had their originall beginning in *Scithia* in *Aſia*: Of all the ancient writers, onely PLINI in his ſixt booke, and POMPONIVS MELA in the end of his firſt booke, make mention of them, and place them amongſt the Sarmates in the confines of *Scithia*, ouer the Caſpian paſſages in the *Hiperborean* mountaines; and they ſay that they liued diſperſed in the fields, by that which they could get by hunting; ſo as they were vnknowne (yet ſome mention was made of them) vntill this their deſcent in the time of CONSTANTINE the fift; and ſo for almoſt other fiue hundred yeeres, there was no great account made of them. The opinion of thoſe which ſay that the Turkes deſcended from the Troianes, is meerely falſe, and ſhall not neede to be reproued, or impugned, for that it is ridiculous, and not to be regarded, for what is before ſaid is true. But returning to my ſtorie, I ſay that the affaires of the East remaining in this eſtate, and the Emperour knowing that ARSTVLPHVS king of the Lombards had beſieged *Rome*, & that the Pope had ſent to the French king for aide, and that he made preparation to come to vnſet him; being greatly grieued therewith, in great haſte he ſent two of his fauourites to the Pope, requeſting him not to retaine the ſuccours of *France*, for that he himſelfe would relieue him. But this tooke no effect, for as much as they ſpake too late, and alſo for that the Pope and ſtate of *Rome* had no good conceit or hope of him: ſo as the Emperors Ambaſſadours ſtaied not in *Rome*, but went to the French court, where they ſought to haue diuerted the King, and to haue diſſwaded him from going into *Italy*. But king PEPIN notwithſtanding relented not, but rather with a greater and better armie paſſed the Alpes; in which paſſage were many skirmiſhes, and many men were loſt of the one ſide and of the other. But in the end AISTVLPHVS durſt not abide the battaile, but ſetting all matters in the beſt order that poſſibly he could, he retired himſelfe into the citie of *Pauia*, which was the head and royall ſeate of that kingdome; wherein king PEPIN againe beſie-

The originе of the Turkes.

Ottoman king of the Turkes.

King Pepin came the ſecond time into Italy.

ged him, and he presently began to treate of peace, offering to render whatsoeuer he had taken. The Emperors Ambassadors solicited, that *Rauenna* and all that gouernment might be restored to the Emperor, and the rest to the Pope: Whereto King PEPIN answered, that he came to that war, onely for the defence of the Church of *Rome*, and that all that therein was conquered, should be her enheritance, and no bodies else in the world. Finally, a peace was concluded, and AISTVLPHVS before the siege was raised, rendred vnto the Pope, *Rauenna*, and all the cities which in those warres he had taken, in that Exarchate, or out of it; amongst which were *Bologna*, *Mantua*, *Cesena*, *Modena*, *Rezzo*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, *Fauencia*, and many other cities and townes, whereof King PEPIN made to the Church of *Rome* a perpetuall donation; as a thing by him conquered and gotten. The Emperors Ambassadors seeing this, being out of hope returned, and the peace was confirmed. So as the gouernment and dignitie of the Exarches was wholy ended and extinguished in *Italy*, which had continued one hundred threescore and fifteene yeeres, and the Popes remained sole Lords of all those countries, and possessed the same together with the citie of *Rome*, and the rest. And King PEPIN being returned into *France*, King AISTVLPHVS which deferred the deliuerie of certaine places, thinking to haue effected some innouation, was ouertaken by death, the manner whereof is written diuersly. And after his decease one DESIDERIVS a great man among the Lombards, was chosen for their King; who was Duke of *Hetruria*, now *Tuscane*. And notwithstanding that some great men perswaded RACHISIVS brother to AISTVLPHVS, which of long time had been a Monke, to take vpon him the name and title of King, yet this tooke no effect, and DESIDERIVS, with the fauour of Pope STEPHEN, to whom he promised to be a perpetuall friend, remained King; and so the peace was established. And Pope STEPHEN applied himselfe to the gouernment of his Church, and the estate thereof. And when he was most busie about those matters, he was taken with an infirmitie whereof he died, and PAVL the first of that name, a Romane borne, succeeded him.

King Pepin his donation to the Church of Rome.

The Exarches abolished in Italy.

The death of King Aistulphus.

In the meane while that King PEPIN in *Italy* made warres against the Lombards, the Emperor CONSTANTINE endeuored to put the images out of the Churches, and made peace with HADALIA King of the Sarazins, to the end that hee should induce the Christians to doe the like, which were in *Armenia*, *Palestina*, *Soria*, and in all the other prouinces in his subiection, which were infinite, and continued in those countries a long time after, and it is said that many liue there yet vntill this day. This Emperor is reported to haue restrained the libertie of the Monkes and prelates very much, without respect to their immunities and priuileges; amongst which he cut off the head of CONSTANTINE the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, for opposing himselfe against him, and therewith suppressed certaine Monasteries. In this time there grew warre and dissention betweene him and THESSALIVS King of *Bulgaria*; who entred *Thracia* and did much harme, spoiling and robbing the lands of the Empire; against whom CONSTANTINE leuied an armie, and fighting with him obtained the victorie; and THESSALIVS returned by flight, with losse of many of his people; for which disgrace and for his euill carriage in the battaile, his people rose against him, and slew him; and chose another called SABINVS for their King: who to make the Emperor his friend, consented and agreed with him to deface and cast the Images out of the Churches; wherewith his subiects were so much discontented, that if he had not escaped from them by flight, they had slaine him: but

The Emperor made peace with Hadalia King of the Sarazins.

Constantine caused the Patriarch of Constantinople to be beheaded.

Wars betweene Constantine and Thessalius King of the Bulgarians, and the issue thereof.

but he went to the Emperor and was there protected; and the Bulgarians chose another for their King, whose name was PAGANVS. At this time CONSTANTINE made his eldest sonne called LEO, his companion and successor in the Empire; this LEO was afterwards Emperor and the fourth of that name. Whilest that CONSTANTINE was busied about these matters, Pope PAVL in *Italy* liued in peace with the Lombards, and their King DESIDERIVS, according to the composition made and established by King PEPIN of *France*, who within short space after died, hauing been one of the most excellent princes of the world. After the death of PEPIN, CHARLES and CARLOMAN his sonnes succeeded him, which diuided the kingdome betweene them; and by the death of CARLOMAN it came wholy to CHARLES. Presently after that King PEPIN was dead, Pope PAVL also died, whose death caused a Scisme in the Church of *Rome*; for DESIDERIVS King of the Lombards, sending a captaine of his with certaine troupes of souldiers to *Rome*, procured his brother CONSTANTINE to be made Pope, who without regarde of the order of election tooke possession of the pallace and held the papall state for the space of one yeere: and others of a contrarie faction and opinion chose another Pope, whose name was PHILIPPICVS; but CONSTANTINE being of greater power, PHILIPPICVS was deposed. But as all was done by force and violence, so by the like force it was determined: for the people and cleargie agreeing together made choise of STEPHEN the third, who was a Sicilian borne, and compelled CONSTANTINE to resigne the papacie, and he did so, and put himselfe into a cloister. The first thing that the new Pope did, was againe to set vp Images in the Churches, and to that effect wrote to the two sonnes of PEPIN the deceased King of *France*, to send to the Emperor some of the prelates which were in their kingdome; which then was so great that it extended it selfe from the *Alpes* to the *Pirenian* mountaines; and thence so far as to *Hungarie*, and on the other side to the sea; so that these two brothers were Lords of all that which we now call *France*, together with *Flanders*, *Friseland*, *Braband*, and on both sides of the riuer *Rhine*, of *Austrich*, *Bauiere* and other prouinces of *Germanie*, besides what rebelled in his time, which was a great part; all which this CHARLES conquered and pacified, although not without great trauell, and made himselfe absolute Lord of the whole. The Pope by their consent sommoned a councell to be held in *Rome*, wherein the Emperor CONSTANTINE was againe condemned; and all that he and his father had commaunded to be done in *Constantinople*, was reproued and disanulled: but this tooke small effect, for he little regarded it. The councell being desolued, DESIDERIVS King of the Lombards sought to haue caused some alteration in *Rome* and in *Italy*, by meanes of one ANFIARATA, the Emperors chamberlaine, who then was in *Rome*, wherein although there were no gouernors for the Empire, as in former time (for it now seemed that the Popes had the sole gouernment) yet was this capitols of great authoritie; who with the assistance of DESIDERIVS, which sought to procure the Emperor to haue some footing againe in *Italy*, thereby to weaken the power of the Pope, and of the French, he apprehended certaine Romanes, and committed them to prison. Three yeeres passed in these matters, and Pope STEPHEN dying, ADRIAN the first of those which were so called was chosen, who at his first entrance released those out of prison which were committed in the time of Pope STEPHEN by ANFIARATA. Whereupon King DESIDERIVS seeing how much the papal power by meanes of *France* encreased; sought to haue made a league and confederacie with him, which the Pope refused, alleaging that he would

The death of King Pepin. Charles surnamed the great, and his brother Carloman succeeded their father.

Pope Constantine deposed and made a Monke.

The Emperor condemned by the Pope and his councell.

The death of Pope Stephen.

would not beleeue him, who no better held his word. At this time died CARLOMAN king of *France*, and his brother which afterwards for his great acts was called CHARLES the Great, made himselfe Lord of that kingdome; and the widow Queene, wife of the deceased King, went with her sonnes to king DESIDERIVS into *Italy*; who being glad of her comming, receiued and entertained her very honourably, thinking to haue raised some trouble and dissention amongst the French; and to that effect practised with Pope ADRIAN, to make the eldest sonne of King CARLOMAN, King of that part of *France* which his father enioyed, with intent by that meane to haue set him and King CHARLES at variance, whom hereafter we will call CHARLES the Great: whereto the Pope would not be induced, and DESIDERIVS purposing by force to bring it to passe, began to make warre on euery side. The first was against the citie of *Rauenna* and the marches thereof; and took the cities of *Ferrara*, *Fauentia*, and other townes: and the Pope by ambassades and letters entreating him to desist from those warres, he threatned to besiege *Rome* it selfe, and took his way thitherwards. Whereupon the Pope sent three Bishops to meete him vpon the way, and by them sent him a decree, wherein he charged him not to passe any further, neither to presume to come within the bounds of the territorie of *Rome*, vpon paine to be presently excommunicated. And notwithstanding that DESIDERIVS was a very resolute man, and of an hautie stomacke, yet so soone as hee had receiued this decree, without setting one foote further, he returned with his forces to the citie of *Pania*; but the warres ceased not. For all which the Emperour CONSTANTINE was nothing sorrie, he so much enuied the Popes greatnes, and in *Constantinople* he caused one STEPHEN to be slaine, for defending the ambition of the Romish Prelates. And about this time hee rigged vp a very great fleete of about two thousand saile of ships, therewith to transport his armie ouer the sea called *Euxinum*, against the king of *Bulgaria*; which fleete was ouertaken with so great a tempest, that the greatest part thereof was cast away and drowned.

The Pope knowing that by the Emperor he should not be relieued in his wars against DESIDERIVS, sent to CHARLES the great for aide, who with very great forces tooke his way towards *Italy*: but he first required DESIDERIVS by Ambassadours to make satisfaction for the harmes which he had done, and to bee at peace with the Church: And seeing that he preuailed not, he marched forwards with his troupes; and DESIDERIVS engrossed his forces to stop his passage: but being vnable to compasse it, he sent the wife and children of CARLOMAN to *Verona*, and fortified *Pania*, and suffered himselfe to be therein besieged. Wherein he was ill aduised: for by reason thereof the greatest part of his gouernours and captaines seeing him thus distressed, losing all courage sent to yeeld their obedience to the Pope, and desired to be receiued for his friends & vassals; and giuing vp their holds, many of their people went to *Rome*, to dwell and abide where the Pope should appoint. And CHARLES the Great leauing an vncle of his at the siege of *Pania*, went against *Verona*; which he tooke without any great difficultie, together with his sister in law, and nephewes which were therin; and from thence went to *Rome* to kisse the Popes foote, and to hold the feast of Easter, where he was receiued with all the solemnitie that could be deuised. At this his comming thither he confirmed to the Church and to the Popes of *Rome*, the donation which his father had made, of *Rauenna*, and other lands; and made another new of many other places, amongst which is reckoned the Ile of *Corsica*, and all the coast of *Genoa*, with the cities of *Parma*, *Ancona*, *Vrbin*, and many other townes,

The comming of Charles the great into Italy

Charles tooke Verona.

Charles his gifts to the Church of Rome.

which

which BIBLIOTHECARIVS ſetteth downe, beſides *Rome* and the territorie thereof; which the Popes had alreadie in poſſeſſion, whether by the pretended donation of CONSTATINE the Great, or by the donation made by the ſaid King PEPIN, or by common conſent or ancient preſcription I know not. So as to the Emperours remained but onely that part of *Italy*, which was called *Magna Græcia*, which is part of *Calabria*, and of *Pulia*, and great part of that which now is the kingdome of *Naples*. CHARLES the Great hauing been but onely eight daies in *Rome*, returned againſt DESIDERIVS, who had been aboue ſixe moneths beſieged in *Pauia*, and now yeelded vpon compoſition, and CHARLES carried him with him, and baniſhed both him and his ſonnes into a certaine Iland; and then tooke *Milan*, and all the other cities in *Lombardy*, which is the ancient *Gallia Ciſalpina*, where he placed Frenchmen for Dukes and gouernours; and in other Duchies and cities of that kingdome, he placed Dukes of the ſame nation of the Lombards, which became his ſubiects and did him homage; and ſo *Italy* remained in his obedience and ſubiection, excepting thoſe prouinces and lands which were left to the Church, and thoſe which the Pope held in former time; but all in peace and quiet. And ſo ended and was wholy extinguiſhed the kingdome of the Lombards, which had continued two hundred and foure yeeres in *Italy*.

Deſiderius king of the Lombards yeelded to Charles the great.

The end of the kingdome of the Lombards.

CHARLES the Great hauing ended theſe exploites, returned with triumph and victorie into his kingdome of *France*: and within ſhort ſpace after there befell him a very daungerous warre, againſt certaine nations in *Germany*, which roſe and rebelled againſt him, namely the Saxons and other people in thoſe quarters; which he ſubdued, although long firſt, and with great trauaile, but with great honour and the fame of an excellent captaine. But for as much as it is tedious to recite it, and alſo for that it happened before that he was Emperour, we will ſpeake no more thereof, to be the better able to relate what happened after that hee was Emperour, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. The Emperor CONSTANTINE which now had raigned a long time, againe made warre againſt the King of the Bulgarians, which began betweene them with great force and vehemencie: but it laſted not long, for he was taken with a kind of leproſie called *Elephancia*, whereof he afterwards died: but he firſt concluded a peace with the king of *Bulgaria*, after the which, his infirmitie encreaſed in ſuch manner that he died, leauing his ſonne LEO, whom he had by his firſt wife YRENE (who alreadie was in poſſeſſion) for his ſucceſſor, when he had raigned 35. yeers, in the yeere of our Lord, ſeuen hundred ſeuentie and ſeuen.

The death of the Emperour Conſtantine. Anno Dom. 777.

THE

THE LIFE OF LEO, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FOVRTEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.

IN the time of the Emperor CONSTANTINE, by his order and commaundement his ſonne LEO was choſen Emperour, and his companion; whom he had by the kings daughter of *Bulgaria*, with whom he was married, whoſe name was YRENE. And LEO had to wife a woman borne in *Athens*, whoſe name was alſo YRENE, which was the faireſt woman of her time; and for wiſdome and policie one of the moſt noble and excellent Ladies that euer was in the world. Wherefore without any contradiction he was preſently held and obeyed as Emperor, in place of his deceaſed father. In the beginning of his Empire, he made ſhew to be very deuout and affected to the Churches, and to religious perſons, of whatſoeuer order, ſeeking to aduaunce them to dignities. And he likewiſe made preparation of men and ſhipping againſt the Infidels, and went into *Aſia* in perſon, and inuaded the prouince of *Soria*: but his iourney tooke ſmall effect, for within ſhort time after hee returned, with loſſe of ſome of his people, and of his owne reputation alſo.

This Emperor LEO held alſo other warres with the Infidels, by his Captaines, wherein happened many matters, but not of any account. In this manner he paſſed the firſt three yeeres of his raigne, and in the fourth with this ſhew and apparance

rance of a good prince, hee practiſed with his ſubiects to chuſe a young ſonne which he had, called CONSTANTINE (as was his grandfather) Emperor. And in the ſame fourth yeare alſo, he knowing that ſundrie of his Court were of the Romiſh ſect concerning the worſhipping of images, he made many of them to be apprehended, and openly diſgraced, and depriued and depoſed them from their dignities: whereupon he began to be hated, and held for an euill prince. But by his wiues meanes and his owne death, which ſhortly enſued, it was mitigated; for he died of a carbuncle which aroſe in his head, without leauing ought done by him worthy of memorie, at leaſt that I haue found written. This happened in the fifth yeare of his raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord ſeuen hundred fourſcore and two. He was much condemned for the taking of a crowne of gold, and certaine ſtones of great price, out of the famous temple of S. *Sophia*, which by the Emperour MAVRICE were offered and dedicated to the image of our Ladie in *Conſtantinople*, which he tooke from thence, and put vpon his owne head.

The death of the Emperor Leo.

Anno Dom. 782.

In this time in *France* and *Germanie* flouriſhed CHARLES the Great, of whom (for that he was afterwards Emperour) I haue made this mention, as well in matters of war, as peace; who honored and fauoured the valiant and hardie knights, and letters alſo and learned men, and procured iuſtice to be maintained in all his dominions, and that his gouernment ſhould be iuſt and vpright. Whereupon he created many Dukes and other dignities, and amongſt them the twelue peeres of *France*, which are ſo famous in all hiſtories. He alſo made and ordained the parliament at *Paris*: afterwards in the yeare ſeauen hundred and ninetie, in the life time of CONSTANTINE ſonne of this LEO, he founded an Vniuerſitie in the ſame citie, which hath been famous and excellent, and is yet ſo vntill this day: and another in the cittie of *Pauia*, which was the cauſe that both chiualrie and learning ſo much flouriſhed in his time. In the time of the Emperour LEO, of whom we now leaue to make any more mention, the ſaid CHARLES came into *Spaine*; where he was by treaſon ouerthrowne and broken at *Roncenaulx*, and loſt the flowre of his nobilitie and chiualrie: by meanes of ALONSO the Second, called the Chaſt, aided and aſſiſted by the Moores and Infidels which then liued in *Arragon*, and in the territorie thereof. In matters which preceded and ſucceeded this battaile and the cauſes thereof, and what paſſed therein; there is great difference betweene the French and Spaniſh Chroniclers, & among themſelues of either nation. Wherfore, and foraſmuch as the actes of CHARLES the Great (before that he was Emperour) concerne not my hiſtorie, I therefore leaue to ſpeake any more thereof. And alſo for that we know that FLORIAN DO CAMPO hath written thereof at large in his generall hiſtorie of *Spaine*, of whoſe ſingular diligence there is no doubt to bee made, but that hee hath inuiolably obſerued the truth, without omitting any thing worthy of memorie, eſpecially in a matter ſo famous and memorable; and therefore referring the reader to him, I will returne to proſecute my iourney.

The battaile of Roncenaulx.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE, THE SIXT OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FIFTEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

LEo being dead, his ſonne Conſtantine (notwithſtanding that he was but a childe) ſucceeded him, and through the prudence of his mother, and the oath of the men of warre, was obeyed. This woman was of ſuch wiſedome that ſhe ruled the Empire tenne yeeres, and was the cauſe of the councell aſſembled about the controuerſie for Images; and agreement to be made betweene the Greeke and Latin Churches. But the yong man comming to riper age, bereaued her of the gouernment, and made her to line a part from him, and became ſo diſpleaſing, that his owne people conſpired againſt him, although the conſpiracie tooke not the wiſhed effect. But he being ill beloued, certaine of the moſt principall men of the Empire incited her to reſume the gouernment; and ſhe ſetting aſide the loue of a mother towards her ſonne, apprehended him and cauſed his eies to be pluckt out, as he had done by many others. This was the occaſion that the Eaſt Empire was tranſlated into the Weſt; for the Pope ſeeing the Eaſt Empire to decline, and that it was gouerned by a woman, he annointed and crowned Charles the great, Emperor, with whom Irene ſought to haue bin married, but it tooke no effect, ſhe being diſſwaded by the princes of Grecia, but ſhe made a firme and aſſured peace with him, which ſhe not long enioyed: for ſundrie valiant men, which tooke in ill part to be ruled by a woman, conſpiring againſt her, by a wile apprehended, and depoſed her from the Empire, giuing the charge thereof to a very noble man, whoſe name was Nicephorus.

SO ſoone as LEO the fourth was dead, his ſonne CONSTANTINE being little more then twelue yeeres old, was receiued for Emperor; (notwithſtanding his ſmall age) whereto his mothers wiſedome and valour was a great helpe, and alſo for that the ſubiects of the Empire

Empire were ſworne to him in the life time of his father, yet this could not be effected without difficultie; for ſome principall men diſdaining to be commaunded by a child, and a woman; ſecretly practiſed to make NICEPHORVS Emperor, who was the young manes Vncle, and brother to his father LEO: although that through forgetfulnes, no mention was before made of him. But this was not ſo ſecretly done, but that YRENE had intelligence thereof, and tooke ſo good order, that ſhe apprehended and baniſhed thoſe which were the authors thereof, and made their haire to be cut, which then was a great diſgrace; yet vpon NICEPHORVS ſhe inflicted no other puniſhment, but onely made him take a monaſticall habit; and ſo the Empire remained in peace to her ſonne. But notwithſtanding that the young man was Emperor, yet his mother commaunded all, and (as all authors write) very vprightly and prudently; for ſhe was a wiſe and a very excellent woman, and aboue all was very much deuoted to the romiſh religion, wherof this may ſerue for proofe; for ſhe ſeeing the diſcord betweene the Greekes and Latins about the worſhipping of Images, & other points in religion wherein they diſagreed, endeuored very earneſtly, that a councell generall might be called; and her induſtrie tooke ſuch effect (although ſomewhat long firſt) that a councell was aſſembled in the citie of *Nicen*, in the prouince of *Bythinia*, wherein other councels in former time had been held; in which were three hundred and fiftie Biſhops, and therein were handled many matters concerning the eſtate of the cleargie, and thoſe were condemned for heretikes, which denied the veneration of Images in the Church. In ſuch manner that during the gouernment of YRENE, the Images and pictures of CHRIST, and our Lady, and ſundrie other, in the eaſterne Churches were againe ſet vp; whereat the common people which euer delighteth in nouelties, was very ioyfull; and ſo was THERASIVS the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, which ſucceeded PAVL, who had ſought and much deſired the ſame. It is ſaid, that this THERASIVS was he which principally moued YRENE ſo earneſtly to ſollicite the calling of a councell; the reſolution whereof concerning Images, is contained in two verſes, which then were made, and at this day are placed in a Church in *Venice*, which in Latin are thus:

Punishment inflicted vpon ſuch as conſpired againſt the Emperor Conſtantine.

Councell held in the citie of Nicen.

Nam Deus quod Imago docet, ſed non Deus ipſa,
hanc videas, ſed mente colas, quod cernis in ipſa.

Which in effect is aſmuch to ſay, as that which this Image doth ſhew and ſignifie, is God; but the Image is not ſo, behold the ſame, but with the minde reuerence that which therein is repreſented. Hauing ended a matter of ſo great importance, as that which I recited, in all the reſt of the time of her gouernment, both before and after the councell, which were ſome yeeres, ſhe bare her ſelfe farre more like a politike valorous man, then a delicate and moſt beautifull woman as ſhe was: but her ſonne CONSTANTINE, who was now come to mans eſtate, repined at, and diſliked his mothers gouernment, and in the end depoſed her from the ſame, and from the councell alſo, making her to liue priuately, without any authoritie; when ſhe had with great wiſedome ruled in his name, the ſpace of ten yeeres, and had maintained the Empire with iuſtice, in peace with all the world.

It is written that in thoſe daies was found in *Conſtantinople* in a very old Sepulcher, a plate or leafe of golde, vpon the breaſt of a corpes, which therein had been buried, wherein were written theſe words, CHRIST ſhall be borne of the virgin MARY; Thou ſonne ſhalt ſee me againe at what time as CONSTANTINE and his mother YRENE ſhall be Emperors. This was held for a great matter and

A plate of gold found vpon the breaſt of a dead body in Conſtantinople. A wonder if true.

YRENE and her ſonne made great account of this table, for it ſeemed to be written before the comming of Chriſt.

The Emperor being now at libertie, began freely to vſe thoſe qualities whereto he was naturally enclined, in ſuch ſort, that he became ill beloued, and they againe the ſecond time conſpired againſt him, ſeeking to make his vncle NICEPHORVS Emperour. But as to Princes (whether good or bad) moſt matters are commonly diſcouered; ſo this conſpiracie was likewiſe reuealed, and he knowing it, commaunded ſome of thoſe which had been practiſers therein, to be apprehended, which he ſeuerely puniſhed, and commaunded his vncle NICEPHORVS to be perpetually baniſhed. And after this he put away his wife, who was a very noble woman called MARY, and diuorcing himſelfe from her, ſhut her vp in a Nunrie, and married one of her maides, called THEODORA, of whom hee was enamoured, a woman of no deſert, but onely that ſhe was faire and very beautifull. At what time as CONSTANTINE and his mother raigned in the Eaſt, CHARLES the great, King of *France*, ſo called for the great exploites which in armes he had perfourmed: yet ſome are of opinion, that he was ſo called by reaſon of the great conſtitution of his bodie, for he was corpulent, very bigge limmed, and tall, and had not liued at his eaſe, but had waged great and daungerous warres. In the beginning of the Emperour CONSTANTINES raigne, King CHARLES came in perſon into *Italy* to ſee the Pope, and to pacifie certaine commotions raiſed by ſome Dukes, which were deſirous of innouations; which being quieted, he had intelligence that the Duke of *Bauiere* (for now they were no more called kings) practiſed againſt him, with an intent to exempt himſelfe from his ſubiection, and to that effect had leuied his forces: whereupon CHARLES reſolued to goe againſt him in perſon, and by another way to ſend his ſonne PEPIN vpon the ſame ſeruice, and ſo hee began to make cruell warre againſt him: whereof when the Eaſterne Emperour CONSTANTINE was aduertiſed, imagining that CHARLES being buſied in thoſe wars, would not be able to prouide for the affaires of *Italy*; he therfore ſent commandement into thoſe countries which he held therein, with ſome new troupes which hee leuied for that purpoſe, that they ſhould make warre againſt the Pope and king CHARLES, which they preſently put in execution: but the Dukes of *Beneuent* and *Spoleto*, and of other cities, made ſuch ſpeedie preparation againſt them, that they were eaſily repelled and ouerthrowne; ſo that from thenceforth they liued quiet and in peace. And CHARLES had likewiſe ſo good ſucceſſe in his warres againſt the Bauarians, (although not without effuſion of much bloud) that he made all that ſtate ſtill and in quiet, and reduced their prouinces to his ſeruice. And from thence hee went againſt the Slauons, which held the prouinces of *Iſtria* and *Dalmatia*, by them called *Slauonia*; and in one ſummer brought all vnder his dominion. And afterwards raiſing a new power, he determined to make a conqueſt of *Hungarie* and *Auſtrich*, which are the ancient *Pannonie*, which the Hunnes Auares had of long time poſſeſſed, as is before ſaid: And notwithſtanding that this was a very daungerous warre, and that therein were many great and notable battailes, wherein all the nobilitie and the greateſt part of the common people of thoſe countries died, ſo as the land lay in a manner waſte and diſpeopled; yet in the end, in the eight yeere after the beginning thereof, he became abſolute Lord of all the land. After theſe aforeſaid warres, he had warres with the king of *Denmarke*, for the Danes harried the ſea coaſts with their fleetes of men of warre; and herein (as well as in the reſt) this glorious prince had the victorie: and he afterwards made peace with their king,

Charles the great why ſo called.

Charles the great conquered Hungary and Auſtrich.

Charles warred againſt the king of Denmarke, and ſubdued the Saxons.

king, and determined to make an end of ſubduing the Saxons, whoſe warres at times, as they rebelled, continued thirtie yeeres, and he ſlew of them in one battell thirtie thouſand; and in another which hee fought with them afterwards, hee brought them wholy to obedience, and made them ſubiect to the Empire: and for his better ſecuritie he led the moſt principall of them with him into *France*. In the which conqueſts which I ſo briefly haue recited, ſome battailes were fought by himſelfe in perſon, and ſome by his ſonne PEPIN; in all which he wonne the name and renowne of a moſt excellent captaine. Theſe things being paſt, in the yeere of our Lord ſeuen hundred ninetie and fiue, Pope ADIAN died in *Rome*, through whoſe death they choſe Pope LEO the third of that name, who preſently after his election, ſent great preſents and a ſolemne ambaſſade to CHARLES the great. *Anno Dom.* 795.

In theſe times the Emperor CONSTANTINES men of warre did greatly croſſe and hinder thoſe of CHARLES the great; for after that he liued a part from his mother, he became very cruell, and in his gouernment negligent and diſorderly: wherefore hee grew to be ſo ill beloued by his ſubiects, that ſome the moſt principall of them, perſwaded his mother YRENE to depoſe him, and reſume the gouernment of the Empire into her owne hands, whereto they promiſed to aſſiſt her. The mother which had rather the heart of a reuengefull man, then of a delicate woman, preferring the diſpleaſure which ſhe had conceiued, before the loue of a mother to her ſonne, with the aide of thoſe which tooke her part in the action, vpon a day by a wile apprehended him, and cauſed his eyes to be preſently pluckt out, as he had done to many others: which was one of the ſtrangeſt & moſt cruell and inhumane parts that euer woman plaid in the world. *Irene made her ſonnes eyes to be put out.*

And this being done, all obeyed her, and ſhe alone had the gouernment of the Empire, which yet was very great; for it contained in Europe, *Thracia*, and all the prouinces of *Græcia*, the Iles of *Sicilia*, *Candia*, and thoſe in the great ſea called *Archipelagus*, and that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Græcia*, and all the prouinces of *Aſia* the leſſe; all which were gouerned by this valorous woman, with great policie and authoritie. Who as ſhe vnderſtood of the victories and great power of CHARLES the great, deſiring to be at peace with him, and fearing his greatnes; ſhe commaunded thoſe cities which ſhe held in *Italy*, and the gouernors of them, to hold good coreſpondence and neighbourhood with thoſe cities which were vnder the Pope, or king CHARLES: and beſides this, ſhe ſent her Ambaſſadours vnto him, excuſing her ſelfe of that which had happened concerning her ſonne, and made him many great offers: which CHARLES gladly entertained, for hee was a gentle prince to the meeke, and ſharpe and cruell to the proud and rebellious. All *Italy* being in peace vnder the ſhadow and protection of CHARLES the great, where now was no memorie of the Lombards, which were wont to oppreſſe it; the diuell, a ſower of diſſention, acted his part in the citie of *Rome*, which was, that Pope LEO ſitting (as they ſay) in S. PETERS chaire, two prieſts Cardinals of great account, called PASCVAL and CAPVLVS, conſpired againſt him, and held ſo ſtrong an hand amongſt their complices, that they vpon a day apprehended him going in proceſſion, which they did with ſuch an vprore and tumult, that they had almoſt killed him, and handled him in ſuch manner, that as moſt writers affirme, they put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, and ſo they committed him priſoner to a Monaſterie of S. ERASMVS, publiſhing abroad that they did it for the crimes by him committed, and the errors which he maintained; and being there, as BIBLIOTHECARIVS and ſome others affirme, he was miraculouſly reſtored to the ſight of his eyes and his ſpeech alſo, and a

chamberlaine of his vſed ſuch ſecret meanes, or elſe by the permiſſion of his keepers, that he was hidden in a certaine graue or ſepulchre, and by night conueyed to the Duke of *Spoleto*, who then was Lieutenant to CHARLES the great in *Italy*, (which offices then were giuen for euer, or for terme of life) by whoſe aide hee went to king CHARLES in *Germany*, to complaine of the violence done vnto him; whither alreadie were meſſengers ſent by the other two, PASCVAL and CAPVLVS, with informations and accuſations againſt him. But notwithſtanding the ſame, the Pope was ſolemnely receiued and honoured by him, and remaining there ſome few daies ſpace, the king promiſed him to come in perſon to *Rome*, and appointed ſo many prelates and religious men to accompany him, as ſufficed to bring him thither and to reſtore him to his ſeate and eſtate, with great proceſſions which were made for him; and the two prieſts Cardinals aforeſaid, which were ſo mightie, abſenting themſelues, euer gaue out in ſpeeches that they attended the comming of the king.

Charles the great came to Rome.

King CHARLES the great hauing taken order for the affaires of *France* and *Germany*, wherein he was a moſt mightie prince, determined to come into *Italy*; and at his comming, by the hand of his ſonne PEPIN, he pacified ſome commotions therein, and came to the citie of *Rome*, accompanied with many great Dukes and other princes his ſubiects; whither did concurre out of *Italy* and other parts, many Biſhops, prelates and other great men; and he was receiued with ſuch entertainment as to him did appertaine; and kiſſing the Popes foote did him ſuch other ſuperſtitious reuerence, as the cuſtom was. And after this, hauing remained eight daies in *Rome*, he commaunded al the prelates and princes which then were in the citie to be aſſembled; and the pope and he, and all the reſt being together, there were ſome which complained and accuſed the pope to the Emperour: and ſo the Emperor began openly to aske euery mans opinion concerning thoſe accuſations, and each of thoſe to which he ſpake, anſwered: The higheſt chaire and head of the Church no man ought to iudge: which the king noting, forbare to aske any more queſtions. Then the pope, which thitherto had been ſilent, roſe from the place where he ſate, and went into the pulpit which was there, and with an high voyce ſaid, That ſeeing that of his life and behauiour, no man would, or had authoritie to make enquirie, or to giue ſentence, yet he next day (following the cuſtome of his predeceſſors) would purge and cleere himſelfe, as it behoued: and therewith for that day the Conſiſtorie was diſſolued: And vpon the next day, they all being together aſſembled in the like manner, he againe went vp into the ſame place, and taking a booke of the holy Euangeliſts in his hands, ſaid with ſo lowd a voyce as they all might heare him, that hee ſware by God, and thoſe holie Euangeliſts, that al that which his aduerſaries had laid to his charge, was falſe and vntrue, and that he had neither committed or thought any ſuch matter as they obiected; but that they had of malice and enuie ſlaundered him: and that he therefore publikely made this proteſtation, and confirmed and made the ſame manifeſt by his oth, ſith that to them all the manner of his life and gouernment was well knowne. Hauing ended this his proteſtation, his oth was allowed, and himſelfe commended; and the king commaunded his accuſers, PASCVAL and CAPVLVS, to be ſought out and apprehended, and would haue condemned them to death: but the Pope was contented to ſpare their liues, ſo as they might be committed to priſon, and thence condemned to perpetuall exile. Eight daies after that this was paſt, the Pope hauing firſt conſidered how much the Greeke Emperours enuied his greatnes, together with the ſmall affection they bare to the worſhipping

Pope Leo his ſpeech in the Conſiſtorie in his owne defence.

of

of Images, and other points, wherein they were contrarie to, and seperated from the Church of *Rome*; and how requisit it was to haue an Emperour which might maintaine the prouinces of *Italy* in peace, which vpon euery light occasion were disturbed: but chiefly to shew himselfe gratefull for the benefits which he and the Church of *Rome*, had receiued of him and the house of *France*, but aboue all and for accepting his protestation in his owne defence, for a sufficient proofe of his honestie, he resolued to make CHARLES the great, Emperor; and to passe the head of the Empire into the West. Wherewith as most writers affirme, he did not acquaint the King, deeming the greatnes of his minde to haue been such, that he neither had desired it, neither would haue accepted the same. And hauing ruminated hereupon against the day of the natiuitie of CHRIST, he commaunded all the Priest Cardinales, and all the other prelates to come to a Masse, whither CHARLES was also inuited, and came; together with all the other princes; and so about the middest of the Masse, the Pope then saying it, he turned about from the Alter to the people, and with a loud voice said, That he did there elect, create, and publish CHARLES the great, the most mightie and victorious King of *Italy*, of the Germanes, and of the French-men, Emperor, and euer AVGVSTVS. Which being done, he set the imperiall crowne vpon his head, and all those which were present consented thereto, with acclamations and applauses, saying, To the most godly, euer AVGVSTVS, great and most victorious Emperor CHARLES, God graunt long life and victorie. This acclamation being ended, the Pope annointed him, and therewith annointed and intiteled his sonne PEPIN (by the will and consent of his father) King of *Italy*; which coronations were performed, with such feastings and solemnitie, as the discreete reader may well imagine; vpon the birth day of CHRIST, which was the twentie and fiue of December, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred, foure hundred threescore and eight yeeres from the time that CONSTANTINE the great transferred the seate of the Empire into *Thracia*, to the citie of *Constantinople*, and three hundred and thirtie yeeres from the time that AVGVSTVLVS was the last Emperor in *Italy*. And so CHARLES remained Emperor, and the Empire was transported from the Greekes to the Germanes; for although that CHARLES was King of *France*, yet his originall, linage, and countrie was in *Germanie*, and so it appeareth by the histories; and notwithstanding that he was King of the French-men, he was borne in *Germanie*, and the French-men also had their originall and descent from *Germanie*; and the kingdome of *France* extended it selfe so farre in the time of this Emperor, that the most of the prouinces of *Germanie* were called by the name, and contained within the kingdome of *France*; so as there is no reason that any authors should say, that the Empire was first transposed to the French, and afterwards in processe of time to the Germanes; and so doe approue and affirme OTHO FRISENGENSIS, GODFRIDVS VITERBIENSIS, WESPERGENSIS ABBAS, and others, although of lesse antiquitie, yet of no lesse diligence, as PLATINA, MARTIANVS, ROBERTVS GAGVIN, and most diligently IOHANNES NAVCLERVS, and aboue all, BEATVS RENANVS, HENRICVS MVCIVS, in his notable bookes of the state of *Germanie*, and CVSPINIANVS in the life of the same CHARLES. These matters being thus ended, the new Emperor returned towards his kingdome and countries; leauing his sonne PEPIN King in *Italy*, which he left in very good order. In this his iourney (the authors write) that he did many graces and fauours to the citie of *Florence*, and that he commaunded the decaied walles and buildings thereof to be reedefied, and many other

Charles the great crowned Emperor and his sonne Pepin King of Italy by Pope Leo.

Anno Dom. 800.

The originall of Charles the great.

Fauours bestowed by Charles the great vpon the citie of Florence.

ther faire edifices to be erected; and that he procured gentlemen to come and inhabite the ſame. The fame of this his election being ſpred ouer the world, the manly Empereſſe YRENE, which ruled the Empire of the Eaſt, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, deſiring peace with him, and (as ſome write) to treate of a marriage betweene them, ſeeing that they both were ſingle: and although that the treatie of marriage tooke no effect (for the princes of *Greece* perſwaded YRENE to the contrarie) yet a peace was concluded betweene the two Empiers: The Empire of *Græcia* containing that which it then held in *Aſia*, which I haue alreadie repeated; with that countrie which now is the kingdome of *Naples*, or the greateſt part thereof; the Iles of *Sicilia*, *Candia*, and the reſt; with *Albania*, part of *Slauonia*, and all *Græcia* and *Thracia*, the citie of *Venice* and the dominion thereof, which is not lightly to be regarded, remained friend to all, and ſubiect to none. This being concluded, YRENE the Empereſſe enioyed the ſame but a little while after it: for in the end, as ſhe was a woman, men of hautie mindes holding it for baſenes, diſdained to be commaunded by her, and found meanes that a man of high degree, great power, and of noble parantage, whoſe name was NICEPHORVS, ſhould riſe againſt her, and take vpon him the title of Emperor, which tooke effect, ſo as by a ſtratagem ſhe was taken, and diſpoſſeſſed of her Empire.

Venice euer a free citie.

Nicephorus made Emperor of Græcia in place of Irene.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE GREAT, AND THREESCORE AND SIXTEENE ROMANE EMPEROR, AND OF NICEPHORVS in Conſtantinople.

THE ARGVMENT.

WHen Charles the great was made Emperor, he was of the age of fiftie and eight yeeres, and returning into Germanie, he wholy conuerted the Saxons to the Chriſtian faith, and made an accord with Nicephorus Emperor of the Greekes, which afterwards was broken, for that Nicephorus aided the Venecians, againſt him and his ſonne Pepin; but Charles finally making peace with the Venecians, left them in that libertie, wherein they haue maintained themſelues vntill this preſent, and came to a full peace with Nicephorus

pharus. He diuided the Empire betweene his three ſonnes, and commaunded Pepin to goe to Corſica and Sardinia, to defend the ſame againſt the Infidels which went thither to inhabit. And vnder the gouernment of Charles his ſonne ouercame many other nations, rebels, and Infidels; and he became ſo great, that the King of the Mahometiſts ſought his friendſhip. Two of his ſonnes died, to wit, Pepin, and Charles, ſo as his whole hope remained in Lewes, whom he made his ſucceſſor. And being now very olde, departed out of this world, ouercome with a paine in his ſide, hauing gouerned the Empire fourteene yeeres; and his kingdome, ſeuen and fortie.

CONſidering the great paines that I haue taken in writing this hiſtorie (I take God to record) that I ſtand in more neede of ſome reſt, and to be eaſed of ſo great a burthen, by abbreuiating the hiſtorie, and leauing out ſo much as may be, without reprehenſion, then to redouble my trauell and to enter into a new band, through the occaſions which now preſent themſelues. I ſay this much, for that the Pope in this time paſſed the Empire to CHARLES the great; and it hath euer ſince continued in *Germanie*: And in *Gracia* alſo remained princes, which in like manner were called Emperors, and pretended good right to be ſo; ſo as we may ſay that the Empire and the title thereof, was diuided, and came to be two Empires and to haue two Emperors. But I finde my ſelfe in a great confuſion, to thinke how this matter may be handled; for firſt to write of one, and then to returne to write of the other, as did BAPTISTA IGNATIVS, in the ſhort epitomie which he wrote of the Emperors; it ſeemeth to be inconuenient to bring one of them to an end, and then to make the reader turne backe againe ſeauen or eight hundred yeeres in the hiſtorie. And to write one or two liues of the one Empire, and then as many of the other, as did IOHN CVSPINIAN, that liketh me as ill: for it greatly confoundeth the hiſtorie, and ſo in a manner neither the one nor the other can be vnderſtood; and well to diſcouer all together at large (for the many occaſions which are offered, and the diuerſitie of the times and places) I ſee not how it can be. To treat onely of the one (as ſome haue done) and wholy to leaue out and forget the other, I alſo hold it for an iniurie and crueltie: to let ſincke and die in obliuion a matter of ſo great importance as is the dominion of the Greeke Emperours, which continued ſo long time afterwards, and to leaue the ſucceſſours of CHARLES the Great, in which at this day the Empire remaineth, were to leaue the right way which leadeth to the place whither I am bound, and to take another whereby I ſhould neuer attaine to my iournies end whither I am to trauaile. Wherefore ſeeing that I cannot goe both waies, after ſome conſiderations, I haue reſolued to take for my principall ſubiect and hiſtorie of the Empire, that which the Church of *Rome* approued and then eſtabliſhed, which is that of *Italie* and *Germanie*, in the perſon of CHARLES and his ſucceſſours, recounting their liues and actes with ſuch order as I haue obſerued in thoſe which are alreadie paſt; and by the way of diſcourſe euer to make ſome mention of the Greeke Emperors, as occaſion ſhall be offered, whereby he that ſhall reade this hiſtorie, may vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of both Empires, vnder the name and title of one only. And hauing reſolued vpon this courſe, let vs returne to our CHARLES the great, whom we left newly made Emperor; and to NICEPHORVS who tyarnnically vſurped the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, by depoſing the Empereſſe YERENE. I ſay then that CHARLES was fiftie eight yeeres old, when in ſuch māner as I haue ſet downe, he was by Pope LEO the third crowned Emperor in the citie of *Rome*; and had raigned three and thirtie yeeres the mightie King of *France* and *Germanie*; all which time he had ſpent in the warres, againſt rebels and Infidels (whereof in *Germanie* were many) with great felicitie

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and victorie, taming and subduing people and prouinces. CHARLES being come into *Germany*, wholy subdued the Saxons, and reduced them to the faith, wherein as the other nations of *Germany*, they euer were inconstant and negligent. NICEPHORVS which then raigned in *Constantinople*, knowing his great power; after that he had setled himselfe in his throne, and was well assured of those which hee had dispossessed, and had most cause to suspect, and had banished YRENE; sent Ambassadours of great account to CHARLES the great, very louingly desiring him to hold him for his brother and friend. The Emperour CHARLES who was a benigne prince, knowing how mightie the Sarazins were, and the great danger that all Christendome should encurre through discord betweene the two Empires, graunted and concluded a peace with NICEPHORVS; and with his Ambassadours sent others of his owne, to conclude and confirme the same: which was established in the same manner and with the same conditions, as it was made with the Empereſſe YRENE: the citie of *Venice* remaining friend to both parties (neutrall) without any subiection to either. There was also a peace concluded betweene him and GODFREY king of *Denmarke*, which some call DACIA: whereupon the said GODFREY departed out of his kingdome, royally accompanied, to see and speake with the Emperour, although that this interuiew tooke no effect; for his people disswading him, counselled him not to see him: neuertheleſſe the peace was made, and tooke place.

Charles the great subdued the Saxons.

Nicephorus sent an ambassade to Charles the great.

After this, it followed that for some matters which the Venetians attempted against the Empire of CHARLES, in the behalfe of NICEPHORVS Emperour of *Constantinople* (yet some affirme that it was through the false information of FORTVNATVS Patriarch of *Grado*) CHARLES the great commaunded his sonne PEPIN king of *Italy*, to make warres against them: which he began very resolutely, and tooke the cities and fortresses which they held in the maine land, and besieged the citie of *Venice* it selfe both by sea and land; to the relieſe whereof the Greeke Emperour NICEPHORVS sent a fleete. Of these warres of *Venice* the ancient authors doe write so diuersly, that a man can hardly well say which was the truth: for some say that *Venice* was wholy taken; and others say that but some Ilands thereof, and that that which is called *Rio alto* defended it selfe: howsoeuer it was, the warre continued many daies, and CHARLES graunted peace and libertie to the Venetians, to liue after their lawes and customes, for that he was to renew the peace with the Greeke Emperour, which he had broken by reason of the Venetian warres,

Charles his will and testament.

CHARLES liuing in this prosperitie, made his will and testament, wherein he diuided his kingdomes betweene three legitimate sonnes which he had, to wit, CHARLES, which was his eldest sonne, PEPIN, and LEVVES; wherein he made his sonne CHARLES king of the greatest and best parts of *France* and *Germany*; PEPIN he made king of *Italy* and *Bauaria*, and other prouinces; and LEVVES of *Prouance*, and of that part of *France* which bordereth vpon *Spaine*, and other prouinces. Which his testament he sent to be ratified by Pope LEO; and shortly after gaue to his sonnes the names and titles of Kings: but all happened afterwards after another manner; for God otherwise disposed thereof at his pleasure. This testament I haue seene written by some authors. It afterwards happened that a great fleete of Infidels which inhabited *Spaine*, with the aide and assistance of the Africanes, inuaded the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*: for the defence whereof the Emperour CHARLES sent commaundement to his sonne PEPIN, that he should send thither a captaine, whose name was BVCAREDVS; who tooke so good order

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der that he draue the Infidels out of thoſe Ilands, and ſlew fiue thouſand of them in one battaile. And with no leſſe good ſucceſſe, he waged another warre with the Dukes of the Bohemians, and of the Polonians, which is part of the ancient *Sarmatia*, which infeſted the countries vnder his dominion; againſt which he ſent his ſon CHARLES, with great forces of Burgonians, Saxons and Germanes. And the young CHARLES imitating his father, warred valiantly and with diſcretion: and comming firſt to a battaile with the Bohemians and LEO their Duke, hee ouercame them, and ſlew LEO; although that therein paſſed many daies, and there was an intermiſſion in this war: and in the end he had the like ſucceſſe with the Polacres, ſo that they all became ſubiect to his father. For which his victories he was ſo much feared and renowned through the world, that a great king in the Eaſt, and AMVRATES the greateſt of all the MAHOMETISTS, ſent their Ambaſſadours with rich preſents vnto him, deſiring peace and his friendſhip; and the like did all the kings chriſtian.

Ambaſſadours ſent to Charles the great.

Whileſt as theſe and other ſuch like matters happened vnto CHARLES the great, NICEPHORVS Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, ſhewed himſelfe to be very couetous, impoſing new taxes and tributes vpon his countries and ſubiects; hauing euer a deſire and a conceit to diſturbe the Empire of CHARLES the great, which he neuer forbare to doe; endammaging his countries, by robbing and ſpoyling the ſame, and ſecretly fauouring his enemies, wherby he gat little honour, & leſſe profit: for this enuie and malice being fixed in his heart, he not only left to make wars againſt the Infidels, as he ought to haue done, but knowing that they would warre with him, he bought his peace of them; and to his great ſhame and diſgrace bound himſelfe to pay them yeerely a great ſumme of money; and for that inſtant ſent them great gifts and preſents, hauing his purpoſe wholy bent againſt the Chriſtians, which coſt him his life, as preſently ſhall be declared. CHARLES liuing in this tranquilitie, GODFREY king of *Denmarke* made warre againſt him, who was a mightie prince, and commaunded a large dominion: and with great forces came into *Friſeland* and into *Saxony*, wherein he did great harme. Againſt whom the Emperour addreſſing himſelfe (although now old and vnweldie) ſpeedily departed with a great armie, and by the way newes was brought him, that the ſaid king was dead, and his armie returned; which was held for great newes, conſidering how great warres were expected. And vpon the ſame day, newes came alſo how that his ſonne PEPIN, which in great proſperitie raigned in *Italy*, was alſo dead in the citie of *Milan*: whereof he was ſorrie, and returned to the citie of *Aken*, whither Ambaſſadours came to him from HERMIGVS king of *Denmarke* which ſucceeded GODFREY, humbly deſiring peace; the like came from NICEPHORVS Emperour of *Græcia*, and the like petition alſo came from AMBVLAT a king of the Moores, which raigned in great part of *Spaine*: to all which hee made gracious anſweres, and graunting their petitions, gaue hartie thankes to God, for that he was generally ſo well eſteemed. But after this proſperitie, a great puniſhment and ſcourge enſued; which was, that it pleaſed God to take away his other ſonne called CHARLES, who lay in the borders of *Germany*, for the defence thereof: ſo that now his whole hope reſted in his third ſonne LEWES.

The death of the King of Denmarke.

The death of Pepin king of Italy.

NICEPHORVS the Emperor of *Græcia* being aſſured of CHARLES the great, and hauing bought his peace of the Infidels, tooke his ſonne STAVRATIVS for his companion in the Empire; determining to make warre againſt his neighbours the Bulgarians, whoſe king was then called GRVNVS, with whom hee fought

fought ſome battailes, wherein hee had the victorie, and ſlew many of his enemies. By reaſon of theſe victories hee grew ſo proud and inſolent, that making ſmall account of his enemies, he warred with little care or diſcretion: which this CRVNVS perceiuing, raiſed the greateſt and beſt power that hee was able to make, and the moſt ſecretly that might be marched by night, and before that it was day aſſaulted the Emperours campe, who being vnable to ſet his people in order, they were broken, and the Emperor was there ſlaine: and his ſonne STAVRATIVS being ſore wounded, eſcaped by flight: and ſo ended the life and raigne of NICEPHORVS. At this ouerthrow great wealth was loſt, and much of the Greeke nobilitie then periſhed: which happened in the yeere of our Sauiour CHRIST eight hundred and fiue, he hauing then raigned nine yeeres. His ſonne STAVRATIVS comming to *Adrianople*, and ſaluted and ſworne Emperour, was ſo ill inclined, and ſo inſufficient, and therewith aboue all ſo deformed, ill fauoured, and churliſh in behauiour, that there was no man pleaſed with his ſucceſſion: ſo that within foure moneths after that he came to the Empire, he was diſpoſſeſſed thereof by his brother in law MICHAEL, who apprehending him, put him into a Monaſterie; & this MICHAEL remaining peacefull Emperor, was a vertuous man & a good gouernor, but ſo inclined to peace, that afterwards through his exceſſiue feare of warre he loſt his Empire, as we will tell you. Now, ſo ſoone as he was choſen Emperour, he with all expedition ſent his Ambaſſadours to the honourable old Emperour CHARLES the Great, deſiring friendſhip and peace with him, which was concluded in ſuch manner as it was with his predeceſſour NICEPHORVS. And CHARLES the Great being now very old, deſiring to take order for the eſtate of the Empire, called a moſt ſolemne parliament in the citie of *Aquiſgran* or *Aken*, where he made his ſonne LEVVES to be intiteled CÆSAR, and his ſucceſſor; and his nephew BERNARD ſonne of his ſonne PEPIN king of *Italy*, with the conſent of Pope LEO, which vntill then liued. And this being perfourmed, the reſt of his time hee ſpent in almes-giuing, enriching the Churches and clergie, and relieuing the poore people: and reforming abuſes, ordained good lawes and ſtatutes. The yeere following, the Infidels Sarazins of *Spaine* and *Africa*, inuaded the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, wherein they made cruell warre, and did the like in the coaſt of *Italy*; but yet (although not without great trouble) they were repelled and ſcattered by the Emperours captaines, and by his nephew BERNARD king of *Italy*. It followed that MICHAEL the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* being aſſailed by CRVNVS king of *Bulgaria*; againſt his will was forced to take the field, and to fight with him; and in the firſt battaile gat the victorie: but fighting againe the ſecond time, was ouerthrowne, and therewith loſt both the day, and the mind to rule: ſo as he voluntarily renounced the Empire: or (as ſome ſay) a principall captaine of his called LEO, rebelling, and he not daring to make head againſt him, depoſed himſelfe from the Empire, and went into a Cloiſter, hauing raigned not fully three yeeres. And this LEO who was the ſonne of a gentleman called PARDVS, was made Emperour, and preſently in the like manner as MICHAEL had done, he ſent his Ambaſſadours to CHARLES the Great, to eſtabliſh and confirme the peace concluded with his predeceſſors; which was perfourmed. In the meane time that LEO was choſen and crowned, CRVNVS king of *Bulgaria*, following the victorie, which he obtained againſt the Emperour MICHAEL; marched with his armie the direct way towards *Conſtantinople*, whither the Emperour LEO had drawne his forces, and had raiſed new; and CRVNVS came ſo neere to the citie, that he might well ſee the ſame. Which diſgrace

The death of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus.

Anno Dom. 805.

Stauratius ſucceeding Nicephorus was depoſed by Michael who ſucceeded him.

Michael Emperour of Conſtantinople depoſed himſelfe from his Empire.

LEO

LEO could not with patience endure (being as he was a valiant man) but tooke the field with all his forces, in very good order, and made head against his enemie; who with the ioy of the late victorie attended him: & there was fought between them a cruell battaile, which lasted a great part of the day, and many men were slaine of either partie: And therein happened a notable matter seldome seene in other encounters, which was, that in the furie of the fight the Emperor and the King chanced to meete, and to know each of them his aduersarie, and the one charging the other, the Emperor carried himselfe so well, that he felled the King dead to the earth; so that within a little while after, the Bulgarians began to retire, and presently to runne away, in such manner that LEO had a full complet and noble victorie, together with the spoile of their campe; and so returned to *Constantinople* with great ioy. And the Bulgarians being now contented to defend their owne limits, the Greeke Emperor remained in peace, as CHARLES the great did in *Germanie*. But as all things in this world haue an end; so ended the good fortunes and great power of CHARLES the great, together with his life: for being then of the age of threescore and eleuen yeeres, he was taken with a paine in his side, whereof within the space of seuen daies he died, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and fourteene, when he had raigned Emperor fourteene yeeres, and seauen and fortie King of *France* and of *Germanie*; and of *Italy* fortie two.

Crunus King of the Bulgarians slaine by the Emperor Leo.

The death of Charles the great. Anno Dom. 814.

This noble prince was endued with so many excellent vertues, that we reade of very few in auncient histories that excelled him, so as iustly he may be compared with any of the most excellent who so euer; for in martiall dicipline, in manly valour, and dexteritie in armes, I know not any that hath surpassed him: he obtained so many victories, fought so many battailes, and tamed and subdued so many fierce & warlike nations, before, & after that he was Emperor, as any of the most famous that euer was in the world. He was tall of stature, very well proportioned in all parts, passing strong, of a faire and graue countenance, valiant, gentle, mild, pitifull, a louer of iustice, liberall, very affable, pleasant, well read in histories, a great friend of Arts and Sciences, and sufficiently well seene in them, and a man which aboue all honored and rewarded learned men. He was very charitable and a great almes giuer; and so good an harbourer of strangers, that in *Siria*, in *Africa*, in *Egypt*, and in other prouinces of the Infidels, wherein Christians liued, he found meanes to haue hospitals, and publike almes houses, for such of them as were poore; and in his kingdomes, and euen in his court also, he harboured and relieued strangers and pilgrimes. Concerning his faith and religion, he was very zealous; and the most of the warres which he made, were to enlarge the Christian faith. He superstitiously honored and obeied the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope Bishop thereof, and other Bishops and prelates, and commaunded his subiects to doe the like; whereof besides the histories, some chapters in the Decretals bare record. He was likewise very deuout, and spent great part of the time in prayer, and hearing diuine seruice. In his diet he was very temperate, and a great enemie to all riot and excesse; for at his table were neuer serued aboue fower or fiue dishes, and those of such meate as best pleased his taste; which he vsed to the same end that God created them, which was for his sustenance, and not for a shew and vaineglorie, as now a daies is vsed; in such sort that the meates which naturally are but to please the taste, or at the most the sauour or smell, they will now haue them to satisfie all the other sences; and likewise finding new inuentions, the greatest part of their life time is spent

at the table; and so they eate of a greater number of exquisit meates, dreſt in ſuch manner and with ſuch ſauces, that it is hard to know of what taſte they are; ſo as they ſeeme ſtrange and rare: and ſometime meate is made of ſuch things as were not created of God to ſuch purpoſe, no more then he made Goates to draw carts, or to till the earth. Our CHARLES was not as ſome are at this day; for as he was rich and mightie, ſo he was temperate and vertuous; and maintained his body with what was needfull and wholeſome. His ordinarie exerciſe was hunting, when he had leaſure, in time of warres; and in time of peace, he gaue eare to ſuch as did reade hiſtories to him; and ſometimes he heard muſicke, wherewith he was much delighted, and had good skill therein. He was much condemned for hauing many baſtard ſonnes and daughters, but this was in time of his youth; for afterwards it is to be ſuppoſed, that he contented himſelfe with his wife; and for remedy of this imperfection, although he was three or foure times a widower, yet he euer married againe the daughters of mightie Kings and princes. Finally, to make an end of that, whereof I haue treated at large, he was an excellent Emperor, and feared and loued God, and died, as I ſaid, very olde and honorable; and in peace with the Kings of *Spaine, England, Denmarke, Bulgaria,* the Greeke Emperor LEO, and with all the princes of that time. His body was buried in a ſumptuous temple, which he cauſed to be builded in the ſame citie of *Aquiſgrane* or *Aken*.

Where Charles the great was buried.

The authors from which I haue drawne all that I haue ſaid, and where the reader may ſee and reade all the reſt, concerning CHARLES the great, and the other Emperors, and the hiſtories of thoſe times, are thoſe which ordinarily I vſe to alleage, ſince that the moſt auncient authors haue failed, to wit, the Annales of *Conſtantinople* in the twentie three booke, where they make an end, BLONDVS in his ſecond booke of his Decades, ZONARAS a Greeke author, and SIGISBERTVS, and the Abbot WESPERGENSIS, and MATHEVV PALMERIVS, all three in the proceſſe of their Chronicles; PLATINA in the life of the Popes, CVSPINIAN, BAPTISTA IGNATIVS, BENEVENTANVS DE ROMALDVS, IOHN CARION, IOHN EVTICHIVS, RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS, all theſe in their Emperors, VINCENCIVS an Higoriographer in his Mirror, beſides the which it ſhall be neceſſarie to ſee, and ſo may he doe which ſhall be a curious reader: The French Hiſtoriographers, in matter concerne the time of CHARLES the great, which are PAVLVS EMILIVS a ſingular author, ROBERT GAGVIN, and MARTIN, OTHO FRISINGENSIS in the fifth booke of his hiſtories, wherein he treateth at large of CHARLES the great, and likewiſe RICHARD of Saint *Victor*, and the Archbiſhop TVRPIN.

THE

THE LIFE OF LEWES THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SVRNAMED PIVS, AND THREESCORE AND SEVENTEENE ROMANE EMPEROR, in whose time LEO and MICHAEL raigned in Constantinople.

THE ARGVMENT.

LEwes being come to the Empire, confirmed the peace with the Emperor of Grecia, and made warre in Dacia; from which it was requisit that he should returne in person, for redresse of certaine accidents which happened in Italy; which he easily pacified by meanes of his nephew Bernard, then King of Italy. This Emperor renounced to haue any authoritie to confirme the Popes election. Bernard King of Italy rebelled; but being ouercome, was led prisoner into France by his Vncle Lewes, who gaue to his eldest sonne Lotharius that gouernment. He ouercame some tyrants which rebelled against him, and confirmed to the Church the donation made by his father. There happened vnto this Emperour one pitifull case, which was, that his owne children rebelled against him, and deposed him from the Empire: but they afterwards repenting, restored him to his estate. In which time befell an extreame great desaster and ruine to Rome and Italy; for the Mahometists vnderstanding of the discord betweene Christian princes, and standing in no feare of Michael the Greeke Emperour, hauing prepared a good nauy, scaled Ciuita Vecchia, and robbing and burning, came so farre as to besiege Rome: from whence

(so soone as they saw succours come out of Lumbardy) they returned to their home. They also did much harme in Sicilia. After which ruine, Lewes falling sicke of a grieuous infirmitie, died within fortie daies, hauing first set in order the state of the Empire.

IN such manner as I haue recounted in the historie of CHARLES the Great, his sonne LEVVES was by him in his life time nominated, & chosen Emperor: wherfore so soone as his father was dead, he was by al men peaceably held and obeyed for such, and proued a vertuous prince: and for his vertue and goodnesse was called PIVS. The first thing that he tooke in hand, was to come to the citie of *Aken*, where he held a generall Diet or Parliament, and tooke order for all things, concerning the peace, and gouernment of the Empire, and the kingdomes which hee inherited; whither came Ambassadours from LEO Emperour of *Greece*, to ratifie the peace made with his father: for the better assurance whereof, he sent Ambassadours with those which came, to the end that LEO should confirme the same in *Constantinople*. He determined also, as a new Emperour, and greedie of honour, to make warre against the Danes, in the behalfe of ERoALDVS, and RANFREDVS, two kings which were friends and subiect to the Empire, and were deposed from their kingdomes by the sonnes of GODFREY. For this enterprise he made great preparation, sending for his nephew BERNARD king of *Italy*, as is before said; and for the better defence of his countries hee left his three sonnes, to wit, LOTHARIVS, PEPIN, and LEVVES. LOTHARIVS which was his eldest sonne, hee made gouernour of *Bauaria*, and the marches thereof; and to PEPIN he left the gouernment of *Aquitania*, and other places thereabout: in the other prouinces, he confirmed the Dukes thereof, and in all he set very good order. And departing with his armie, and being come into *Saxony*, the weather grew to be so cold, that in all that winter he could march no further forwards; so as he was constrained to winter in a citie in *Saxony* called *Parburnia*, or *Parburina*; for the cold was so extreme, that the seas in all that coast were frozen, and the warre was afterwards made by his captaines. LEVVES returning into *France*, by reason of other accidents which happened: for it was so, that in *Rome* some great men seeing Pope LEO old and sickly, conspired against him, against which he proceeded, determining to haue done iustice vpon them; for which cause there was a tumult in *Rome*, and in some parts of *Italy*: whereof when LEVVES was aduertised, he sent commaundement to king BERNARD, speedily to goe thither, to preuent rebellion in those parts: and BERNARD did so with all possible expedition, and fully pacified all matters in *Rome*, and in all *Italy* also. And within few daies after Pope LEO died, hauing bin Pope one and twentie yeeres, and in his place was chosen STEPHEN the fourth, who presently after his election went into *France* to the Emperour; and finding him in the citie of *Arles*, was honourably receiued; and he with very great ceremonies and solemnities, crowned and annointed LEVVES Emperor, and then returned to *Rome*.

Peace between the Emperours Lewes and Leo.

The Emperour Lewes crowned by Pope Stephen.

The coronation and solemnities being ended, there ensued some insurrections in the kingdomes of this LEVVES; for the Gascons and other people their neighbours, rebelled; for that LEVVES had taken from them their Duke and gouernour, called SIGVINIVS; for it seemeth that then Dukes were made gouernours of prouinces, and that they for the most part, continued their whole life time in their

gouernments, or at least a very long time; from whence afterwards proceeded the estates, and great houses of *Germany*, and other parts: some by the Emperors gift; and others by force, making themselues tyrants; which in processe of time were ratified, and confirmed in their dignities. These aforesaid gouernments were also giuen with the titles of Earledomes, and Marquesses, as it appeareth by the histories: for there was giuen to them a marke of land, or land (contained within certaine bounds or markes) to gouerne; so as they diriued their titles in such manner as did the Dukes. At this time another king of certaine Ilands in the North sea, taking part with the king of *Denmark*, warred also against the Emperour LEVVES: vpon these two occasions LEVVES raised new armies. The matters of *Gasgony* were ended in few daies with little difficultie; but the warres with the Danes were more doubtfull, for in the beginning the Saxons and the Imperialists had ill successe: but in the end the Emperour prouided such captaines and souldiers, that they not onely obtained the victorie, but restored EROALDVS to his kingdome, who liued in subiection to the Empire, hauing been before depriued. This happened in the third yeere of the raigne of the Emperour LEVVES, in the beginning of which, newes came that Pope STEPHEN was dead, who had been Pope but seuen moneths onely; whom PASCVAL the first succeeded, and executed his authoritie in the Popedome, without the Emperours confirmation, being thereto vrged by both estates of *Rome*, ecclesiasticall and secular: whereupon he sent to excuse himselfe to the Emperour; for Pope *Adrian* and the clergie had graunted that preheminence to his father CHARLES the great, and to his successors, which was obserued vntill this time; which authoritie LEVVES renounced, as it appeareth by the chapter *Ego Ludouicus* in the distinction 63. LEVVES accepted this excuse, and ordained that from thencefoorth the imperiall authoritie should be obserued in this manner, *viz.* that so soone as the Pope was chosen, he should giue the Emperour to vnderstand thereof, as to a friend deuoted to that Church; but not that he should stay vntill the Emperour had confirmed his election. Yet this notwithstanding, the Popes afterwards vsed to sue to the Emperors to approue their election, vntill the time of LEVVES nephew of this LEVVES, who voluntarily left this custome, which had continued from the time of ADRIAN the second, as shall be declared in time and place, if our memorie faile vs not. Whilest that these things passed in *France*, in *Germany*, and in *Italy*, LEO (as I haue aboue said) ruling the Empire of *Constantinople*, and through his victorie obtained against the king of *Bulgaria*, liuing some space in peace and prosperitie, and highly esteemed; waxed so proud, and therewith so seuere and cruell to his subiects, that he purchased their hatred; whereto this was a furtherance, in that he sought to put down the images in their Churches, as some of his predecessors had done. And it afterwards happened that one MICHAEL, a man of meane parentage, whom he had aduanced and preferred to great estate, and had placed neere about himselfe, and then held in prison, with a determination to haue cut off his eares, was of power with the fauour of many men of great reputation which tooke him out of prison, and assisted him herein, to murther the Emperour LEO, and to seize vpon the Empire; when he had raigned seuen yeeres and certaine moneths. He left behinde him foure sonnes, which afterwards had diuers aduentures; but none of them obtained the Empire. In this manner MICHAEL gat the Empire of *Constantinople*, wherein we will leaue him, to the end to make a conclusion of the histories of LEVVES the Emperour of the West. And thus it passed, that hauing vntill then had good successe in his affaires, in the parliament which he lately had

From whence the title of Dukes and Marquesses are derined.

Leo cast the images out of the Churches of the Greeke Empire.

The Emperour Leo murdered.

Michael succeeded Leo in the Greeke Empire.

commanded to be held in *Aken*, among other matters which therein were ordained, one was, that his eldeſt ſonne LOTHARIVS was made his companion in the Empire, and his ſecond ſonne PEPIN king of *Aquitania*, which containeth *Languedoc*, *Gaſcony*, *Vienne*, and *Aniow*: and his third ſonne LEVVES was made king of *Bauaria*: and theſe three brethren preſently tooke vpon them the gouernment of their principalities. But (as nothing in this world is permanent) after this there befell ſome troubles and warres betweene the Emperour and the Danes, which began to rebell: through which occaſion, by the counſell and perſwaſion of certaine wicked perſons, whereof ſome were prelates, his nephew BERNARD, king of the greateſt part of *Italy*, rebelled alſo, and denied the dutie of ſuperioritie, which he owed to his vncle LEVVES; and leuying an armie, held the Alpes and the paſſages into *Italy*, thereby to defend himſelfe. Whereof when the Emperor had aduertiſement, adiudging him in the parliament for an open enemie, he departed towards *Italy*, and by the way leuied men of warre; whither when he came he was of ſuch power, that BERNARD durſt not ſtand to his defence, but yeelded himſelfe into the Emperours hands; who after that hee had pacified the ſtate of *Italy*, returned into *France*, and leading BERNARD with him priſoner, would that his doing ſhould be determined by iuſtice, as ſo great an offence required; and he was condemned to death, and ſo was executed. And LEVVES in BERNARDS place made his ſonne LOTHARIVS king of *Italy*, whom before he had made CÆSAR, and his companion in the Empire: and he departing thitherwards, at his arriuall was therein annointed and crowned by Pope PASCVAL. After this little dangerous warre, there followed another againſt the Duke, or gouernour of little *Britanny* (a prouince of *France*) which alſo rebelled, with the people of that prouince, intitling himſelfe an abſolute king, and not ſubiect to the Emperour; and his heart was ſo great, that hee leuied an armie, and came with him to a battaile, wherein this tyrant whoſe name was VIOMARCHVS was ouerthrowne, but not without great difficultie and effuſion of bloud; but the Emperour had the victorie. After which, enſued the death of his wife the Empereſſe called HERNEGAR, for whom he was exceeding ſorrowfull; but yet he ſhortly after married the ſecond time. After this, the Emperor LEVVES liued two or three yeeres in peace; at the end whereof, a Duke, gouernour of *Hungary*, moued with the deſire to raigne, rebelled, and began to warre in *Auſtrich*, which in ancient time was called the vpper *Pannonia*, and in *Dalmatia* and in *Slauonia* likewiſe; againſt whom LEVVES raiſed a great armie, and the tyrant being in ſundrie skirmiſhes and battailes ouerthrowne, ſubmitted himſelfe, and the Emperour graunted him his life; and ſo thoſe prouinces remained in peace. After this, certaine Romanes came to complaine to the Emperour againſt Pope PASCVAL, alleaging that hee had cauſed certaine principall men to be ſlaine, for that they were his followers, and deſirous to do him ſeruice: whereof the Pope excuſed himſelfe by his Ambaſſadors, which the Emperor not only accepted, but much fauoured & honored the Papall ſea. And foraſmuch as there aroſe ſundrie doubts & queſtions about, which of the townes and cities of *Italy* appertained to the Empire, and which to the Pope; the Emperor LEVVES made a new donation to the Church of *Rome*, ratifying the charters of his father, and grandfather; which RAPHAELL VOLATERRANVS writeth in the third booke of his Geographie, as hauing ſeene the originall in the Popes library, in the Vaticane; the tenor whereof, as he ſetteth it downe, is as followeth, at whoſe perill I write the ſame. In the name of God almightie, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt, I LEVVES the Emperor, doe graunt vnto thee

The Emperour Lewes made his ſonne Lotharius his companion in the Empire.

Bernard king of Italy rebelled againſt his vncle the Emperour Lewes.

Bernard king of Italy being condemned to die was executed.

Leuves pacified the tumults in Hungarie.

A new donation to the church of Rome made by the Emperour Ludouicus Pius.

thee PETER the Apoſtle, prince of the Apoſtles, and for thee, to thy vicar, the Lord PASCVAL the higheſt Biſhop, and to his ſucceſſors for euer, the citie of *Rome*, with all the iuriſdiction thereof, and lands and marches there abouts, the confines, cities, ports and places vpon the *Tuſcane* and *Mediterranean* ſea ſide, *Ciuita, Vecchia, Valneo, Reggio, Viterbo, Sauona, Papulonia, Roſello, Perugia, Maturano, Sutri, Nepe*, and towards the countrie called *Terra di Lauoro, Amenia, Segnia, Settentino, Alano, Patrico, Fruſino*, with all the lands and places in their ſubiection, and alſo all the gouernment of the citie of *Rauenna* wholy, accordingly as my father the Emperor CHARLES of holy memorie, and alſo our grandfather PEPIN, in time paſt graunted the ſame to S. PETER the Apoſtle, that is to ſay, *Rauenna, Bonio, Emilia, Foropopuli, Forli, Faenza, Imola, Bologna, Ferrara, Comacchio, Adeia, Ceruia*, and in the *Marca, Peſero, Fano, Senigaglia, Ancona, Auſino, Numana, Eſio, Foſſombrone, Feltro, Vrbino*, the territorie *Valnenſe, Caglio, Luceolo, Ogobio*, and alſo in *Terra di Lauoro, Aſola, Aquino, Arpino, Theano, Capua*, and all the lands therein appertaining to our iuriſdiction, to wit, the dukedomes of *Beneuento, Salerno*, and *Calabria* the ſuperior and inferior, and that of *Naples*, of *Spoleto, Tuderto, Oricalco, Narnia*, and all that iuriſdiction; and alſo the Ilands in the ſea called the inferior, *Corſica, Sardegna*, and *Sicilia*. All which lands and cities, PEPIN our grandfather of holy memorie, and afterwards our father CHARLES, by their prerogatiue in writing, gaue and graunted by their Ambaſſadors, ATHERIVS and MAYNADVS Abbots, of their owne franke and free will, ſent to Saint PETER and his ſucceſſors, and we alſo doe graunt and allow the ſame. Moreouer we will and declare, that the power and authoritie to chuſe the Pope, is, and ſhal remaine free to the Romane councell and colleage, to be made without any ſciſme or diſcorde; and that after that hee is choſen and conſecrated, for the preſeruation of loue and friendſhip betweene vs, he ſhall ſend his Ambaſſadours to me, and to my ſucceſſors which ſhall be kings of *France*, as the cuſtome was in the time of my great grandfather CHARLES, and PEPIN my grandfather, and of my father CHARLES, and this our will and grace which wee doe, we giue in writing, and confirme with an oth, and ſend the ſame to Pope PASCVAL our Lord, ſubſcribed with our owne hand, by THEODORE the Legate of the holie Church of *Rome*. Signed, *Ego Ludouicus*. This donation was likewiſe atteſted by the Emperours three ſonnes, tenne Biſhops, eight Abbots, fifteene Earles, one Secretarie, a chamber-keeper, and a doore-keeper. The which donation the ſame author VOLATERRANVS, affirmeth to haue ſeene confirmed by the Emperour OTHO the third, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred ſeuentie and two, in the time of Pope IOHN the twelfth. Of this donation (although not ſo much at large) mention is made in the Decretall, in the chapter *Ego Ludouicus*, in the diſtinction 63. In which chapter is expreſſed, the citie of *Rome*, with all that Dukedome, which then contained all the lands, townes and cities vpon the ſea ſide, and the Hauons thereto appertaining, with all the other townes and cities of *Tuſcane*, but their names are not ſet downe, neither the Ilands aboue named. This donation being made, the Pope within few daies after it died, hauing been Pope eight yeeres, and EVGENIVS the ſecond was choſen, after that there had been a ſchiſme, wherein two were choſen, which were perſwaded by mutuall conſent to renounce their election, and in their ſteede was choſen EVGENIVS, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, foure and twentie, and in the eleuenth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour LEVVES. At the ſame time the Emperour with three armies inuaded *Britanny* in *France*, which againe rebelled, and with effuſion of

much bloud ſubdued the ſame. And in the like manner the yeere following, he defended the kingdome of *Hungary* againſt the king of *Bulgaria*, which warred therein, and compelled him to ſue for peace. He alſo ſent an armie to the reliefe of BERNALDVS Earle of *Barcelona*, againſt the Infidels of *Spaine*, which made cruell warres vpon him. And ſo the Emperour LEVVES liued euer (although not without ſome troubles) in proſperitie and with good ſucceſſe.

Thomas rebelled againſt Michael the Emperour of Grecia.

In the meane time there were no leſſe warres and troubles in the Eaſt Empire, wherein the Emperour MICHAEL raigned, a wicked and misbeleeuing prince, which held abſurd and wicked opinions, faſting the Saturday, with the Iewes, and denying the reſurrection of the dead; and it pleaſed God that the whole time of his raigne was infeſted with warres and troubles, and the Infidels abridged both his honour and empire. Firſt hee had very daungerous warres with a great Lord called THOMAS, who taking part with LEO, whom MICHAEL had put to death, being in *Aſia* amaſſed together much people, and with the aide of the Infidels tooke many cities; and comming into *Europe* againſt the new Emperour MICHAEL, tooke many cities in *Græcia*, and beſieged the citie of *Conſtantinople*, wherein the Emperour was, and did put him ſo to his ſhifts, that hee hardly eſcaped from being either taken or ſlaine. But being thus diſtreſſed and in deſpaire, he reſolued to trie the laſt and moſt perilous remedie; which was, that hee arming the greateſt number of ſouldiers that he could get, ſallied into the fields, and with ſuch furie aſſailed his aduerſaries vpon the ſudden, that he ſlew a great number of them, in ſuch ſort that within very few daies THOMAS was driuen to raiſe his ſiege and to retire: And it followed alſo that his fleete at ſea was ouerthrowne by the Emperors nauie; ſo as his power euery where began to decay. And ſhortly after this, the king of *Bulgaria* came with an armie to the aide of the Emperor, whom THOMAS determined to encounter, before that hee ſhould ioyne with him; and comming to a battaile THOMAS was ouerthrowne, and the Bulgarians returned to their countrie, rich, with the ſpoiles of their victorie. Whereupon the Emperour aduentured to take the field, wherein his force ſo much encreaſed, that THOMAS daring not to fight with him, ſuffered himſelfe to be beſieged in *Adrianople*; where after many chances of warre, he fell into the Emperors hands, by whoſe commandement he was put to death: and pardoning ſome, and puniſhing others, he ſubuerted all his enemies, and his people returned to their obedience. Neuertheleſſe, the Infidels in the warres and enterpriſes paſt became ſo hardie, that they euery where inuaded the lands of the Empire, robbing and taking many places: principally there came a great fleete of them into the Ile of *Candia*, wherein they made great ſlaughter, and obtained a notable victorie by ſea againſt the Imperialiſts. They likewiſe came into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and tooke a great part thereof, as IOHANNES MONACVS, BLONDVS, and SABELLICVS doe write.

The Bulgarians came to aide the Emperour of Conſtantinople.

Thomas a rebel put to death by the commandement of Michael Emperour of Conſtantinople.

The Emperour LEVVES was required by Pope GREGORIE the fourth (EVGENIVS being dead, after whom VALENTINIAN was choſen, who enioyed the Papacie but fortie daies, and after his deceaſe this GREGORIE was made Pope) to relieue *Sicilia*; which LEVVES hauing other occaſions, refuſed; alleaging, that the Emperour MICHAEL ought to reſcue it, for that *Sicilia* was in his empire. By reaſon whereof the ſtate of the Eaſt Empire at that time endured many diſaſters, and MICHAEL the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* liuing in great vnreſt, continued but a while, as hereafter wee will declare. And although that for that time the Ile of *Sicilia* was relieued by the Venetians, which then were very mightie

mightie by ſea; yet that had not ſufficed, if that a mightie man called BONIFACE, Earle and gouernour of the Ile of *Corſica*, with the aide of a brother of his, and other great men in *Italy*, had not leuied a good armie, and ſailing ouer into *Africa*, made ſo cruell warres in the marches of *Carthage*, ouerthrowing the Infidels in foure battailes, ſo as they were conſtrained to recall their armie from *Sicilia* (as they did in the time of SCIPIO the Africane, and HANNIBAL of *Carthage*). By this meane was the Ile of *Sicilia* deliuered from the Sarazins: for conſtrained by this neceſſitie, they abandoned what they had therein gotten, and returned into *Africa*.

The Emperour LVDOVICVS PIVS liuing in great honour and proſperitie, it pleaſed God to lay ſome affliction vpon him: for his owne ſonnes, vpon which he had beſtowed kingdomes and prouinces, conſpired againſt him, and began to refuſe to yeeld any ſuperioritie; and leuying ſouldiers, raiſed armies againſt him. The cauſes that moued them thereto, or as they falſely alleaged the ſame, Hiſtorians write ſundrie: ſome ſay it was, that for as much as he ſo tenderly loued his young ſonne called CHARLES, whom he had by his ſecond wife, his eldeſt ſonne LOTHARIVS fearing to be diſinherited, ſought the deſtruction of his owne father. Others ſay that it was, for that he retained into his ſeruice a valiant Spaniard called BERNALDO DEL CARPIO, nephew to king ALONSO, of whom Spaniſh Hiſtorians write wonders; of whom hee made ſo great account for his valour in the warres, that in all matters of importance he was wholy led and by his counſell. Others ſay, that his wife IVDITH, which was a woman very ill conditioned, only ruled and bare al the ſway with him: ſo as charging him with theſe defects, and others as vntrue and vniuſt as theſe, they oppoſed themſelues againſt their father. And ſome great prelates interpoſed themſelues to pacifie ſo diſhoneſt a controuerſie; and ſeeking to reconcile them, the gentle Emperour loued his ſonnes ſo tenderly, and was ſo deſirous of peace, that to grace his ſonnes, he repudiated his wife (although much againſt his will) and beſtowing many great rewards vpon BERNALDO DEL CARPIO, he diſcharged him. But the certaine cauſe was ambition and arrogancie, which encreaſing in them, this fained agreement endured not long: for the ſonnes, by the conſent of certaine great men which ioyned with them, apprehended their father; and bereauing him of the robes and enſignes of Emperour and King, and generally of all gouernment and authoritie, did put him into a Monaſterie, which hee endured with ſo exceeding great patience, that when (being priſoner) he ſaw any of them, he neuer vttered any euill ſpeeches, but willed them to take heed, that thoſe their priuate friends and fauourites did not one day deceiue them: and to remember what dutie and obedience they ought vnto him being their father. Finally, there paſſed many treaties about this matter, and he liued one whole yeere depoſed, and as a priſoner; at the end whereof, his ſonnes acknowledging their error (although ſome write againſt the will of his eldeſt ſonne LOTHARIVS) reſtored him to his former eſtate, and he forgaue them: and as for the reſt of their confederates, he was content with giuing them a very light puniſhment. The Emperour LEVVES being reſtored, his ſecond ſonne PEPIN (whom he had made king of *Aquitania*) deceaſed, and left one ſonne called after his name. This domeſticall and ciuill diſſention betweene the Emperour and his ſonnes, was very deere and coſtly to all Chriſtendome: for the Sarazins of *Africa* being of great power and very mightie, and making ſmall account of MICHAEL the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and ſeeing that the Emperour LEVVES was priſoner, and *Italy* abandoned; they with

The Emperour Levves his ſonnes conſpired againſt their father.

The Emperour Levves depoſed and put into a Monaſterie by his ſonnes.

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The Saracins came into Italy and beſieged Rome.

an exceeding great nauie, and a great number of men of warre came into *Italy*, and at their firſt landing tooke the citie of *Ciuita Vecchia*, and diſperſing ſundrie companies of horſe and foote into diuers parts, they robbed and burned many townes in *Italy*. And not content therewith, they beſieged the citie of *Rome* it ſelfe round about, and battered the ſame for many daies ſpace, whereby Pope GREGORIE the fourth, and the townesmen and inhabitants thereof were much diſtreſſed, and many of them were ſlaine. And notwithſtanding that VINCENTIVS VILVACENSIS, GINARDVS, and ſome other Hiſtoriographers ſay, that they entred and tooke the citie; it was not ſo, for the citie defended it ſelfe; but they took all the Suburbs called Vaticane, & burned the Church of S. PETER. Which comming to the knowledge of GVIDO, an excellent Captaine, Marqueſſe of *Lombardy*, and gouernour thereof for the Emperour, being thereto moued by letters from the Pope, and ſundrie other conſiderations, he raiſed a great power, and tooke his way towards *Rome*: which when the Infidels vnderſtood, being loden with the riches and ſpoiles of *Italy*, they raiſed their ſiege; and doing all the harme that they could, went to *Ciuita Vecchia*, where they embarked themſelues, carrying with them an infinite number of captiues and butin, and returned into *Africa*; and in their way they made what ſpoile they could in *Sicilia*.

The Vaticane in Rome taken and ſacked by the Saracins.

The death of Michael Emperor of Conſtantinople.

At what time as *Italy* endured this calamitie, the Emperour MICHAEL died in *Conſtantinople*, when hee had raigned nine yeeres: and (as it had not of long time before been ſeene in that empire) his ſonne THEOPHILVS ſucceeded him; who although that in conditions he was a better Emperour then his father, yet was he no better affected to the Pope, nor to the adoring of Images; for which cauſe he put many to death: what befell him we will hereafter briefly declare.

The feaſt of all Saints ordained by Pope Gregorie the fourth.

Pope Swines face, afterwards called Sergius the ſecond.

But returning to the matters of *Italy*, which was deliuered from the daunger and oppreſſion of the Infidels. Pope GREGORIE the fourth died, hauing been ſo aboue fifteene yeeres. This Pope inſtituted the feaſt of All Saints, which is celebrated in the Church vntill this day. After the deceaſe of this Pope, a Cardinall called SVVINESFACE was choſen: and for as much as it was a very vnſeemely name for ſo high a dignitie, by a generall conſent it was chaunged, and he was called SERGIVS the ſecond. This was the cauſe why it hath been euer ſince vntill this day held for a cuſtome, that the new choſen Popes leaue their old names, whereby they were called before, and take the name of ſome of their predeceſſors. Within few daies after the death of the Pope, within the ſame moneth LEVVES the Emperour of *Rome* and king of *France* fell ſicke and died; ſo as within the ſpace of foure daies died three the moſt famous heads of the world, *viz.* the two Emperours, MICHAEL, and LEVVES, and Pope GREGORIE. LEVVES before he died, made his youngeſt and well beloued ſonne CHARLES, King, and Lord of *Auſtrich*. And LOTHARY who was Emperour elect, remained his heire generall of all the reſt, excepting *Bauaria*, wherof his other ſon LEVVES was king. And ſo ended the life and Empire of LVDOVICVS PIVS, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred and fortie, when he had raigned full 26. yeeres, and had liued 64. SERGIVS SVVINESNOVT being then Pope in *Rome*, and THEOPHILVS ſon of MICHAEL, raigning Emperour in *Conſtantinople*.

The death of the Emperor Leues.

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THE LIFE OF LOTHARIVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND EIGHTEENE ROMANE EMPEROUR: and of THEOPHILVS Emperor in *Conſtantinople.*

AFter the death of LVDOVICVS PIVS, the Weſt Empire deſcended to his eldeſt ſonne LOTHARIVS, and ioyntly therewith his father left vnto him thoſe kingdomes, which he, and his father CHARLES the Great, poſſeſſed in *France*, in *Germany*, and in *Italy*, excepting thoſe prouinces which were giuen to his brothers LEVVES and CHARLES, which were *Bauiere* and *Auſtrich*, with ſome other thereto adioyning. So ſoone as the father was dead, theſe two ſonnes diſcontent with their portions, determined to riſe againſt their elder brother LOTHARIVS; and LOTHARIVS in like manner pretending all to be his, for that hee was the firſt borne, meant therefore to depoſe them: whereupon there preſently began betweene them a very cruell warre, either partie being aided by ſundrie Dukes and great perſonages. Some writers affirme, that theſe two brothers LOTHARIVS and LEVVES, which were ſonnes of one mother, held together in this warre againſt CHARLES, who was the Emperours ſonne by his ſecond wife. But there is no reaſon why it ſhould be ſo: for it ſeemeth not likely, that CHARLES alone could haue power ſufficient to make head againſt the other two; and alſo for that LOTHARIVS ſought to be Lord of the whole, allowing neither the one nor

Kingdomes left to Lotharius.

nor the other. And it afterwards plainly appeared, that LOTHARIVS in the peace which they made, entreth not as a partaker, but as absolute and alone: wherefore I follow the most common and most likely opinion, which is, that LOTHARIVS warred against the other two; and was thus. LEVVES and CHARLES came out of *Germany*, with many valiant men of warre against the Emperor LOTHARIVS, who in like manner out of *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, leuied the greatest and best armie that of long time had been seene: so that all authors which write thereof affirme, that since the warres betweene ECIVS and ATTILA, there had not been gathered together in Europe the like number of good men of warre. And the hatred and enuie betweene these brothers was so great, that they could not auoide a battaile, which was fought neere to a little towne called *Fontano*: and as the captaines and souldiers of either partie were valiant and expert in armes, the fight was the more cruell, and one of the most bloudie that hath been in the world, and wherein most men were slaine and most bloud spilt, and lasted great part of the day; the victorie euer shewing it selfe doubtfull, inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other, vntill that towards the euening, the Emperour LOTHARIVS his forces being vnable to endure the furie of their aduersaries, began to faint; wherewith courage encreasing of the one side, and failing on the other, LOTHARIVS & his people were driuen to flie, and LEVVES and CHARLES remained with the victorie. All those which write of this conflict, affirme, that therein were slaine the greatest part of all the Nobilitie and flower of the French nation; and that in number more men died, then in any other that in *France* hath happened euer since the battaile which was fought betweene ECIVS, and ATTILA king of the Hunnes, in the fields of *Catalonia*, as before wee haue recounted. LOTHARIVS escaped thence by flight to the citie of *Aken*, and holding himself to be there in no safetie, he by sundry waies came to *Viene* in *France*, where he again gathered head, and leuied new forces out of *Italy* and other parts; and his brothers resolued to pursue him. And notwithstanding that from the Pope came the Archbishop of *Rauenna*, and many other prelates voluntarily, to treate of peace betweene them, yet it auailed not, but that LOTHARIVS would the second time trie the fortune of the warres, and his brothers sought no lesse: And they fought, and he was againe ouerthrowne (and the Archbishop of *Rauenna* also with him, who came as an Ambassadour of peace, and was that day in LOTHARY his armie with three hundred horse, which he brought with him out of *Italy*) and in despite of himselfe was constrained to flie, the greatest part of his people being first slaine. After these cruell battailes betweeue these brothers (which as it is to be beleeued God permitted for a punishment, for the contumacie and disobedience which they shewed towards their father) and after they had broken and diminished their forces, they gaue eare to a peace, and the said Archbishop of *Rauenna*, and many other prelates, brought them to an agreement; wherein the Emperor (as a man forced and ouercome) lost much. The conditions were, that the kingdomes should be parted betweene them; which diuision so much diminished the power of *France*, that it neuer after recouered that greatnes, which vntill then it held: the accord was made in this manner. That LEVVES should be Lord and King of all that part of the kingdomes and prouinces which lie ouer the *Rhine*, in the east side of *France*, containing all *Germany*; to wit, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Morauia*, *Frisia*, *Bauaria*, *Saxony*, *Sueuia*, and all the rest, and should be called king of *Germany*: And that CHARLES the youngest brother should be called king of *France*, and should be sole Lord thereof, excepting *Gallia Narbonensis*, now called *Prouence*:

Warres betweene Lotharius and his brethren.

The nobilitie of France slaine in a battaile.

Lotharius ouerthrowne the second time.

The diuision of the kingdome of France betweene Lotharius and his brethren.

uence: and that thoſe lands which lie betweene the riuers *Rhine*, and the *Maze*, (which euer ſince that time are called *Lotharingia*, or *Lorraine*, after LOTHARIVS) and part of *Burgundie*, ſhould be ſubiect to the Emperor LOTHARIVS, together with *Lombardy*, and all that part of *Italie* which was in his ſubiection; with the title and dignitie of Emperour. After this peace was made with LOTHARIVS againſt his will, he reinforcing his troupes, tooke his way towardes *Italy*, and ſo to *Rome*; where after ſome icalouſies betweene them, Pope SERGIVS crowned him Emperour; and his Sonne was choſen his Succeſſor. Yet ſome writers ſay, that onely his Sonne was crowned: but this in my opinion ſeemeth to be moſt likely. But let vs leaue both the Father and the Sonne, (for in truth LOTHORY was of ſmall power after that he was ouercome, and yet liued in greater peace then thoſe times permitted) and we will ſay ſomewhat of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who then was THEOPHILVS, and of the harmes which enſued in Chriſtiandome, by reaſon of the warres betweene theſe three brethren.

Lotharius crowned Emperor by Pope Sergius.

The Greeke Emperour THEOPHILVS diſſented not from his Predeceſſours in points of Religion, and concerning his gouernement, he tooke very good order, and maintained himſelfe well in his eſtate: yet ſomewhat noted of cruelty. In the Eaſt he had great and cruell warres with the Sarrazins, which made incurſions into his Dominions in *Aſia* the leſſe: in which warre two Captaines did him eſpeciall ſeruice: the one was called MANVEL, and the other PHEBVS, and the Emperor himſelfe in perſon went to this warre, wherein the victories were variable, ſometimes of his ſide, and ſometimes againſt him. And being in this manner buſied, and on this ſide our Emperor and the houſe of *Fraunce*, (which then was the onely defence and refuge of all Chriſtiandome) being weakened and diminiſhed, by reaſon of the ſaid warres, and diſſention which happened; the Moores of *Africa* with a great Nauie came into *Italie*, and into *Sicilia*, and landing in many places, tooke ſundry Townes. Laſtly, a mightie King of *Africa*, called SABRA, with a great fleete of Shippes and Galleys entered *Italie*: And knowing that the Coaſts neere to *Rome* was well Garriſoned and fortified, he aſſailed *Otranto*, and that place being taken and ſackt, he did the like by other Townes in the ſame Coaſt: and returning from thence, he ſayled into the *Adriatique* Sea, now called the *Gulfe* of *Venice*, and tooke and ſpoyled many places. The Emperour of *Græcia* THEOPHILVS ſeeking to redreſſe this miſchiefe, ſent thither a good Captaine, called THEODOSE, with a great fleete, to which, the Venecians ioyned theirs, which they had already rigged for the ſame purpoſe, (containing threeſcore Galleys:) This Infidell King of the Moores was nothing afraid to come to blowes with THEODOSIVS, and they fought a moſt cruell battell, wherein the Chriſtians were ouerthrowne, and the Venecian fleete fell into the hands of the enemies. But THEODOSIVS eſcaped by flight. The Mahometiſts became ſo haughtie by reaſon of this victory: and the ſame cauſed ſo great feare in *Italie*, that if God had not ſent redreſſe, the infidels in ſhort ſpace might haue made themſelues Lords thereof: for preſently after this ouerthrow they aſſaulted *Ancona*, and tooke it, and burnt it, with ſundry other Townes vpon that Coaſt. And their power was then ſo great, that neither the Emperour LOTHARIVS, nor the Pope, were able to make head againſt them, but contented themſelues to keepe and defend what they had in poſſeſſion: Neither was the Emperours brother CHARLES King of *Fraunce*, able to ſet any fleete to Sea, or yeeld any reliefe: for the Normans (a moſt fierce

North-men.

Nation) made warres vpon him, robbing and harrying his Countreies, with which he fought many battels. Of theſe Normans I find no auncient Authors that make any mention; whereby I coniecture that it was then ſome new name of the people and Inhabitants of thoſe Countreyes which roſe in that manner: yet SABELLICVS, and NAVCLERVS, and ſome other affirme, that they came from *Denmarke*. When all other ſuccours failed, it pleaſed God to ſend a remedy: for there happened ſo great a tempeſt vpon the Sea, that the greateſt part of King SABBAS fleete was drowned, and caſt away: and thoſe which eſcaped, returned into *Africa*, rent, and ſore weather beaten: and ſo *Italie* for that time was relieued, and reſtored to libertie: but yet afterwards they againe infeſted it. At this time died Pope SERGIVS, hauing beene Pope little more then three yeeres, and him ſucceeded LEO the fourth, in whoſe time PLATINA affirmeth this ſhipwracke of the Moores Nauie to haue happened: but the moſt ſay, as I haue recounted. In the beginning of Pope LEOS papacie, THEOPHILVS Emperour of the Greekes dyed in *Conſtantinople*, who before his death feeling himſelfe deadly ſicke, and that he could not eſcape; and conſidering alſo that he ſhould leaue his Sonne MICHAEL very young; and that THEODOSIVS the Captaine before named, was rich, and very mightie, he reſolued with himſelfe, firſt to diſpatch him out of the world, to the end that he ſhould not vſurpe the Empire when he was dead: which was a very good reſolution, and ſigne of a good Chriſtian in a Man ſo neere to his end. Firſt, he cauſed him to be deteyned in his Pallace, and feeling his ſickneſſe ſo to increaſe vpon him that he could not liue, he made his head to be ſtriken off, and within fewe houres after dyed. After his death, his Sonne MICHAEL was made Emperor, and foraſmuch as he was very young, his Mother THEODORA the Empreſſe (as heretofore did YRENE Mother of CONSTANTINE) tooke vpon her the gouernment, and ruled the Empire for her Sonne MICHAEL, and not ill, as it is written: but as he increaſed in yeares, ſo therewith grew in him the deſire to gouerne alone, and his Mother became more ambitious: in ſuch manner, that the young man ſetting all reſpect apart, compelled his Mother to goe into a cloiſter, and ſo he remayned ſole abſolute Lord.

A fleete of the Infidels caſt away in a tempeſt.

The death of the Emperor Theofilus and his good reſolution.

Michael ſucceeded his father in the Empire.

Within a little while afterwards, the Emperor LOTHARIVS remaining in *Lorraine*, and Pope LEO in *Rome*; the infidels growne proud, by reaſon of their late victories; and coueting the wealth of *Italy*, trimmed vp the remainder of their fleete, and building other veſſels a new, returned to make a conqueſt thereof, with greater power and reſolution then at the firſt: And after harme done in ſome other places they ſayled directly to the port of *Oſtia*, where ſetting their Army on Land, they marched towards *Rome*, with an intent to haue taken the ſame, and afterwards all the Land: which as they hoped, ſo the poore Inhabitants feared. But it pleaſed God that they were repulſed, and deceaued in their expectation. Neuertheleſſe, they came and beſieged *Rome*, and gaue a very great aſſault vnto it, but it was ſo well prouided and furniſhed, and thoſe which were therein did ſo valiantly defend the ſame, that loſing all hope to get it, and vnderſtanding that ſuccours were comming; robbing and burning the *Vaticane* with great cruelty, they rayſed their ſiege: firſt burning and prophaning Saint PETERS Chuch which was therein, and where it ſtandeth at this day. And foraſmuch as the Moores raiſed their ſiege from before *Rome* without taking it, the French writers attribute the honor thereof to CHARLES King of *Fraunce*, who (they ſay) came to relieue it, and for feare of whom the Moores

The Moores landed in Oſtia with intent to haue taken Rome.

The Moores burnt the Vaticane and Saint Peters Church in Rome.

Moores departed; and leauing their attempt againſt it, ſetting their Army in order, they tooke their way towards *Naples*, burning and ſpoyling all as they went. In the meane while, Pope LEO ſallying foorth of *Rome*, with the ayd of the Emperor LOTHARY, and his Sonne, whom in his life time he had made his companion in the Empire, and in the kingdome of *Italy*, which ſent him great ſupplies; he rayſed a ſufficient Army, wherewith he went to ſeeke his enemy, which laden with great riches and ſpoyles, were come neere to the port of *Oſtia*; where the Pope conſidering how mighty they were, if they ſhould remaine in *Italy*, (as they publiſhed that they would) and how much the countrey was ſacked and ruynated, if they ſhould embarke themſelues with their priſoners and riches, and the Emperour ſtaying longer then they would he ſhould haue done; he reſolued to vſe the ſword, and encouraging his Souldiours he ſet vpon his enemies, and fought with them a ſharp and bloudy battell, wherein many were ſlaine of either party. But in the ende it pleaſed God that the Chriſtians had the victory: and a great ſlaughter was made of their enemies, and a great number of Captiues were releaſed, and all that they had taken, recouered, and the greateſt part of thoſe which fled, were ouertaken and carried to *Rome* in great triumph. Thoſe which remained in the harbour at *Oſtia*, vnderſtanding of this ouerthrow, hoiſing their ſailes, with all the haſt they could make, returned into their Countrey: And ſo was *Rome* freed from the great calamitie and miſerable ſeruitude which it feared to haue endured. Great was the ioy which was conceaued through all Chriſtiandome for this victory, and the Pope was highly extolled, who ſpeedily returned to *Rome*, where, with the conſent of the Citizens, he determined to encompaſſe with a wall, all thoſe Suburbes called *Vaticane*, wherein are Saint PETERS Church, and the Popes Pallace, to the end that they ſhould no more endure the like, as they now twice had ſuffred. To the performance whereof, the Emperour LOTHARIVS and his brothers, LEVVES King of *Germanie*, and CHARLES the Bauld, King of *Fraunce*, ſent thither much of their Treaſure: and the worke began with ſuch efficacie, that notwithſtanding that it was very great, and the walles full of Turrets: yet in the ſpace of fiue yeares it was perfected and fully ended: and ſo that part was made a Citie, and called *Ciuitas Leonina*, after the name of Pope LEO. The yeare following, the Emperour LOTHARY went to *Rome*, to ſee and ſpeake with the Pope, the Pope for that he was informed that he purpoſed to haue reduced the right title of Emperour to *Conſtantinople*, whereof the Pope gaue him full ſatisfaction, and ſo contented; the Emperour returned into his Countrey. And ſeeing himſelfe now old, and that his Empire had euer been infortunate, aſwell for that he was ouerthrowne and diſpoſſeſſed by his brothers, as for other accidents in *Italy*, imputing it to the deſert of his ſinnes, eſpecially for the diſobedience and little regard which he had ſhewed to his Father; he reſolued to put himſelfe into a religious houſe, and to leaue his Empire to his Sonnes, and putting it in execution, he made a diuiſion thereof in this manner: to his eldeſt Sonne LEVVES, he gaue that which he held in *Italy*, and to the ſecond, whoſe name was LOTHARIVS, he gaue the prouince of *Lorraine*, and other Lands which in the diuiſion were allotted to him in *Fraunce*, and in *Germany*, about the riuer *Rhine*, and to CHARLES his third Sonne, he gaue that part of *Fraunce*, which is called *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and now *Prouence* and *Languedoc*, which fell to his ſhare in the peace which he made with his brothers, when he was by them ouerthrowne. In theſe eſtates aſwell as in others were afterwardes

A battaile fought betweene Pope Leo and the infidels.

The victorie of Pope Leo.

The Emperor Lotharius diuided his Empire betweene his three Sonnes.

The Emperour Lotharius renounced the Empire and became a Monke. Pope Ioane.

great alterations, which I haue no time to relate: this done, he became a Monke in the fifteene yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, fiftie and sixe, and so he liued, and within a while died. MICHAEL continuing yet Emperour of *Constantinople*. And shortly after died Pope LEO the fourth, whom succeeded IOHN an English woman, as Historians affirme; who disguising her selfe in apparell, and chaunging her name, being excellently well learned, was chosen Pope, and hauing two yeeres liued in the Papall dignitie, died suddenly in *Partu*; and her succeeded BENEDICT the third.

THE LIFE OF LEWES, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND NINETEENE ROMANE EMPEROR.

WE haue alreadie said, that the Emperour LOTHARIVS, voluntarily and of his owne free will, bestowed vpon his eldest sonne LEVVES the name and dignitie of Romane Emperour; of whose life, and for some time after, Historians haue written very little; and in that little is a great confusion amongst them, which hath put me to much trouble, for that I haue been so carefull and haue vsed all diligence to write the truth. The difficultie is, in that this LEVVES and his vncle king of *Germany* were both of one name, by reason whereof authors attribute the acts and doings of the one, to the other, being deceiued therein: And what is worst of all, there are some which of the raigne of this Emperour LEVVES write nothing at all, of which BLONDVS is one, notwithstanding that in all the rest he hath shewed great diligence, ending in his father; so as presently after LOTHARIVS, they place CHARLES the Bauld, king of *France*, whereas to the contrarie they should first write the life and raigne of this his sonne LEVVES: but I will follow the most approued authors, and (in the best manner that I shall

be

be able) will bring the truth to light, and will rather chuſe to ſay but little, and that certaine, then to pleaſe with many forged accidents. In the beginning of the raigne of this LEVVES there happened a very prodigious portent; which was, that in the citie of *Breſcia* in *Lombardy* for three daies it rained bloud, ſo freſh and ſo perfect, as if it had bin of a Bull, or of ſome other beaſt lately killed. First of all, this Emperor was very zealous and deuout in religion; much affected to the Romiſh church, and the miniſters therof (for he knew no other) and was very pitiful, gentle, ſincere, vnſpotted, of a good condition, and of his word and promiſe very iuſt. After the deceaſe of Pope BENEDICT, NICHOLAS the firſt being choſen, the Emperour went to *Rome*, to confirme his election; where the Pope and he conuerſed together very louingly. It afterwards followed, that a great fleete of the Moores of *Africa* came into *Italy*: but the Emperour gathered together ſo good forces againſt them, that (with ſmall hurt done) they were repulſed: for which his care and diligence he was highly extolled. And notwithſtanding that this prince was ſo well inclined, yet ADVLGIFVS Duke of *Beneuent* rebelled, with *Capua*, and ſome other cities; and denying to be ſubiect vnto him, held for the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. And whereas *Italy* in times paſt had been ſubiect to thoſe Emperours, they had now loſt it, as being vnable to defend the ſame; yet *Pulia* and *Calabria* were of long time after vnder their gouernment. Againſt this Duke, the Emperour LEVVES leuied an armie, and in perſon went to pacifie the rebellion: but ADVLGIFVS being vnable to defend himſelfe againſt him, ſent to make his excuſe; alleaging, that what was done, was againſt his will, and that he had purpoſed to come to his ſeruice, and did ſo; and LEVVES receiued and pardoned him: and then went to ſuch places as rebelled, which hee eaſily tooke, excepting the citie of *Capua*, which ſtood at defence; but in the end crauing pardon, they yeelded. And thence he went to *Beneuent*, where ADVLGIFVS receiued and lodged him, in outward ſhew, as his ſoueraigne Lord, and whom hee loued; by whoſe perſwaſion and counſell (for hee ſeemed to ſpeake from a loyall heart) the Emperour diſcharged his armie, and retained few more then the officers of his houſe: but within few daies after, ADVLGIFVS (as diſloyall and a traytor) ſought to put in execution what he had proiected, and getting together certaine armed men, he ſuddenly ruſht into the Emperors lodging, with intent to haue killed him; and had done ſo, but that being perceiued, the Emperor & thoſe few which were with him, ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that they gat out of *Beneuent*, and went to *Rome*; from whence by the counſel of the Pope, he ſent ſuch an armie, that the traytor was conſtrained to forſake the countrie and to flie into *Sardinia*: and ſo LEVVES remained in peace, Emperour in *Italy*.

It rained bloud in Breſcia in the time of the Emperour Levves the ſecond.

In the meane ſeaſon, whileſt he was buſied with theſe matters in *Italy*; in *Conſtantinople*, in *Græcia*, and in part of *Aſia*, MICHAEL raigned; who depoſed his mother from the gouernment: but hee prooued retchleſſe and vicious, and applied himſelfe onely to feaſting, diſports on horſebacke, and other paſtimes; his eſtate and houſe being ruled by fauourites: and in the warres which he made in *Aſia* againſt the Infidels, he was twice ſhamefully ouerthrowne; yet PETRONAS a captaine of his obtained a noble victorie. In the end, one of his great fauourites, called BASILIVS (a man of baſe linage & condition, whom he had aduanced to great power and dignitie) killed him by treaſon, and gat the Empire to himſelfe; for alreadie in MICHAELS daies he was made CÆSAR. This happened in the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred ſeuenty and ſixe. Yet the empire of MICHAEL was fortunate in one thing, which was, that

Baſilius ſlewe Michael, and made himſelfe Emperour of the Eaſt. Anno Dom. 876.

that the king of *Bulgaria*, and many other people which beleeued not in IESVS CHRIST (at the leaſt in ſuch ſort as they ought to haue beleeued) in his time were wholy conuerted.

The Normanes inuade France.

In theſe daies alſo *France* eſcaped not free from warres, betweene CHARLES the Bauld, vncle to this our Emperour LEVVES, and the Normanes; a moſt fierce nation before named: neither was LEVVES the king of *Germany* without warres againſt other nations, which I am not bound to relate, neither ſuch as happened in other kingdomes, but onely ſuch as are for our purpoſe. I ſay then, that within certaine yeeres, LOTHARIVS king of *Lorraine*, brother to the Emperour, died; and his vncle CHARLES king of *France*, would haue made ſeiſure on *Lorraine*, and all the other lands which hee held: but the Emperour oppoſed himſelfe againſt it, and vſed ſo good meanes, that hee tooke poſſeſſion of all, as heire to his father: whereupon there aroſe great warres and controuerſie betweene them, which laſted aboue fiue yeeres. And within a while after this, the Emperour being in *Milan*, was taken with an infirmitie, whereof he died: who in my opinion (ſo farre as I can gather out of hiſtories) left no ſonnes to ſucceede him: wherefore thoſe which ſay that CHARLES and LEVVES were his ſonnes, are deceiued therein; for they were the ſonnes of his vncle LEVVES, king of *Germany* and *Bauaria*: the cauſe of which error was, for that theſe two princes were both of one name; but hee that diligently readeth the hiſtories, ſhall finde that which I ſay to be true, and the reſt falſe. I doe not produce reaſons and coniectures to verifie my opinion, which are to no other purpoſe, but to wearie the reader, and make the hiſtorie more obſcure: preſuppoſe that I ſay the truth, and then all is cleere. And to conclude with LEVVES, of whom I haue ſaid little, and that confuſedly (for that I could not cleerely diſcouer any more) I ſay that he died in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, ſeuentie and eight, when hee had raigned one and twentie yeeres; yet ſome ſay but nineteene, at which time IOHN was Pope of *Rome*, and in *Conſtantinople* BASILIVS was Emperour, who although he entred into the Empie as a tyrant, yet he was no euill prince or ruler.

The death of Lotharius king of Lorraine.

The death of the Emperour Lewes. Anno Dom. 878.

THE

THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE SECOND, SVRNAMED THE BAVLD, AND FOVRESCORE Romane Emperour. And of BASILIVS Emperour of *Constantinople.*

THE death of the Emperour LEVVES was soone knowne and published euery where, as vsually is the death of such kings and princes as hee was: but his vncles CHARLES the Bauld, king of *France,* and LEVVES king of *Germany,* which were his fathers brothers, had soonest intelligence; all which were sonnes of the Emperour LVDOVICVS PIVS, the first of that name: and although they were now old and vnweildie (for they had been kings aboue thirtie yeeres) yet each of them pretended to be Emperour. CHARLES for that he was king of *France* seemed to haue the better title, for it was passed thither in the person of his grandfather: and LEVVES for that he was his elder brother conceiued as much. But CHARLES vsed greater expedition, and made better prouision, by reason of the neerenes of *France* to *Italy,* being thereto aided by his owne condition; for hee was naturally proud and ambitious, so that with greater celeritie then any man would haue thought, he had leuied a great armie, and passing the

Alpes came into *Italy*, and tooke his way directly for *Rome*; but he ſent his Son LEVVES another way, to ſeiſe vpon that which the Emperour LEVVES had taken in *Fraunce*, by the death of his brother, which was *Auſtraſia*, now called *Lorraine*. CHARLES being come to *Rome*, where he had already by meſſages and letters (and as ſome ſay by money and bribes) ſollicited, and gotten the goodwill of the Romanes, and of Pope IOHN the eight, or ninth, was preſently Crowned by him, and held for Emperour, and in the meane time, his brother LEVVES in *Germany* failed not to leuy forces to come againſt him: with a determination to depriue him of the Empire, and of his life alſo if he could. But CHARLES hauing ſetled the affaires of *Italy* in very good order, (in great choler againſt his brother) returned into *Fraunce*, againſt whom he raiſed his whole power, and they beginning to march, the one againſt the other, LEVVES was arreſted by death, which ouertooke him at *Franckford*, leauing his Dominions. Firſt, diuided betweene his three Sonnes, which were very valiant men, to witte, LEVVES, CARLOMAN, and CHARLES, of which three names, the offspring of CHARLES the Great made great accompt: which cauſeth a great confuſion and obſcuritie in the hiſtory, if the Reader be not very attentiue. The diuiſion was made in this manner, by the mutuall conſent of the three brothers; to LEVVES was giuen *Saxony*, *Turingia*, *Freeſeland*, and the prouinces within them contained, and that he ſhould be called King of *Oſtrofrancia*, or Eaſt *Fraunce*. To CARLOMAN, was allotted *Bauaria*, *Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, *Slauonia*, *Bohemia*, and *Morauia*, with the title of King of *Bauaria*. To CHARLES befell *Sueuia*, *Franconia*, and all the reſt of *Germanie*, and ſome Cities in *Lorraine*, which had beene vnder his vncle LOTHARIVS, and he (as his Father had beene) was called King of *Germany*. Their Vncle CHARLES the Bauld, and King of *Fraunce*, being hereof aduertiſed, making leſſe accompt of the Sonnes, then he had done of the Father, being more proud and ambitious, then hardy or valorous, entred *Germany* with fifty thouſand men, and went ſo farre as *Coleyn*, neere whereunto his nephew LEVVES, the newe King of Eaſt *Fraunce*, ſtayed for him, with the greateſt part of his Fathers Army, aſſiſted by his brothers CARLOMAN, and CHARLES, and other great Dukes and Princes of *Germany*, firſt ſeeking peace: but ſeeing that the Emperor would not graunt the ſame, he ioyned in battell with him, which was fought of either ſide very obſtinately. And the Emperour ſeeing his enemies fight with ſuch reſolution, fled from the battell, and his nephew LEVVES remained with the victorie. In this battell and purſuit, was made great ſlaughter of the French Nobilitie: And ſo the Emperor returned into his Countrey, with leſſe power, and more diſhonour, where he repoſed himſelfe for a ſeaſon: his nephewes taking no care further to trouble him. After this, it happened that one BALDVVIN, then Gouernor or keeper of that Countrey, which now is called the Earledome of *Flaunders*, (and was lately ſo populous & ſo well inhabited, and then for the moſt part was nothing but wood and forreſt, with ſome few little villages) fell in loue with one of the Emperours daughters, and her Father being abſent in the warres, he found meanes to conuey her out of the Pallace, and ſo hid himſelfe with her in thoſe woods: againſt whom the Emperour meaning to haue proceeded with all rigour, at the entreaty of many religious perſons, and of eſtate, was perſwaded to marry him to her, and doing ſo, gaue him that countrey, with the title of Earle of *Flaunders*: and this BALDVVIN proued to be ſo excellent a man, and vſed ſuch induſtrie, that he repleniſhed the countrey with Inhabitants,

The diuiſion of King Lewes his Dominion betweene his Sonnes.

Baldwin Earle of Faunders fell in loue with the daughter of Charles the Bauld.

Inhabitants, which ſo manured the Land, that within few yeares it did abound with people and all other things neceſſary; And his Sonne ARNVLPHVS, and his ſucceſſors, vſing the like diligence, it came to be one of the moſt flouriſhing countreyes of the world; of ſuch power is diligence and humane induſtrie, this was the beginning of that eſtate.

The Originall of the Earledome of Flanders.

The Emperor CHARLES being thus in his kingdome of *Fraunce*, in the meane time while that he warred with his nephewes, the Moores of *Africa*, which already had a taſte of the wealth of *Italy*, came thither with a great Army, and did great harme in the Marches of *Capua*, and beſieged that Citie: whereupon Pope IOHN ſent to requeſt the Emperour, to come to protect his lands of the Church, which he performed with the greateſt ſpeed that he could make, for he was very politike and cunning in leuying of men of warre; but before his going into *Italy*, (to ſatisfie his wiues humour) he made her brother BOSON, which was alſo his neere kinſman, King of *Prouence*. And comming to *Rome*, the Infidels leauing that coaſt, tooke another way, which was into *Sicilia*, which yet was vnder the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, whereof BASILIVS was Emperour, of whom we will preſently make mention. When LEVVES, CHARLES, and CARLOMAN, vnderſtood that their Vncle was in *Italy*, they vnited their forces together, with a determination to goe againſt him, in reuenge of former iniuries. Whereof, ſo ſoone as the Emperor had intelligence, he departed from *Rome* with his forces, to make head againſt them vpon the way: but it pleaſed God to ſaue him that labour, which was, that comming to *Mantoa* with his hoaſt, being now old and decripit, an infirmitie tooke him, whereof he feared not that he ſhould haue dyed. But a Iew called ZEDECHIAS (which was his Phiſition) poyſoned him, and ſo he preſently died: and his affaires remained confuſed, & out of order: leauing for his heire in his kingdomes, his Son called LVDOVICVS BALBVS, and other three which he had, which alſo had ill ſucceſſe: which appertaineth not to my hiſtory. They called this his Sonne BALBVS, for that ſo in Latin they call him which ſtuttereth, and cannot pronounce certaine letters, but haue that defect in their ſpeech. At this time in the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, raigned BASILIVS before named, which (as I ſaid) proued no ill gouernor; for he releaſed many of the tributes and exactions, which his predeceſſors had impoſed vpon the people, and defended the Empire with great valour and diſcretion, although that in ſome things he had ill ſucceſſe. Firſt, againſt certaine great troupes of Infidels, which came from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, into the Ile of *Candia*, and had taken many places therein, he rigged a Nauie, and ſayled thither in perſon, where he fought, and was ouercome, to the great domage of the Chriſtians: and (by great hap) eſcaping, he returned by flight to *Conſtantinople*, but not daunted, neither diſcouraged, and prepared a newe fleete, and to try his fortune with a new Captaine, he ſent therewith his wiues Father, whoſe name was CHRISTOPHER, a man very valiant, and of great experience; who had ſo good hap, that obtaining the victorie, he cleared that Iland. After this, he waged other warres in *Aſia*, by his Captaines, againſt the Infidels, Turkes and Perſians: wherein for the moſt part he had good ſucceſſe, and laſtly, againſt the Africanes, which for feare of CHARLES the Bauld, (as I but euen now ſaid) leauing *Italy*, went into *Slauonia*, or *Dalmatia*, and had taken ſome Townes of BASILIVS his Empire, he ſent thither his Army and Nauy, and with the aide of the Venetians, draue them out of thoſe Countries, and recouered what they had taken therein. And ſo he raigned with greater honor,

The Moores came into Italy and beſieged the Citie of Capua.

The death of the Emperor charles the ſecond, poyſoned by his Phiſition which was a Iew.

Lodouicus Balbus and vvhy ſo called.

The death of Charles the Bauld.

honor, and to the better liking and contentment of his Subiects, then many of his Predeceſſors. At which time the Emperour CHARLES the Bauld died in *Mantoa*, when he had raigned little more then two yeares, IOHN the ninth being then Pope. Some Authors ſay that he raigned a longer time; but the truth is as I haue ſet downe.

THE LIFE OF LEVVES THE THIRD, SVRNAMED BALBVS, AND FOVRE SCORE AND ONE ROMANE EMPEROR, TOGETHER with the life of BASILIVS Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

IF in the time of CHARLES the Bauld there were warres and troubles for the Empire; there were no leſſe after his deceaſe, as the reader may well perceiue by the proceſſe of this hiſtorie; wherein, although it ſeeme that I vſe breuitie, for that I waſte leſſe paper in one then in another, yet is it not ſo; for I ſeeke (ſo much as I may) to make an euen diuiſion of this booke betweene the Emperours, whoſe liues I write. But foraſmuch as theſe Princes of whom I doe now treate, liued but a little while in the Empire, (to obſerue an equalitie, and due proportion, ſo farre as poſſibly may be) I hold it reaſon, that the Storie and Chronicle of them be briefer, according to the time of their raigne, and to the end that more at large we may haue ſpace to write of matters neerer to our time. The Emperor CHARLES being deceaſed in *Mantoa*, as is aforeſaid, his nephew CHARLES King of *Germany*, with his brothers, which already had entred *Italy* againſt him, ſtayed with their Army: for the enemy being dead, the warre was ended. His Sonne LEVVES, ſo ſoone as he in *Fraunce* was aduertiſed of the death of his Father, and how that his Couſins had laid downe their weapons: firſt endeuoured to eſtabliſh himſelfe in his Fathers Kingdome, and alſo ſent to entreat Pope IOHN to aide him and to ſtand his friend in attaining to the Imperiall dignitie. In the firſt he found ſome difficultie, being contradicted

tradicted by his mother in law the Empereſſe, who was counſelled and aſſiſted by her brother BOSON king of *Prouence:* but the matter was carried ſo cunningly, that within few daies hee was held and obeyed for king. Now concerning the Empire, he found greater difficultie; for CHARLES ſurnamed the Fat, being king of *Germany*, beſides that he alreadie had ſome townes in *Italy*, had alſo the good will of ſundrie the moſt principall men in *Rome*; ſo that notwithſtanding that Pope IOHN would haue had LEVVES king of *France* to haue been choſen Emperour, yet he could not ſo bring it to paſſe: for they not only denied to accept him, but were ſo bold as to lay hands vpon the Pope, to the end that he ſhould not doe it. But he ſtaied not long in priſon, for ſome of his ſeruants, either by force or policie, releaſed him, and he in great haſt went into *France*, where he was honorably entertained by the king. And being there (of his own authoritie) he intitled LEVVES Emperor; and giuing him the Imperiall enſignes, crowned him with great ſolemnitie: & after this, remained one yeere in *France*, where he called a councell, and made certain orders concerning the ſtate of the Church, and created a Biſhop for the Countie of *Flanders*, wherein neuer had bin any before, being but lately inhabited. In which time the warres and troubles betweene the new Emperour, and his couſin germane CHARLES king of *Germany* ceaſed not; who was alſo ſo called by the will of the Romanes, which were the occaſion of a worſe matter: for the Moores of *Africa* (ſeeing *Italy* abandoned by the Pope, and that the defence came ſlow and ſlenderly) prepared a great nauie, and did much harme therein: whereof Pope IOHN being aduertiſed, with the aide of CHARLES the Fat, king of *Germany*, who was alſo called Emperour, came into *Italy*; at whoſe comming the Infidels retired, and the land was freed from the great danger wherein it was: And the Pope ſeeing how much *Rome* and all *Italy* had been better relieued by CHARLES, then by LEVVES, and how much CHARLES was more fauoured by the principall Barons in *Italy*; and to the end to come to agreement with the ſaid Barons, altring his minde, he approued and confirmed the nomination and election made of CHARLES king of *Germany*, who for his corpulence was ſurnamed the Fat; and ſo he annointed and crowned him Emperour; diſanulling the coronation of LVDOVICVS BALBVS king of *France*; for which cauſe it was thought that great warres and troubles would haue enſued: but by the interceſſion of certaine great perſonages, a peace was concluded betweene the two Emperours in this manner: That they both ſhould hold the name and title of Emperours, and that the countrie of *Lorraine* (about which was wont to be great contention) ſhould be equally diuided betweene them two; and that for the Empire no warre ſhould be made, but that in all parts peace ſhould be maintained betweene the lands and ſubiects of the one and of the other partie; and that in *Italy* (vntill that equall partition were made) each of them ſhould hold ſuch lands and townes as he then had in poſſeſſion: and if that the Infidels inuaded the dominion of either of them, the other was bound to aide him with his forces. This peace being concluded (although doubtfull and fained) the Emperour LEVVES died in *France*, whereof he was king, hauing raigned not fully two yeeres; in all which time hee neuer came to *Rome*, neither into *Italy*. But for as much as Pope IOHN crowned him in *France*, and afterward in *Rome* diſanulled his election and coronation, ſome Hiſtoriographers leaue him out of the catalogue of the Emperours. He left when he died two baſtard ſonnes behinde him, the one called GARLOMAN, and the other LEVVES, and his wife great with a ſonne, whereof ſhe was afterwards deliuered; which ſonne being poſthumus (for ſo doe they call him which

Leuues made king of France.

The Pope apprehended.

The firſt Biſhop of Flaunders.

The Moores inuade Italy.

The Empire diuided.

The death of the Emperour Lodouicus Balbus king of France.

is

is borne after his fathers deceaſe) he left for his heire of the kingdoms of *France*; wherein grew great diſcord, warres and miſerie about the gouernment and the kingdome; and in the one and other were great alterations and chaunges, too long to be recited: for the baſtard ſonnes pretended title and right to the crowne, and ſo did BOSON king of *Prouence*. Others would haue the child (wherewith the Empereſſe was great at the death of the Emperour, who was afterwards called CHARLES the Simple) to be king. The gouernours alſo tooke vpon them the name of kings, ſometimes one was a king, and ſometime another, and each of them made himſelfe Lord of what hee could get. In theſe troubles the kingdome endured great calamitie. This Emperour LEVVES died in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred and foureſcore, according to the computation which I hold for moſt certaine.

Charles the ſimple poſthumus.

Anno Dom. 880.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE THIRD, SVRNAMED THE FAT, AND FOVRESCORE AND TWO Romane Emperour. And of BASILIVS and LEO, at that time Emperours of *Conſtantinople*.

PReſently vpon the deceaſe of LEVVES the Emperour and king of *France*, the king of *Germany*, CHARLES the Fat, without any contradiction poſſeſſed the Empire: for in the others life time he had in a manner robbed him of that maieſtie, which (as the reader may well conſider) was at that time but onely in name; for the authoritie of CHARLES the Great and his ſucceſſors, conſiſted more in letters, and in the kingdomes which they wonne and poſſeſſed (which were the dominions of *Germany* and *Italy*) then in any part of the Empire, whereof there remained but *Italy* onely, and therein the Pope held the greateſt part; and the Greeke Empire had euer ſome ſhare: and that likewiſe which the Empe-

rours

rours held in *Italy*, was recouered by the ſaid CHARLES, and by his father; yet the name of Emperour was in the higheſt degree deſired, and the authoritie and maieſtie thereof was very great, and ſo continueth vntill this day. CHARLES the Fat remaining then ſole Emperour in peace, as his vertues deſerued, leauing *Italy* in good order, went into *Germany*, to take poſſeſſion of his brother LEVVES his kingdomes; who alſo at that time died without heires, whoſe dominion contained *Friſeland*, *Saxony*, *Lorraine*, and other prouinces; and he had ſo good hap, that within ſhort ſpace after this, his other brother died alſo without ſonnes or iſſue: which prouinces were afterwards diuided into ſundrie houſes and ſtates (in proceſſe of time) by the gifts of the Emperours, and through ſundry other accidents, as it plainly appeareth. I ſay then that he remained Lord of all *Germany*, and king of *Italy*.

Baſilius Emperour of Conſtantinople ſlaine by a ſtag, and his ſonne Leo ſucceeded him in the Empire.

The next yeere after this died BASILIVS Emperour of *Conſtantinople* of a very extraordinarie death, for riding on hunting (as his cuſtome was) he was ſlaine by a Stagge. BASILIVS in his life time had choſen and nominated his eldeſt ſon LEO for CÆSAR, after the death of his other eldeſt ſonne CONSTANTINE: wherefore ſo ſoone as the father was dead, the ſonne LEO was crowned and obeyed for Emperour; and was called the Philoſopher, for that he was much inclined to learning: BASILIVS left alſo another ſonne called ALEXANDER. And the Emperour CHARLES hauing good ſucceſſe in his affaires; and knowing what warres and factions were in *France*, vnder colour to warre againſt the Normanes which harried the countrie, ſought (as many others did, and had done) to make himſelfe king thereof. He leuying then a mightie armie of Germanes and Italians, entred *France*, and went to the citie of *Paris*, which the Normanes held beſieged; and hauing taken all the countrey and put the Normanes to route, he was called king of *France*: the young king CHARLES the Simple, or BONOSVS king of *Prouence*, hauing no ſufficient power to make head againſt him. In this war were many great fights, which for that the authors handle the ſame ſo confuſedly, I paſſe ouer in ſilence. And the Emperours partie became ſo mightie, that he not onely enioyed the title and name of king, but the kingdome it ſelfe alſo; and to the end that he might the better draw the Normanes to his ſeruice, he treated with them (after he had ouerthrowne them) of peace, and gaue to their king to wife a kinſwoman of his, which was a Dukes daughter; and aſſigned to him that part of *France* which lieth beyond the riuer *Seine*, bordring vpon the Engliſh ſea, which after them is at this death called *Normandy*, and is a very good countrey and well inhabited. Yet ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that the Emperour CHARLES did not this, but that CHARLES the Simple afterwards did it when he came to be king of *France*; who at that time was but an infant, and vnder the gouernment of EVDONE: but in my opinion that was too long a time, for they afterwards had wars with him. But howſoeuer it was, the Emperor CHARLES the Fat was Lord of the greateſt and beſt part of *France*, and was called king thereof, being before that time king of *Germany*, and Lord and Emperour of *Italy*; and ſetting all things therein in good order, he retired himſelfe into *Germany*: where being arriued, as the ſtate of his dominion and empire was grounded vpon but weak foundations, ſo it ſuddenly fell from the heigth of that throne. Some alleage the cauſe thereof to be, for that he became fooliſh, proud, and vnfit to gouerne: others ſay, that a diſeaſe tooke him which bereaued him of his ſenſes, which commeth all to one in effect. To conclude, the Princes, Dukes and gouernours of the prouinces of

The comming of the Normanes into Normandie.

Germany and of *France*, seeing his great insufficiencie and vnaptnes to gouerne, resolued to depriue him of his Empire and kingdoms: and for as much as he had neuer a sonne (being as they write of him, vnapt by nature for generation) by common consent they nominated and chose a great and valiant personage, called ARNOLPH, who was by CHARLES aduanced to the Duches of *Bauaria*, and *Carinthia*, and (as some write) was but of meane parentage, and no way allied to CHARLES: and so they account CHARLES the Fat to be the last of the linage and bloud of CHARLES the Great. But after some, which is the most common opinion, ARNOLPH was nephew to CHARLES the Fat, bastard or naturall sonne to CARLOMAN king of *Bauiere*; which seemeth most likely to bee true, seeing that he without any gainsaying attained both to the kingdome and to the empire; and was not onely entitled Emperour, but also king of *Germany*: but in *France* after ARNOLPHS first furie, they made OTHO (who was CHARLES the Simples Protector) king of *France*, whom CHARLES the Simple afterwards succeeded. After this many great matters ensued, which appertaine not to my historie: And so CHARLES the Fat lost both his empire and vnderstanding, when hee had raigned nine yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred, fourescore and nine; and liued afterwards about one yeere, in great penurie and miserie.

Charles the Fat deposed from the Empire, and Arnolph chosen in his place.

Anno Dom. 889.

In *Constantinople* yet raigned LEO, not so ill as some others: for notwithstanding that he was somewhat cruell, yet he was a louer of iustice and equitie, and very zealous, and builded some stately Temples. He warred with the Bulgares, and ouercame them, and was ouercome by them; whose death and actions wee will declare hereafter, for hee raigned fiue and twentie yeeres.

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THE LIFE OF ARNOLPH ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND FOVRE ROMANE Emperour. And of LEO, ALEXANDER and CONSTANTINE Emperors of *Græcia*.

IT is alreadie declared in what manner ARNOLPH attained to the Empire, who is placed amongst the good Emperours, for he was wise and vpright in his gouernment, and had both valour and courage to defend and protect the Empire: yet in his time were great wars. So soone as he was Romane Emperour and king of *Germany*, it came into his minde to make himselfe king of *France* also: and he fought some battailes with the Normanes; which vnderstanding that CHARLES was depriued and dead, rebelled, and made warres in *France*, wherein he had the victorie: but constrained through some innouations in *Germany*, he returned thither and abandoned *France*: which I omit as a matter impertinent. Being come into *Germany*, his first busines was with a certaine people in the prouince of *Morauia* called Magarens, which warred in all parts of *Germany*, and did so great harme, and put him in so great feare, that he sought to pacifie them rather by policie then by force of armes: and to the end that they should liue in peace and quiet,

he agreed to giue them that countrey to inhabite; ſo that to them was aſſigned the prouince of *Morauia*, with part of *Bohemia*, where it bordereth vpon *Hungarie*, *Poland*, and *Sleſia*. But neuertheleſſe, this laſted but a ſmall time, for this people waxing proud of their agreement, with greater preſumption inuaded the countrey: againſt which ARNOLPH leuied an Armie of inſolent valiant men at armes brought out of *Hungarie*; with which, and his other ordinary forces, he ouerthrew the Morauians in a notable battaile, and he cutting the greateſt part of them in peeces, the reſt fled and abandoned the countrey: but it being freed from the ſubdued, was much more oppreſſed by the victorious Hungars, which mutinying for want of their pay, ſacked the cities and townes of *Germany*; and croſſing ouer the countrey without any reſiſtance came into *Friſeland*, and thence into *Gallia Belgica*; part whereof at this day is the Earledome of *Flaunders*. Theſe Hungars as ſome affirme, were of the ſame countrey of *Hungarie*, and others, as VICENTIVS in his Mirror, and MARTIN affirme that they came out of *Scithia* into that prouince: but whence ſoeuer they came, it importeth not much, it ſuffiſeth that they all agree, that ARNOLPHVS was much troubled with them, and that they burned and ſpoyled great part of *Germanie*; and ARNOLPH did all that was poſſible for him, and at length conſtrained them to returne into *Hungarie*, from whence (ſo long as he liued) they neuer durſt to come thither againe.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Germanie*, *Italy* eſcaped not free from warres and troubles: whereof the Emperors long abſence was the occaſion; for he had neuer beene there but went thither being called by Pope FORMOSVS, who was choſen after the death of STEPHEN before mentioned, which FORMOSVS was choſen againſt the will of the moſt part of people of *Rome*, which fauoured a Cardinall called SERGIVS, to whom they had giuen their voyces: wherefore the Pope holding himſelfe for greatly iniuried, went to the Emperor, and was the cauſe of his comming into *Italy*: of whom before that we enter into any diſcourſe, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſpeake (after our accuſtomed manner) of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in the life time of LEO the fifth, who (as we ſaid) at that time held that Empire: wherein ordinarily enſued great accidents; for the Emperor was euer at contention and variance (in *Europe*) with the Bulgarians, the Hungars, the Ruſſians, and other Nations: and in *Aſia* with the Armenians, the Perſians, and other infidels. But I deſire to be held excuſed in that I write not that hiſtorie at large, ſeeing I am bound to write but of the Emperors of the Weſt onely, which are held for the right Emperors; and of the others to make but a briefe relation. LEO hauing then ended his warre with the Bulgarians, reſolued to warre in *Aſia* againſt the infidels, and did ſo; wherein although that many loſſes happened to either party, yet in the end (his Army being led by a good Generall) obtained a very notable victory; whereby his name came to be very famous and renowmed: ſo as in theſe matters, and others which I write not, fiue and twenty yeeres of his Empire were ſpent, in the end whereof he died of the cholicke; And after his death, his brother ALEXANDER was choſen Emperor, notwithſtanding that he left a Sonne called CONSTANTINE; But foraſmuch as he was of more yeeres and better beloued the brother had the Empire, and held it for thirteene, or fourteene monethes; during which time he did nothing that was good: and for abuſing the Ambaſſadors of SIMEON King of *Bulgaria*, warre was made againſt him: and he beſtowed offices and dignities vpon ignoble and baſe perſonages, and in the end was taken with

Leo Emperour of conſtantinople died of the cholick, and Alexander ſucceeded him.

a flux of blood at the noſe which neuer left him, vntill he left the Empire; and his brother LEO his Sonne CONSTANTINE had the Empire, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter, for this happened in the time of ARNOLPH Emperor of the Weſt, whoſe life we now write, which ended (as I ſaid) comming into *Italy*, in fauour of Pope FORMOSVS; and to recouer ſuch Cities as were therein vſurped by certaine Dukes and Earles; betweene whom and them enſued many battailes; and in all *Italy* were factions, and diſſentions, eſpecially betweene GVIDO Duke of *Spoleto*, and BERENGARIVS Duke of *Frioli*, which were made Dukes by the old Emperor CHARLES; being men of the greateſt account of any in all the Land, he thinking by this meanes to defend the Countrie againſt the Lombards and Frenchmen, and to hold the ſame in ſubiection, hauing ſuch mighty Commaunders. But theſe men made themſelues Lords of all that they could; and either of them was a great enemie to the other, and warred, and fought a great battaile, wherein GVIDO was ouerthrowne, and BERENGARIVS had the victorie; who vnderſtanding of the Emperor ARNOLPHES comming, ſought to make a league with him and offred him his ſeruice; more to ſeeke his enemies deſtruction, then for any ſeruice he meant to doe to the Emperor. ARNOLPH being come into *Italy* with a great Army, ſought meanes to make himſelfe Lord of the countrey, aſſiſted by BERENGARIVS, whoſe dukedome of *Frioli* was in his way; and he tooke many places which GVIDO had vſurped, and went to *Bergamo*, into the caſtle whereof, a certaine Earle (one of thoſe which conſpired againſt Pope FORMOSVS) was entred, who together with others of that citie, were therein beſieged by the Emperor; and he taking it by force, made him to be hanged. And ſo he puniſhed and did iuſtice vpon many others, and redreſſed many iniuries and wrongs done in *Italy*; and afterwards went with his Army towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended his comming: but his aduerſaries were of ſuch power, that whether the Pope would or not, they put the citie in armes, and ſhutting their ports would not receaue the Emperor; whereupon he beſieged it, which cauſed great tumults and riots therein; but in the end the Popes authoritie and the feare of the Emperors power ſo much preuailed that he was receaued; wherein by his will and direction great puniſhment was inflicted vpon ſuch as could be taken; and the Pope crowned him Emperor with great honor and ſolemnitie: and within few daies after he departed, with an intent to deſtroy GVIDO the Duke of *Spoleto*, who was of great power, and thought as well as BERENGARIVS to haue been king of *Italy*; and hauing taken certaine townes, he beſieged his wife in a citie: and the Ducheſſe practizing with one of the Emperors fauorites, to giue the Emperor a certaine drinke, which ſhe made him to belieue, would make him gentle, milde, and curteous; but ſo ſoone as he had taken it, he fell into a deepe ſleepe, which held him ſo long, that they thought he would neuer haue awaked againe; for he ſlept three daies and three nights, without that any man could make him to mooue; but in the ende he awoke, and found himſelfe ſo ill at eaſe, that contenting himſelfe to ſettle the affaires of *Italy* in the beſt order that he could, he returned into *Germany*, in hope in his natiue countrey to recouer his health. At what time as the Emperor ARNOLPH departed *Italy*, Pope FORMOSVS died, and after him BONIFACE the ſixt was choſen, who was Pope but twentie ſix daies, and him ſucceeded STEVEN the ſixth, who was ſo great an enemy to FORMOSVS and to his actions, that when he was Pope, he ſought to defeate and diſanull all matters done by him; which he put in execution, which

Alexander Emperor of Conſtantinople dyed bleeding at the noſe.

Arnolph crowned Emperor in Rome by the Pope.

The ſucceeding Pope condemned the precedents actions.

was an euill example, and whereof afterwards many euils enſued: for ſome Popes did the like by ſuch their predeceſſors, againſt which they had conceaued diſpleaſure. This being done, Pope STEPHEN dyed in the third yeere of his papacie, and him ſucceeded ROMANVS, a Spaniard borne, who was Pope but three monethes, and after him came THEODORE the ſecond, who held the chaire but twentie daies, in which time his chiefeſt care was to confirme the doings of FORMOSVS, which STEPHEN had diſanulled; and after his death IOHN the tenth was choſen: while theſe Popes ran in ſuch haſte to death one after another, the Emperor ARNOLPH with his Army went into *Germanie* and out liued them all, and raigned in proſperitie, without that any thing befell him worthy memorie; but in the ende he was aſſailed with a kinde of ſicknes, which reſolued in the worſt diſeaſe that could be imagined, which was an infinite number of lice; wherewith he was ſo tormented and eaten, that he could not be cured thereof, and dyed; this happened in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred and one, and in the twelfth yeere of his raigne. ARNOLPH at his death left behind him three children which he had by his two wiues; by his firſt wife, he had ARNOLPH, whom in his life time he made duke of *Bauiere*, and BERNARD Earle of a certaine prouince: and by his ſecond wife he had LEVVES, who afterwards was Emperor; he had another baſtard ſonne called ZENEBALDVS, whom in his life time he made Duke of *Lorraine*; and one daughter called BERTA, married to the Duke of *Cleue*. In the time that ARNOLPH raigned, began the dukes of *Normandie*; for the King or captaine of the Normans married the daughter of CHARLES the Simple, king of *Fraunce*, & making himſelfe to be Chriſtianed, was called ROBERT, whoſe ſonne was the firſt Duke of *Normandie*. There were alſo Dukes in *Burgundie* of the houſe of *Fraunce*, which a long time after were called Kings: & in *Saxony* alſo, and in other parts, as hath been ſhewen, & hereafter ſhall appeare in this hiſtorie: for the Kings and Emperors of thoſe times did vſe to gouerne their citties and prouinces by perpetuall Dukes, ſo as at that time were very great Earles and Dukes, and the Emperours gouerned *Milan* by an Earle, who was called Earle of *Milan*; the like they did by other prouinces, whereof it afterwards enſued, that their eſtates became perpetuall, they holding the ſame by inheritance. At this time the principall Earles of *Caſtill*, through the many murthers and iniuries committed by DON HORDONIO in that countrey; choſe among themſelues two to be iudges betweene them, and to determine their differences and warres: which were HVNNO HVNNES RASVRA, and LAIN CALVO: after this followed DON ALONSO the Sonne of DON FRVELA, who became a Monke. And the ſame yeare that the Emperor ARNOLPH dyed, DON RAMIRES raigned: this DON RAMIRES performed great matters againſt the Moores. In *Fraunce* raigned CHARLES the Simple. There were then Kings in *England*, in *Denmarke*, in *Morauia*, in *Prouence*, in *Bulgaria*: and in *Polonia* were Dukes, and ſo were ſtill vntill the time of the Emperor OTHO.

The miſerable death of the Emperor Arnolph. Anno Dom. 901.

In *Conſtantinople* (as is abouesaid) CONSTANTINE the ſonne of LEO, and nephew to the Emperour ALEXANDER, was Emperour, and raigned a long time, for he was Emperour thirtie nine yeeres: whereof fifteene were in the company of the tyrant ROMANVS: In the beginning of his raigne (for that he was a child) he was gouerned by certaine Princes, and by his mother ZOE, and had ſome warres with the King of the Bulgarians, which he ended with happy ſucceſſe, PHOCAS being Generall of his Army, who was of greateſt account

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of any man in his court. Afterwards, through treacherie, his ſouldiers abandoned him, and the Bulgarians became Lords and maſters of the field, ſo as he was conſtrained to buy his peace of them for readie money. After this, in deſpite of himſelfe and of his mother, one which of a pettie prince was come to be of great power, was made CÆSAR, and his companion in the Empire, and had the ſuperioritie the other fifteene yeeres that hee liued, notwithſtanding that they both had the title of Emperors: as we will tell you hereafter.

THE LIFE OF LEWES, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND foure Romane Emperor. And of CONSTANTINE the ſecond, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and of the tyrants in *Italy*.

AFter the death of the Emperour ARNOLPH, there was great confuſion in the Empire; the Italians and Romanes deſiring to make one Emperour, that ſhould be to their liking; and the Germanes deſiring to doe the like, they fell at ſuch variance, that the one partie held one for Emperour, and the other part another; ſo as rightly there was not any. And ſome Hiſtoriographers account none, from theſe Emperours of which wee now write, vntill the time of OTHO the ſecond, which was for the ſpace of threeſcore yeeres, little more or leſſe; for that none of them were crowned by any Pope. Moreouer, the hiſtorie is written ſo confuſed and abruptly, that it can hardly be explaned. The worſt of all is, that thoſe times were moſt vnhappie, through want and defect of Emperours; for thereof infinite warres enſued; vices, wrongs and rapines abounded, little iuſtice was executed, learning decaied, vertue was nought ſet by, charitie languiſhed, and the Infidels in many places had the vpper hand; vntill that it pleaſed his diuine Maieſtie to bring matters to a better eſtate. I ſay then, that the Germane Princes choſe for their King and Romane Emperour, LEWES the ſonne of the Emperour

Lewes choſen Emperour.

Emperour ARNOLPH: but he could not (ſo ſoone as he deſired) come into *Italy*; without which they neuer held themſelues for Emperours, holding *Italy* for the ſeate and originall of the Empire; for the Hungars in thoſe daies were the moſt feared and redoubted nation in the world, and which did greateſt harme in *Germany* and in *Italy*; for after they were freed from the feare of ARNOLPH, they brake the peace made with him, and warred vpon the new Emperour LEVVES in *Italy*: whereof the Princes of greateſt power were the aboue named BERENGARIVS Duke of *Frioli*, and GVIDO Duke of *Spoleto*, which of Dukes, gouernours, became tyrant Lords, each of them pretending to be Emperour: but BERENGARIVS being of great power in *Lumbardy*, put his deſeignes in practiſe, and vſurped the whole countrie, and any place elſe that he could get, in deſpite of the Emperour, ſaying, That *Italy* was the true ſeate of the Romane empire, and that *Germany* might rather be ſaid to be the marriage right of CHARLES the Great his ſucceſſors, than the Empire. But LEVVES for that he was the ſonne of an Emperour, and deſcended from CHARLES the Great, which reſtored the Empire, pretended that *Germany* ought to chuſe the Emperour. Matters ſtanding in theſe termes, the Hungars ſallied out of their countrie, and began to robbe and ſpoyle the countries of *Auſtrich* and *Bauiere*, vſing in them extreme crueltie with fire and ſword. LEVVES being a courragious young man, was highly diſpleaſed with this their preſumptuous audacitie, and gathering together ſuch troupes of ſouldiers as he was able, with the aide of his brothers, went againſt them, and neere to the riuer *Licus* they met, where LEVVES greatly deſired to come to blowes with them; which the Hungars and Morauians perceiuing, laid a baite for him; for offering to giue him battaile, they retired, vntill they had drawne him within the daunger of an ambuſh which they had laid in a wood; and there they maintained the fight to their great aduantage, in regard of the place: but the fight was ſo well maintained by the Emperours people, that if the Hungars had not beene reſcued by their ambuſh, he had that day obtained a moſt faire victorie: but when the aduauntage was diſcouered, and that ſo great a number of men on euery ſide came rushing out of the wood vpon ſuch a ſudden, with ſo great force vnexpected; the Imperialiſts began to retire, & afterwards to flie, in ſuch manner, that the victorie manifeſtly appeared on the Hungars ſide, and the Emperor was driuen to ſaue himſelf by flight; & they afterwards did much harme throughout al *Germany*, without that the Emperor was any way able to reſiſt, or make head againſt them; but was conſtrained to withdraw himſelfe into the land, and ſecretly to giue great ſummes of money to the captaines and principall men of the Hungars, to the end that they ſhould treate of a peace; and he openly gaue great pay to their men of warre, and promiſed to allow them yeerely prouiſion for their houſes: by theſe meanes he deliuered his countrie from that miſerie for that time; but the peace continued not long.

A battaile betweene Lewes and the Hungars.

After this exploit, the Emperor vnderſtanding that his baſtard brother ZENEBALDVS, gouerned the countrie of *Lorraine* cruelly, and as a tyrant, hee depriued him of that kingdome, and ſeiſed it into his owne hands; and tooke LVITGVARDA, daughter of OTHO Duke of *Saxony*, to wife; which prouince was then ſubiect to the Empire. In thoſe daies *France* eſcaped not free from warres and troubles. And the Emperour thinking that he had ſetled all matters in peace with the Hungars, ſaw himſelfe in a new perplexitie; for they not content with the promiſed pay (which was very duly paid them) a great armie of them againe inuaded *Almany*, and the Emperour in perſon went againſt them, and twice fought with them

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in the prouince of *Bauiere*, and both times had the victorie, although with great losse of men, and with no small difficultie and daunger: but not knowing how to execute his victorie, or to follow his good fortune, giuing too much eare to some mens counsell; the Hungars fled into their countries, which (in most mens opinions) might haue been wholy extirpate and defeated: where they reinforced and refreshed their troupes, and did greater harme in the empire, then at the first, and were so expert in the warres, and so greatly feared, that crossing through *Germany*, sacking and burning many towns, amongst which the citie of *Basil* was one, they passed into *Lorraine*, which then contained the estates of *Flaunders*, *Brabant*, *Gelders*, *Cleue*, *Trenier*, and many other prouinces; in which they executed great crueltie, and with the like furie they returned by the same way which they went, burning and spoyling what before had escaped; and so they retired themselues into their countrie, loden with riches and spoyles; but fewer in number then they came from thence. This people at that time was growne so proud, and of so great power, that all nations bordring vpon them stood in feare of them, and did as the rest did: for after the same manner as they had entred *Bauiere*, they afterwards inuaded *Bulgaria*, and the Emperours countries of *Gracia*, sacking and burning his cities; and constrained the Emperor CONSTANTINE to giue them pay and ordinary tribute to be at peace with them; and the Emperour LEVVES was driuen to doe the like, to assure *Germany* from this raging fire.

The Historiographers record, that in those daies were great warres in *France* and in *Italy*, betweene BERENGARIVS and other princes; and the like in other parts, and that princes vsed fraud and trecherie one against another; so as a man can write nothing that is good of those times; so much did malice, ambition, pride, and crueltie abound.

It afterwards followed that the Hungars moued with the fame of the wealth and abundance of all things in *Italy*, and through the ciuill dissention which was therein (the ordinarie gates by which destruction entreth into any kingdome) and for that LEVVES withstood them mightily in *Germany*, they resolued to ransacke and make a conquest of *Italy*; for which their iourney they leuied greater forces, then at any time before they had done: the fame hereof put all *Italy* into such a feare, that they chose BERENGARIVS for their captaine and defender, which was called Emperour, but vntill this time was not held for such. BERENGARIVS then with great diligence and expedition leuied many souldiers both of foote and horse; and at their comming into *Italy* opposed himselfe against the Hungars, and comming to blowes, fought a battaile with them: some authors say two, wherein being ouerthrowne he fled, and lost therein the greatest part of his armie, and retired himselfe into the estate of *Milan*, wherein consisted his greatest power. The Hungars after this victorie were masters of the field, and robbed all the countrie, taking and ransacking many cities, and in lesse then one yeere ouerranne all the land; in which time these Barbarians moued with the brute of the riches of the citie of *Venice*, made Barkes, Brigandines, and other vessels, therwith to haue assaulted it; and so they scaled the citie, and tooke some of those Ilands; but their comming was before hand suspected, and therefore prouided for; so as although they took some part thereof, yet the Venetians so fortified the rest, with strong chaines, and some places with walles, that after some conflicts by sea and by land, they despairing to be able to take the citie, returned to *Padoa*, where they had left the remainder of their Cauallerie, and their luggage. BERENGARIVS seeing that by force he could not deliuer *Italy* from the Hungars, put that redresse

The Hungars inuaded Italy.

redreſſe in practiſe which LEVVES had vſed in *Germany*; which was, to treate of peace by way of money; whereto the Hungars gaue eare, and it was concluded, and he gaue them a huge ſumme of gold and ſiluer, which by the induſtrie of BERENGARIVS was collected from all parts of *Italy*; wherewith, and with the reſt which they had ſtolne, they departed rich and victorious; which had ſo good a taſte that it made them to come thither againe. The comming of the Hungars into *Italy*, was in the time of Pope SERGIVS the third: for BENEDICT the fourth being dead, of whom it was ſaid that he was a good Biſhop (which ought not to be accounted for a ſmal matter, conſidering how few were ſo in thoſe times) LEO the fift ſucceeded, who enioyed that dignitie but fortie daies; for a great Cardinall called CHRISTOPHER, tooke him priſoner, who within few daies died in priſon, and CHRISTOPHER remained Pope, and within ſeuen moneths was depriued, and put into a Monaſterie; and then was SERGIVS the third choſen, in whoſe time happened this calamitie through the Hungars. But returning to our hiſtory, I ſay that the Hungars being retired into their countrie, *Italy* was not therfore free from troubles: for the Moores of *Africa* infeſted the ſame with their fleetes, and this notwithſtanding the ciuill factions and diſcord, ceaſed not betweene the princes; for eſpecially EDILBET Marqueſſe of *Tuſcane*, which vſurped that countrie, being of great power, rebelled againſt BERENGARIVS; and the Popes authoritie and power was not ſuch now as it had been, neither were they of ſuch force, by reaſon of their inſufficiencie and little worth, and through the want of the accuſtomed ſuccours from *France*, which they had in the time of the ſucceſſors of CHARLES the Great: which conſidered, LEVVES the Emperor was of opinion, that *Italy* might eaſily be ſubdued, and that he might bereaue BERENGARIVS both of the name and dignitie of Emperour, which hee vſurped. Whereupon with a great armie he came into *Italy*, againſt whom came BERENGARIVS with a good number of men of warre, and they two fought a battaile, wherein BERENGARIVS was ouerthrowne, with little bloudſhed, by reaſon of the ſmall reſiſtance made by his people; and LEVVES went to the citie of *Verona*, neere to which the battaile was fought, and lay there like a conquerour, and as one that ſtood in feare of no man, and therefore careleſſe: whereupon BERENGARIVS, notwithſtanding that he was ouercome, practiſed with ſome within the citie, and with ſome alſo of the Emperours owne people, to let him into the citie, and he entred it by night and tooke LEVVES priſoner. Others ſay that LEVVES had not the victorie, but that hee withdrew himſelfe into the citie for feare; and ſo in the manner (as I ſaid) fell into BERENGARIVS his power. But howſoeuer it was, BERENGARIVS had him priſoner, and put out his eyes, and ſo within few daies through griefe and ſorrow he died; and BERENGARIVS remained ſole Lord of the empire of *Italy*. In this manner ended LEVVES his empire, which he held with ſo much trouble, when he had raigned Emperour full eleuen yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and twelue, after the Abbot WESPERGENSIS his computation, which I follow: other authors (of no ſmal authoritie) as BLONDVS and CVSPIAN recount this after another manner, ſaying, that this Emperour LEVVES neuer came into *Italy*, neither was ouerthrowne by BERENGARIVS; but that he died of his naturall death in *Germany*: and that, that LEVVES which was ouerthrowne and taken in *Verona*, was LEVVES the ſonne of BOSON king of *Prouence*, which came into *Italy* againſt BERENGARIVS proclaiming himſelfe Emperour; and that BERENGARIVS releaſed him vpon his oath, that he would come no more thither; which oath he afterwards brake.

Berengarius bought his peace of the Hungars.

The Hungars came the ſecond time into Italy.

The difference betweene the authors about the taking of the Emperour Lewes and his death.

Anno Dom. 912.

brake. But in that manner as I haue declared it is written by PLATINA, HENRICVS MVCIVS, NAVCLERVS, IOHANNES VTICVS, S. ANTONY, VOLATERRANVS and ſome others. In this time liued Pope SERGIVS the third, and in *Conſtantinople* CONSTANTINE. LEVVES left not any ſonne that might ſucceed him. There befell alſo in his time (beſides what is alreadie recited) great warres and troubles betweene the princes of *Germany*; which was tyrannized, ſometime by one, and ſometime by another, wherby his Empire was weakned and came to be of leſſe power. This was the laſt Emperor of the line of CHARLES the Great, yet in the kingdom of *France* the ſucceſſion continued, although within a while after it ended alſo, & paſſed to another linage, which laſteth vntil this day. And in *Spaine* then flouriſhed the flower of chiualrie againſt the Infidels, conquering their countries & kings which raigned therein, the Earle FERNANDO GONSALVES.

In *Hungary* TASSON firſt took vpon him the authoritie of a king, which countrie in former time was gouerned by Dukes, and ſundrie other Magiſtrates, from the time of ATTILA king of the Hunnes: This TASSON was grandfather to STEPHEN, which was canonized for a Saint, and the firſt confirmed king, by the authoritie of the Emperour FREDERICK.

THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND FIVE ROMANE Emperour. And of thoſe which in his time tooke the name of Emperours in *Italy*.

And of CONSTANTINE the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*.

THE ARGVMENT.

LEwes being dead, there aroſe a contention betweene the French and the Germanes about the Empire; for either of theſe two nations pretended to haue rightfull title to chuſe an Emperour, by reaſon of their ancient authority and cuſtome: But in the end the Germanes preuailing, would haue choſen Otho Duke of Saxony, who for that he was alreadie olde, and vnfit to gouerne the Empire ſo much troubled, refuſed the charge, and counſelled them

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to chuſe Conrade the Duke of Franconia, who by the conſent of the Germanes, and of good part of the French being made Emperour, was euer ruled by the counſell of the old Duke Otho; and hee dying, left a ſonne called Henrie, whom Conrade ſuſpected and feared: And taking occaſion of warre, bent his force againſt him, notwithſtanding that his father made ſuch account of him, that he preferred him to the Empire; and onely ſeeking meanes to bring him to deſtruction, tooke no care how matters went in Italy, which was extreamely turmoiled. And Conrades brother fighting a battell with Henrie, was by him ouerthrowen: whereupon Conrade ſeeing the loſſe, and the diſhonour, reinforced his armie to be reuenged; and ſending ambaſſadours to Henrie to ſubmit and yeeld himſelfe, they were not heard, neither could they come to any compoſition of peace. Whileſt he was buſied here abouts, Conrade fell very ſore ſicke, and knowing his end to be nigh, more regarding the good of the Empire, then his owne priuate paſſion, he choſe his enemie Henrie for his ſucceſſor, and commanded his brother to yeeld him obedience; which was a deede (indeede) very heroicall, and befitting a Chriſtian.

THe time of the Emperour LEVVES was troubleſome and tempeſtuous, and his death cauſed not any calme, but brought greater ſtormes in all eſtates; for in his life time the Imperial power was diuided into two heads, in *Italy*, and in *Germanie*, which were, LEVVES and BERENGARIVS, and LEVVES being dead, one alone pretended not, but many, to ſucceede him both in name and in dignity of the Empire: *France* would haue nominated an Emperour, alleaging that ſith that the line of CHARLES the Great was extinct in *Germany*, and that in *France* the ſame remained, & that *Germany* was conquered by the ſame CHARLES; in right therefore the title of the Empire appertained to his ſucceſſors, and ſo it ought to returne to the Crowne of *France*; for CHARLES the Great had it not with the Empire as he had *Italy*, but it was giuen to him being King of *France*, and by the ſame title his ſucceſſors held the ſame. The Princes of *Germany* denied this, fearing to returne into the ſubiection of the French, and ſtood vpon the poſſeſſion and authority to chuſe the Emperour, alleaging for their reaſon, that the Empire was tranſported to the Germanes in the perſon of CHARLES the Great, and that *Germany* was the Empire, and not the kingdome of *France*, and that they were in poſſeſſion therof. The Italians ſaid, that *Italy* was the ancient true ſeate of the empire, and that they gaue it to CHARLES, and had authority to giue it to any other; and ſo they called & held BERENGARIVS for Emperor, notwithſtanding his competitors. And in *France* LEVVES the ſonne of BOSON King of *Prouence* challenged the Empire, for that he was deſcended from CHARLES the Great. But the Germanes which ſeemed to haue the beſt right, and chiefeſt authority, and haue ſo therein continued, (hauing not any that might ſucceede LEVVES, for that he had no ſonnes) choſe OTHO Duke of *Saxony* for Emperour, a man of great wiſedome and valour, but he would not accept of that Empire, which others ſo much deſired; for as he was now old, ſo he knew that the affaires of the Empire ſtood in ſuch eſtate, that they needed a man of greater force, and of longer life then himſelfe. The Lords Name be bleſſed, that in time of ſo great ambition, one man was found that refuſed to be an Emperour. OTHO then anſwered thoſe which had choſen him Emperour, that hee had neither ſuch health nor ſtrength, as to be able to gouerne the empire, and therefore would not vndertake a burthen which he was not able to beare; but he would aſſiſt them with his beſt counſel, concluding, that in his opinion CONRADE Duke of *Franconia* was worthie to be choſen, in whom all the qualities and vertuous conditions did concur, that might ſeeme requiſite in an Emperour: And ſo by common conſent of the Germanes,

Contention betweene the Germanes, Frenchmen and Italians about the election of the Emperour.

Otho Duke of Saxony choſen Emperour refuſed the Empire.

Germanes, and part of the French, CONRADE was choſen and obeyed for Emperour, who (as ſome write) deſcended from CHARLES the Great. And he preſently began to gouerne the empire, and in all things followed the counſell and opinion of OTHO, by whoſe meanes he attained thereto: and ſo the firſt yeere he liued and ruled very happily. But the great Dukes and Princes of *Germany* waxing enuious, and deſirous to raigne; ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere* rebelled againſt him, and went into *Hungary*, and induced the Hungars and their king to warre vpon the new Emperour; whereupon, in the ſecond yeere of his raigne a ſharpe and cruell warre began: but as he was very valiant and expert in armes, ſo he drew his forces to an head, and came to a battaile with the Hungars, and ouerthrew and conſtrained them to flie into their countrie; and ſo deliuered *Germany* from that perill. And although that afterwards it was ſomtimes moleſted, yet by his diligence and courage it was euer defended; and ſo hee maintained the ſame in peace ſo long as Duke OTHO liued, vpon whoſe counſell he chiefly relied, but neuer durſt come to make warre in *Italy*. After the death of OTHO, who left one ſonne behind him called HENRY, which was a very gallant yong man, and of great power, CONRADE began to ſuſpect him; which was the occaſion of the troubles which I will recount. BERENGARIVS being held in *Italy* for Emperour, beſides CONRADE which with better title was Emperour in *Germany*; LEVVES the ſonne of BOSON king of *Prouence* determined to come into *Italy*, to bereaue BERENGARIVS of that empire, who held the ſame, not without great vexation and trouble, aſwell with the princes of *Italy* (whereof ſome rebelled againſt him) as with the Infidels and Hungars which infeſted the ſame. And (as I ſaid before) ſome authors write, that this LEVVES came the firſt time to the ſame purpoſe, and was ouerthrowne by BERENGARIVS, and this (as I beleeue) was the firſt; and if it were the ſecond, he came being called by ſome of BERENGARIVS his enemies: And notwithſtanding that in the beginning of the warres he had good ſucceſſe, yet in the end he was ouerthrowne, and conſtrained to flie. This much ſhall ſuffice for him, the matter being ſo doubtfull. Yet here is ſome diuerſitie amongſt the authors, whereof ſome ſay, that at that time raigned in *Italy* BERENGARIVS the ſecond, with the title of Emperour, as his father had done, who was ſonne of the other BERENGARIVS before named: others attribute it to the father alone; but to the end that we may the better vnderſtand the matter, wee yeeld that this was the ſecond BERENGARIVS, for that wee ſhall hereafter haue occaſion to treate of another, which ſhall be the thitd. I ſay then, that at what time as CONRADE was Emperour in *Germany*, and BERENGARIVS in *Italy*, poore *Italy* (beſides domeſticall and ciuill warres) was afflicted with other farre more grieuous and pitifull. This was, for that the townes which the Greeke empire held in *Calabria* and in *Pulia*, together with the partialities and factions which were in them, were not in ſubiection: whereupon CONSTANTINE, which at that time raigned in *Conſtantinople*, or (as others ſay) ROMANVS the tyrant, which with him gouerned the empire for a time, procured the aide of the Moores in *Africa*, and of the Arabians; of which a great number came into *Italy*, ſpreading a report, that they came to helpe the Greekes to recouer their right: vnder colour whereof, they became Lords of all *Pulia*, *Calabria*, and the reſt which containeth now the kingdome of *Naples*; and they drew ſo neere to *Rome*, that they ſought to haue taken the ſame, without regard of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, vnder whoſe name they firſt came into *Italy*: The cauſe of al which euils, were the wars and troubles betweene the Chriſtians: for CONRADE Emperour of *Germany* was buſied in

The comming of the Moores into Italy.

warrying against HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, sonne of OTHO: BERENGARIVS was perplexed with the wars against LEVVES the sonne of BOSON king of *Prouence*, and others which for breuitie I ouerpasse: and another occasion was, the small authoritie and little worth of the Popes of *Rome*. But Pope IOHN the eleuenth, whom some call the tenth, seeing this so great a necessitie, sent to ALBERICVS Marquesse of *Tuscane*, or (as some authors say) to his brother, which was the greatest Lord in all *Italy* (BERENGARIVS excepted) with whose father BERENGARIVS had warre and controuersie; who promised him succour, and gathering all his forces together, with the aide of many others which followed him in that enterprise, hee went to *Rome*, wherein the Pope had alreadie leuied an indifferent good armie, which he ioyned with ALBERICVS his forces; and so hee marched against his enemies: some write that the Pope in person went to this warre, which had so happie successe, that besides many encounters, ALBERICVS fought one battaile against the whole power of the Moores; wherein, notwithstanding that it was very sharp and doubtfull, yet in the end he gat the victorie; after which he was so absolutely master of the field, that he no where found any one to make head against him, and so in short time recouered all that the Moores held in *Italy*, excepting some little, and certaine fortresses neere to Mount *Garganus* in *Pulia*; whither the remainder of those Moores reduced themselues: which for that he then forbare wholy to destroy and ruinate (an error for want of foresight) was the occasion of many euils which ensued. ALBERICVS hauing obtained so noble a victorie, and leauing it in such estate, that it seemed an easie matter for any other to haue wholy effected the rest; returned to *Rome*, where hee was receiued with great pompe and triumph: but there within few daies arose discord and controuersie betweene him and the Pope, each of them attributing to himselfe the honour of that iourney: whereupon ALBERICVS went despighted out of the citie; whereof afterwards ensued great warres and mischiefes: and he was so ouercome with rage and desire to be reuenged, that so soone as he came into his countrie, he began to practise against the Pope, and to moue the Hungars to warre in *Italy*, promising them his aide and assistance, thinking it a small matter for him to haue made himselfe Lord of *Rome*. The Hungars came into *Italy*, and it pleased God that the greatest harme that they did therein, was in the said Marquesse ALBERICVS his owne countries, and amongst his subiects which called thither. In the meane while that *Italy* was thus oppressed, the Emperour CONRADE (whose life we now write) sought the destruction of HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, who was the sonne of that OTHO, by whose direction and counsell he was chosen and made Emperour, and was by him gouerned in the beginning of his raigne, as before hath been shewed.

The principall cause hereof, was the feare and iealousie which he conceaued of him, for this HENRY was a young man of very great courage and valour, and aboue measure desirous to rule; and in the warres of *Hungary* had done great seruice to this Emperour CONRADE, and to his predecessor LEVVES, against ARNOLPH Duke of *Bauiere*, which fled into *Hungary*, as we haue before said: by reason whereof, HENRY was so much beloued and esteemed by all men, that CONRADE stood in feare to be by him despoiled of his empire, and that he would haue rebelled against him, and therefore determined (if he might) to make him away: first practising his destruction by fraud and cunning, and that taking no effect, he resolued not to dissemble any longer, but sent his brother EBERARD with an armie to destroy his countrie, and if he might to bereaue him of his life:

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for which fact he became infamous,& all his doings were attributed to incomparable ingratitude: but his passion was such that he neuertheleſſe proceeded. But HENRY gouerned himself with such discretion,& had alreadie leuied such an army of Saxons, which were his subiects & friends, that he met with EBERARD in the field, and offered, and gaue him battaile; wherein his people behaued themselues so valiantly, that the Emperours brother was ouerthrowne, with the losse of the greatest part of his armie, and himselfe escaped by flight. CONRADE being aduertised hereof (in extreme choler) raised the greatest power that he could make, and called all the princes against HENRY, first sending Ambassadours vnto him, to perswade him to yeeld to his mercie, and not to perseuere in his contumacie; which concluded nothing: but returning, reported that in their presence one of Duke HENRIES captaines whose name was DIEMATE, said, that the Duke had no reason to come to any agreement; for hee knew that thirtie legions of souldiers were comming to his aide. These words strake such a feare into the Emperours armie, that without any battaile, or sight of any enemie, the greatest part thereof disbanded; whereupon he was driuen to retire, with a determination to returne with greater force. But God, in whose hand are the hearts of princes, in very short time altred his purposes; for CONRADE was assailed with an extreme sicknes, whereof he afterwards died. And knowing that his end drew neere, hee in great haste sent for the princes of the empire, the principall of which at that time were BVCARD Duke of *Sueuia*, SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine*, & his brother EBERARD, whom he had made king of *Franconia*, and many others, excepting ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, which remained in *Hungary*, and HENRY Duke of *Saxony* which rebelled. These princes being in this manner assembled, the Emperour as a wise and a good Christian, hauing more regard to the good gouernment of the empire, then to his owne choler or priuate passion (which is an extraordinarie example) made vnto them a very set speech, wherein in conclusion he exhorted and counselled them, that after his decease (which so farre as he could comprehend would be shortly) they should chuse the same HENRY Duke of *Saxony* (which then was in his disgrace) for Emperour: for notwithstanding that he had a brother, whom he loued very well, and was worthie of great estate, yet he neuertheleſſe chose HENRY, as onely worthie to be an Emperour, and his successor: for as he very well knew, he was an excellent man, and endued with vertue, and with all the conditions which were requisite in a good prince; and that he pardoned and restored him to his grace and fauour; and that this was his last will, counsell, and resolution. The noble minde and counsell of the Emperor was generally of all men infinitely commended; only his brother EBERARD shewed himselfe sorrowful and discontented: but CONRADE perswaded him to patience and quietnes, and recommended to them all, peace and concord. Then he made the Sword, the Scepter, the Robe, and the other Imperiall ensignes to be brought before him, and by the consent of all the princes, he appointed and charged his brother to carrie the same to HENRY, and in his name to make his peace and friendship with him, and to yeeld him obedience as to his soueraigne Lord: which he perfourmed, and continued in HENRIES good grace and loue so long as hee held the Empire; which truly was a most noble part of both these brothers: of the Emperour, in making choise of his enemie for his successor: and of his brother, in voluntarily obeying him which was chosen. This his good determination being concluded, and put in execution, within few daies after CONRADE departed out of this life, leauing neither sonne nor daughter; when he had raigned only

The hearts of kings are in the hands of God.

Conrade chose his enemie Henry for his successor in the Empire.

The death of the Emperour Conrade in anno Dom. 920

ly ſeuen yeeres and ſomewhat leſſe, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred and twentie; CONSTANTINE yet holding the empire of *Conſtantinople*. In *Italy* raigned BERENGARIVS with the title of Emperour, notwithſtanding that he held no part thereof but *Lombardy* onely, and ſome cities there about, and thoſe not without warres and troubles, with LEVVES ſonne of the king of *Prouence*. The ſtate of *Italy* being ſuch, as I ſaid, the Hungars inuaded it, being called thither by ALBERICVS Marqueſſe of *Tuſcane*, and deſtroyed the countrie: and on the other ſide the Moores of *Africa* ſallying out of ſuch places as they held in *Pulia*, troubled the ſtate of the Church of *Rome*, and the frontiers thereof. And betweene ALBERICVS and the Romanes was warre and diſcord.

Foraſmuch as in the life of this Emperour CONRADE, mention hath been made of ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, and for that heretofore this prouince hath been treated of, as of a kingdome, and ſo it is ſaid, that LEVVES king of *Germanie*, in the diuiſion made betweene his three ſonnes, made CARLOMAN king of *Bauiere*, and now wee call ARNOLD, Duke thereof, which ſeemeth to be a contradiction: let the reader therefore know, that in this prouince (as in all other of the world) there haue been great alterations: the laſt was, that after the ſaid CHARLES, the Emperour ARNOLPH ſucceeded in the ſtate of *Bauiere*, and after ARNOLPH the Emperour LEVVES, who dying without iſſue, made this ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*: and afterwards in proceſſe of time, in this kingdome happened many alterations and changes, and in the end it ioyned with the ſtate of the Countie Palantine of *Rhine*: and afterwards it was againe diuided; and ſo through ſundrie accidents, it came to that eſtate wherein it is at this day.

THE

THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND SIXE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of CONSTANTINE Emperour of *Græcia*: And of thoſe which in his time were called Emperours.

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry being choſen Emperour, firſt applied himſelfe to pacifie the troubles of Germany, which were very tumultuous; but aboue all, to aſſure the high waies from theeues, riſen by reaſon of the warres; and to maintaine iuſtice. There aroſe againſt him one Arnold, which liued in Hungary as a baniſhed man; and each of them hauing leuied a great armie, and being in a manner readie to haue come to the ſhocke, Henrie called Arnold to a parley, and knew ſo well how to perſwade him, that he ouercame him with words, which peraduenture he ſhould not haue done by armes; and Arnold became his obedient ſubiect. He tooke truce with the Hungars, and ſubdued the Slauonians: but the time of the truce being expired betweene him and the Hungars, and new occaſions of warre ariſing, they came in the end to fight together; wherein the Emperour obtained ſo great a victorie, that all the Princes of Chriſtendome ſent to reioyce with him for the ſame. This good Emperour had ſet his minde vpon the affaires of Italy, and purpoſed to haue freed the Church from Hugh, and other tyrants: but God

which had otherwise determined, when he was prouiding for his iourney, visited him with a mortall infirmitie; and he knowing his life to be neere to an end, ordained, by the consent of all the Princes, his eldest sonne Otho for his successor, hauing raigned seuenteene yeeres, and liued sixtie.

THE election which the Emperour CONRADE before his decease made of HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, naming him Emperour and his successor, is to be thought to haue bin done by Gods inspiration; for he proued a good Prince, & worthie the Imperiall maiestie. So soone then as CONRADE was deceased, all the States receiued him for their Emperour, and did him homage, calling him HENRY AVCEPS, that is to say, the Faulconer, for that he tooke such pleasure in hawking; and when the newes was brought him that he was chosen Emperour, he was found busie in that exercise, which he vsed at times of leasure for his recreation, without omitting any care for his busines. He then taking vpon him the gouernment of the empire, applied himselfe to doe iustice, with a desire seuerely to punish the wicked; chiefly those which robbed by the high waies side, to the end that men might passe in safetie, which by reason of the warres had done much harme. He gaue himselfe also to abolish discord and dissention, and to establish peace and concord betweene the princes, which for matters past were at variance amongst themselues: for all which he prouided a good remedie, employing his wit, authoritie and power; and being obeyed by al men, excepting BVCCARD Duke of *Sueuia*, who with the fauour of *France* (for that he was sonne in law to the Duke of *Burgundy*) attempted some innouations: against whom the Emperour raised forces; but the matter was pacified, and the Duke acknowledged the Emperour for his Lord and Superiour. Besides this, it happened (which some recount before this time) that ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, which (as we said) for feare of CONRADE, liued as an exile in *Hungary*, returned to his countrie; & gathering together a great number of Hungars, was so hardy as to cal himselfe Emperor, and to denie his obedience to the Emperor HENRY; which he vnderstanding, leuying his old subiects of *Saxony*, & others of the empire, went with a mightie armie against ARNOLD, who likewise marched towards him; and as a good Christian, being much grieued for the troubles which were likely to haue ensued, forbare not to procure ARNOLD to giue ouer his attempt: and it pleased God that his good desire tooke effect in this manner: Both the armies being in a readines to fight, notwithstanding that it was apparant that the Emperour had the greater number, and better and more choise men; yet he sent ARNOLD word by a Trompet, that hee vpon sufficient securitie should come and speake with him; which ARNOLD performed: where the Emperour, among many graue, good, and discreete speeches, said vnto him in these words: Take heed ARNOLD, and consider that what thou doest, is to oppose thy selfe against Gods ordinance, who is the giuer of kingdomes and worldly power. Thou maist know that I was chosen of him by the mouth of my predecessor CONRADE, before his death; and that to this election haue agreed all the estates of *Germany*, and thou onely seekest to resist the will of God, and the generall consent of all men. I say vnto thee, that thou take heed what thou doest, and counsell thee to come to my obedience, and I will vse thee as my sonne or my brother: and if thou wilt not doe this, I take God for iudge betweene thee and me. And one thing I will sweare and assure thee, that if it had pleased his diuine Maiestie that thou haddest been chosen

The Emperour Henry called Henricus Auceps.

Speeches vsed by Henry to Arnold.

choſen Emperour, as I am, I would haue bene an obedient ſubiect, and haue ſerued thee faithfully: wherefore I pray thee, that ſith I am ſo, thou wilt do the like by mee. Thou mayeſt ſee that I intreat thee for peace, at ſuch time as my party hath the aduantage in the warres; conſider wel what thou doeſt, for I wil not faile in any thing, that I haue promiſed. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches were of ſuch force, that they marueilouſly touched ARNOLD at the heart, ſo that he preſently ſubmitted himſelfe & his countrey vnto the Emperor HENRY, and from thence forth was euer moſt obedient vnto him, without any remembrance of matters paſt. *Arnold ſubmitted himſelfe to Henry.* There happened likewiſe diſcord betweene HENRY and the houſe and kingdome of *France*, about the ſoueraignty of the Prouince and Duchie of *Lorraine*; neuertheleſſe comming to a peace and agreement, matters paſſed proſperouſly, and he continued Lord thereof. And ſo *Germany* (by meanes of his good gouernment) tooke a taſte of the fruits which Iuſtice and the tranquility of peace bring forth. But in *Italy* notwithſtanding that BERENGARIVS was called Emperour, the want of ſuch a Prince as was HENRY wrought the contrary: it ſhall not bee amiſſe therefore to ſpeake of what followed, in the meane while that HENRY was buſie about theſe matters.

It is already ſaid, how that betweene Pope IOHN and the Romanes of the one ſide, and ALBERICVS Marqueſſe of *Tuſcane* of the other, were great warres, after the victory obtained againſt the Infidels; and how that ALBERICVS had induced the Hungars to come into *Italy* againſt the citie of *Rome*, and that the greateſt harme that they did, was in his owne countreys, God permitting it for a puniſhment for his wickedneſſe; yet they did much harme in the Church lands alſo. The Hungars hauing in this maner robbed the countrey, BERENGARIVS which was called Emperour, came to a compoſition with them; which was, that they ſhould depart out of *Italy*, in conſideration of a great ſumme of money which was giuen them. And Pope IOHN and the Romanes (in reuenge of the iniurie receiued from ALBERICVS) leuied an armie, which was broken and ouerthrowen by the Hungars, the Duke of *Spoleto* being Generall of that armie; and ALBERICVS was beſieged in a towne of his called *Ortano*, and was therein taken and ſlaine. In the ſame time the Infidels which remained in *Pulia* leuying newe ſuccours and ſupplies again began the warres, which was not foreſeene in time by reaſon of the domeſtical diſcord, and they tooke many caſtles and cities, while the Pope applied himſelf to be reuenged of ALBERICVS; & their power ſo much encreaſed, that the people voluntarily yeelded themſelues, by reaſon of the ſmall reliefe which they had from the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, in whoſe dominion the greateſt part of thoſe countreys was, or from BERENGARIVS, or from the Pope, vntill that feare ſeiſed *Rome*, wherin making a certaine Earle called GVIDO their General, they leuied a good army, and it pleaſed God to giue him the victory, & he made the Moores to retire themſelues into thoſe holds which they held before the bringing in of this ſecond war, and ſo the citie was deliuered from that feare. But this Erle GVIDO afterwards comming frō *Rome*, with a determination to make himſelfe Lord thereof, apprehended the Pope and put him to death, and made another Pope; but his purpoſe tooke no effect: for hee whom he made Pope was preſently depoſed, and LEO the ſixt was choſen, who was Pope but ſeuen moneths; and him ſucceeded STEPHEN the ſeuenth. *Pope Iohn the twelfth taken priſoner and ſlaine by the Earle Guido.* Whileſt theſe matters paſſed in *Rome* and the marches thereof, BERENGARIVS the Emperour (whom we may call Italian) liued not free from troubles; for through the inſtigation of certaine Italian Lords, RODVLPH Duke of *Burgundy* with a great armie came in-

to *Italy*, with the title of Emperour, and hee therein found ſo many friendes, (eſpecially in *Lumbardy*) that in very ſhort ſpace he deſpoiled BERENGARIVS, and was made Emperour and King of *Italy*; and BERENGARIVS fled into *Hungarie*, thinking there to haue found reliefe: and therein, as ſaith BLONDVS and ſome others, died, and that BERENGARIVS the nephew of the firſt BERENGARIVS, was he which came afterwards, as ſhall be ſpecified. Some write that hee died in *Italy*, ſlaine by the treaſon of Countie FLAMBERT, which was his goſſip: But howſoeuer it was, he died bereaued of his dignity, and he of whom we are to treat, was nephew to the firſt BERENGARIVS, ſonne of his daughter, and of a Marqueſſe, which was his ſonne in Lawe. I write thus much for that there is a great confuſion amongſt the Authors about theſe BERENGARII tyrant Emperours, for that they all were of one name. RODVLPH remaining with the victory in *Italy* was called Emperour, and held his Empire therein the ſpace of three yeeres in proſperity: In which time the Emperour HENRY in *Germanie* ouerthrew & repelled the Hungars, which after their departure out of *Italy* went into *Germany*, wherein they did much harme: But (as I ſay) the Emperour put them to route, and chaſed them thence, and taking their Generall priſoner, conſtrained them to ſue to him, and to make peace for ten yeres; he reſtoring to them their General without ranſome, yet they offred a great ſumme of money for him. RODVLPHVS hauing reigned three yeeres in *Italy*, the Hungars whoſe ordinary qualitie was to robbe their neighbours and other Prouinces, ſolicited thereto by BERENGARIVS the nephew, vnder the conduct of a great man called FALARDVS, came into *Italy*, and encamped before *Pauia*, which they beſieged: for reliefe whereof RODVLPHVS made ſo ſmall prouiſion, that the inhabitants of the countrey diſcontent with his gouernement, conſpired againſt him, and ſlew his father in law BOCARD Duke of *Saxony*, which came to ſee *Milan*; and then they called and ſolicited HVGH Duke of *Orleans*, a French man, to come to their defence, promiſing to receiue him for their King and Lord, and to make him Emperour, which he accepted, notwithſtanding his neereneſſe in blood to RODVLPH: and he came with ſo many good men of warre, and with ſuch fauour of the Italians, that none of his enemies durſt to encounter him: and RODVLPH leauing *Italy*, returned into *Burgundie*, where he afterwards had ſuch ſucceſſe, that he was for a ſpace King of *France*; and HVGH continued in *Italy*, and ſubdued greater part thereof then they of the other tyrants had done; baniſhing ſuch as he ſuſpected, and rewarding his friends: he procured peace and friendſhip with the Emperour HENRY, which hee granted, thereby to ſettle peace in *Germany* with the Hungars, and with other nations and Princes. And he afterwards preuailed againſt ARNOLPH Duke of *Bauiere*: So that HVGH was a greater Lord, and of greater power then any of long time had been in *Italy*; where leauing him vntill his turne, we will returne to our Emperour HENRY.

Rodulph depoſed Berengarius.

The death of Berengarius.

Rodulph Duke of Burgundy Emperour in Italy.

The comming of the Hungars into Italy.

The comming of Hugh Duke of Orleans into Italy.

HENRY hauing ouerthrowne the Hungars, and made peace with them for nine or ten yeares, as an ambicious Prince, and deſirous to enlarge his Empire: after that he had taken care for the eſtabliſhment of peace and iuſtice, and for the good gouernement thereof, leuied an Armie, and ſent the ſame into the countries of *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, from which he had been annoyed and endamaged: and ouerthrowing the inhabitants thereof in battaile, hee tooke many townes in thoſe Prouinces, and doing therein great harme; victorious and loden with ſpoyles, he ioyfully returned into *Germany*. The next yeare after this victorie (which was the tenth yeere of his raigne) he marched with his power againſt

the

the Bohemians, and WENCESLAVS their Duke, for that many of them held not the true faith, and alſo for that they refuſed to be ſubiect to the Empire, & againſt him had aſſiſted the Hungars: wherein he ſhewed ſuch valour, that ouerthrowing the Duke, he tooke *Prage*, which is the chiefe citie thereof, and brought that kingdome into ſuch ſubiection, as was the reſt of *Germany*, and ſo it continued all this Dukes life time. This warre being thus happily ended, another followed, which was againſt the Danes; which with a mighty nauie came into *Freeſeland*, and into *Saxonie*, and tooke certaine townes therein; but hee made them to flie out of al that countrey, to their great loſſe: and he alſo ouerthrew thoſe of *Norway*, which then were called *Abroditi*. HENRY hauing obtained ſo great and ſo many victories, the time of the peace with the Hungars being expired, they preſently ſent their ambaſſadours to him, to require certaine pay granted to their anceſtors, at what time as peace was made with them: whereto HENRY gaue no good anſwere; for he accounted it a matter vnworthy the Maieſtie of an Emperour, to pay tribute for peace; wherewith the Hungars were ſo much deſpited, that with their Duke or Captaine (for at that time they had not the dignity of a King) they iſſued out of their confines with the moſt flouriſhing Armie that euer they had, and began to warre with greater fury and cruelty then euer they had done at any time theretofore, & neuer ſtayed vntil they came into *Saxony*, & into other places which were the Emperor HENRIES patrimony, wherein they did much harme, and ſhewed great cruelty; which was done ſo ſuddenly, that HENRY in the beginning could not redreſſe the ſame: But in ſhort ſpace he leuied a great Armie, and notwithſtanding that he was extremely ſicke, yet neither the Princes, nor his Phiſicians could withhold him, but that he would goe with his Armie: and encountring the Hungars (being ſo weake that he could hardly ſit his horſe) he offered them battaile, which they refuſed not; where the Emperour, although with a weake and low voice, made a ſpeech to his ſouldiers, which did ſo much encourage them, that they preſently charged with ſuch force; and the Hungars (being a moſt valiant nation) fought with ſuch eagerneſſe and fury, that it was one of the moſt bloody and cruell battels of the world: But in the ende the valiant heart of the Emperour HENRY ſo much preuailed, that hee obtained the victorie, and ſlew an infinite number of the Hungars, and many of them were likewiſe ſlaine vpon the way as they fled; and thoſe which ſuruiued, fled ſcattered into their countrey; from whence they neuer after ſtirred one foote ſo long as the Emperor HENRY liued. He wan ſo great reputation and glory by meanes of this victory, that all the Princes Chriſtian, ſent their Ambaſſadours to him, as being glad thereof, and to deſire his friendſhip: But with the greateſt inſtance came Ambaſſadours from HVGH, which in *Italy* was called Emperor. HENRY was likewiſe called by his ſubiects, *ſemper Auguſtus*, *Pater patriæ*, and other ancient names and titles of honour; and he as a good Chriſtian gaue thankes to God; and the tribute which at other times he had payd to the Hungars, he made to be diſtributed among the poore, and ſo did other good deedes, and ruled the Empire in ſuch maner that *Germany* enioyed both peace and Iuſtice, which are two benefits, which make mighty and rich kingdomes.

Henry brought the Bohemians into ſubiection.

The Emperour Henry his victory againſt the Hungars.

Italy in the meane time endured warre and miſerie; for the empire of HVGH which laſt raigned, being turmoyled with warre and diſcord, was neither firme nor good, but tyrannicall and violent: by reaſon whereof the Infidels which in *Pulia* held certaine townes and fortreſſes, made ordinarie wars vpon their neighbours. And at that time a mightie Nauie of Moores came out of *Africa*, vpon the

coaſt

coast of *Genoa* and of *Tuscane*; and taking land did great harme, robbing many places, amongst which they besieged the citie of *Genoa*: and the multitude and force of the Infidels was so great, that notwithstanding that the besieged fought very valiantly, yet they entred it by force of armes; all the Genowaies comming first to the fight in defence of their citie. After that the Infidels had entred it, they put all those to the sword which therein were able to beare armes, and robbing and ransacking it, left nothing therein that was worth the carriage: and all boyes, women and children they tooke prisoners, and carried abourd their shippes and galleys, which they led away with them; and so left *Genoa* desolate and without any inhabitants: yet some prisoners were soone released, and some were taken in their fleetes at sea, and elsewhere, which reinhabited the citie: neuertheless it was long before it could recouer it selfe of this calamitie: And some write that the Infidels horse troupes were taken vpon the way, and that the prisoners were not carried into *Africa*. The Emperour vnderstanding hereof, and being well enformed of the state of *Italy*, and that setting aside that which the Church held by so many titles and donations, all the remainder of that Westerne empire, excepting some townes in *Pulia*, was held by the Greekes, hee therefore resolued to come thither in person with a mightie armie, to free *Italy* from the yoke of HVGH, and of other tyrants; and to reforme and reduce the same to such order as it ought to hold, and as he had established in *Germany*. And beginning to make preparation for his iourney, and hauing mustred vp his men of warre, it pleased God to dispose thereof after another manner; for he was taken with a most deadly infirmitie; and knowing that his end drew neere, vsing such diligence as a good Christian ought to doe, he gaue order that all the princes (if possibly it might be) might be assembled; with whose good will and consent he ordained his sonne OTHO (whom he had by his wife MAVVD) Emperour and his successor: and his sickneſse encreasing, within few daies after he yeelded his soule to God, being of the age of threescore yeeres, in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred seuen and thirtie. He left two other sonnes besides OTHO, the one was called as he was, HENRY, who was afterwards Duke of *Bauiere*, for ARNOLDS sonnes were depriued of that estate, and he married his legitimate daughter IVDITH; and one other sonne called BRVNVS, who was Archbishop of *Colein*; and he had one daughter whose name was GERBIRGA, and was married to a Duke; and another called ADALCIDA, which was married in *Africa* to Countie *Paris*; and another called MAVVD which was a Nunne.

Genoa besieged and taken by the Moores.

The death of the Emperour Henrie.

Anno Dom. 937.

In *Constantinople* ended the empire of CONSTANTINE, when he had raigned eight and thirtie yeeres, in companie with the tyrant ROMANVS; and part (as I said) alone; in which time hee had great conflicts in the Easterne parts, with the Infidels in *Asia*, and with the Bulgarians in *Europe*; amongst which he wonne one battaile by sea against the king of *Russia*, wherein were aboue a thousand saile of ships, which came to the coast of *Constantinople*, by the Sea called *Euxinum*: and other great accidents happened too long to relate: At the end whereof he died, leauing his empire to his sonne, which after his grandfathers name was called ROMANVS; for GONSTANTINE had to wife the daughter of the other ROMANVS which was the tyrant, of whom I haue alreadie made mention. This CONSTANTINE was a good prince, very deuout, and excellently well learned in humane letters.

The death of Constantine Emperour of Constantinople.

THE

THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND SEVEN ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of ROMANVS and the reſt which were Empe-perours in *Gracia.*

THE ARGVMENT.

THo ſucceeding in the Empire, was in that his dignitie much troubled, for not onely the Princes of Germany, but euen his owne brothers and kinſemen made warre againſt him, and fought bloudie battailes with him: of which, after long troubles he had honorable victorie. He alſo freed his brother in law Lewes king of France from certaine Dukes which oppreſſed him. He was by the Pope called into Italy againſt Berengarius; and comming with a great armie, forced him to flie. Afterwards his ſonne, and one Conrade his ſonne in law, which he had left for the defence of Italy, rebelling againſt him, and in the end the ſonne comming to a battaile with the father (a thing more fit for Turkes and Infidels then Chriſtians) was the loſer, and his fathers priſoner; who ſeeing with how great humilitie, and with how many teares he ſued for his life and pardon, he reſtored him at length to his grace: and he afterwards became moſt obedient. After this warre there grew a greater, made by the Hungars and Slauons, which the Emperour happily ended. He againe came into Italy, by reaſon of Berengarius, which tyrannized the ſame, and forced him to flie; and comming to Rome was crowned Emperour by Pope Iohn. Many other rebellions enſued by the Popes and the Romanes againſt the Emperour, whileſt he warred againſt Berengarius and his ſonne: of which, having fortunate victorie, he returned into

Germany,

Germany, and ordained his ſonne Otho for his ſucceſſor; where being now old, and buſied in vertuous exerciſes, he yeelded his ſoule to God.

This Otho is called the firſt, for that he is firſt of the Germane Emperors called by that name.

BEeing come to write the life of OTHO the firſt of that name of the Germane Emperours, of which I am now to treate; me thinketh it fareth with me, as with one which hath wandred, and is now againe returned into his right way. I make this compariſon, for that there are ſome which account not thoſe amongſt the Emperours, which I haue placed after ARNOLPH, the ſonne of CARLOMAN, vntill this OTHO; of whom I ſay, that after the death of his father, he found no contradiction in attaining to the name and dignitie of Emperour of *Germany*; for his father HENRY before his death had nominated him for his ſucceſſor, as I then ſaid. Truly this OTHO was very well worthie of the empire, for he was a prince of an excellent wit, and of a wonderfull great and noble minde; and his great valour was accompanied with ſingular humanitie and clemencie: but notwithſtanding all theſe deſerts and vertues of a good prince, yet there were many great inſurrections and rebellions againſt him; and hee was a prince which had greater warres then any other then in the world, for the ſpace of thirtie and odde yeeres that he held the empire; in which time he paſſed many aduentures, and obtained great victories: and notwithſtanding that he incurred ſundrie daungers and hazards, yet hee euer ſhewed himſelfe gentle and pitifull to the vanquiſhed; which (in my opinion) in the end made his empire more ſtable and firme, then all the victories which he obtained. I ſay then, that ſo ſoone as his father was dead, he was in the citie of *Aken*, or *Aquiſgran* choſen Emperour, and annointed and crowned by OLDERICVS Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, all the Princes of *Germany* (which could come) being there preſent; and the reſt which could not, wrote their letters, and ſent their Ambaſſadours, acknowledging their obedience: And ſo his beginning was very peaceable and highly eſteemed, and hee ſhewed himſelfe iuſt, and valorous, and gouerned the eſtate with wiſedome and clemencie. It happened preſently after this, that BOISLAVS brother of the Duke of *Bohemia* (which at that time had not the title of King) by treaſon ſlew his brother WENCESLAVS (for ſo was hee called) to the end to haue the Soueraigntie; and rebelled againſt the Emperour: whereof when OTHO was aduertized, moued with the hatred and vilenes of the fact (for WENCESLAVS was a iuſt and faithfull prince, and his father HENRY had receiued him, for his ſeruant and ſubiect, after that (as we ſaid) he had ſubdued him, he reſolued to ſend a good armie, vnder the leading of a valorous captaine againſt him, and did ſo; which the tyrant Duke attended in the field, and therewith fought a terrible battaile; and was ouerthrowne with ſo great loſſe of his people, that the Imperiall Generall aſſuring himſelfe of the victorie, was leſſe carefull and circumſpect, then he ought to haue been; and BOISLAVS within few daies reinforcing his armie, gathered courage from the others retchleſnes; and charging him ſuddenly in diſorder and at vnawares, brake and ouerthrew him, and ſlew the greateſt part of his people: wherewith OTHO was highly diſpleaſed, and ſending thither a new ſupply he ſufficiently reinforced his armie: But BOISLAVS was growen ſo haughty, and had ſuch reliefe from the Hungars, that the warres grew to be doubtfull, and of long cõtinuance, and in the meane time others happened; but OTHO his mind and reſolution was ſo great, that he neuer forgat to prouide for this warre; in the middeſt of the

Boiſlaus ſlew his brother Wenceſlaus by treaſon.

the furie of all the other, as we will declare: yet it laſted fourteene yeeres, before that he could obtaine any complete victory; and then BOISLAVS yeelded as you ſhall vnderſtand. The Emperour then proceeding in this warre of *Bohemia*, in the greateſt fury thereof, there began ciuill and domeſticall Commotions and Inſurrections, which reſolued in a very cruell warre, the beginning whereof was this. EBERARD which (as I remember) was brother to the Emperor CONRADE, and caried the Imperiall enſignes to the Emperour HENRY, father of this OTHO, being a great Lord, rich and mighty, did an iniury to an Earle, a man of leſſe account then himſelfe, and burned a towne of his; which for that the new Emperour would not ſuffer to eſcape vnpuniſhed, hee condemned him in a certaine ſumme of money, and to bee impriſoned and baniſhed: with which ſentence EBERARD was highly diſpleaſed, expecting opportunitie to ſhew his diſcontentment.

It happened alſo that a baſtard brother of the Emperours called DAVZMAR, found himſelfe grieued, for that the Emperour had not giuen him the gouernment of the Prouince of *Saxony*, with the title of Earle, which was OTHOS patrimony by the death of Earle SIFREFRIDE, lately deceaſed. In like manner the ſonnes of ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, which then died, were diſcontent, for that OTHO had giuen that eſtate to their elder brother BERTOLD, and they would not accept of the Earldome, and of that part which the Emperour had aſſigned them: wherefore vpon this occaſion EBERARD made a league and confederacie with them, and with SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine*, notwithſtanding that he had married one of the Emperours ſiſters; and contending with HENRY the Emperours ſecond brother, which was a very yong man, about the bounds of certaine lands, he beſieged him in a citie, and very ſhamefully tooke him priſoner. And his baſtard brother DAVZMAR, with the ayde of the ſaid EBERARD, at the ſame time tooke a citie in *Saxony*, and ſacked it, thinking to haue gotten the Earldome, which he required perforce. The Emperour vnderſtanding thereof, marched againſt his brother; and entring the citie by aſſault, DAVZMAR was ſlaine in a Church, whither he was brought by EBERARD the motor of this treaſon. And after other practiſes, EBERARD agreed with HENRY the Emperours brother, whom he held priſoner, to releaſe and ſerue him, alleaging that the empire appertained vnto him, for that his father begat him after that he was Emperour, and OTHO before. HENRY moued with the deſire to raigne (a thing which leadeth men to greater euils) reſolued to rebell againſt his elder brother and ſoueraigne Lord; whereto SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine* yeelded ayde and aſſiſtance, who was a mighty Prince, and had the ſiſter of the Emperour and of HENRY to wife. And as the report went, that HENRY ſhould be Emperor, each of them deſired to haue the Empire for himſelfe, and ſo practiſed the ſame in ſecret, for amongſt the wicked there is neither faith nor trueth: But they all agreed together to ruinate OTHO; and that let being remooued, each of them thought to haue been a ſoueraigne Lord, and to haue had the Empire. The power & armie which they leuied was ſo great, that they tooke many townes, and as it vſually happeneth, fame and feare aduanced the effect, ſo as OTHO was in great danger. Neuertheleſſe the other Princes of *Germany* did well and faithfully helpe and relieue him; and hee, with the courage and diligence of a good captaine, leuied his forces, and marched againſt his enemies; and being come with his armie to the bankes of the riuer *Rhine*, and part thereof being tranſported in boates to go againſt his enemies, which were encamped on the other ſide, whereof his brother HENRY was Ge-

The Emperors victory against his brother Henry.

nerall; his enemies hauing marched with great haſte, were gotten thither before them, and charged his people in ſuch manner, that they were likely to haue been ouerthrowen in the Emperours ſight, who was not yet paſſed: but in the end, the Emperour making his prayers to God, obtained the victorie, and his brother in ill plight, and wounded, ſaued himſelfe by flight. After this victorie, the fame went, that the Emperours brother HENRY was dead, which brought the Emperour this profit, that the moſt of the cities which held for his brother, yeelded to him: which when HENRY vnderſtood, he gat him into the citie of *Mereſbergh*, which is in *Saxony*, and fortified the ſame in the beſt manner that hee could, and the Emperour followed and beſieged him, and brought him to that extremitie, that he was driuen to giue vp the citie vpon condition, that hee ſhould ſuffer him freely to depart whither he would. After which he went into *Lorraine*, and renewed the warre, ioyning with Duke SIGISBERT, and with Duke EBERARD his kinſmen, which with greater rage and power then at the firſt, inuaded the Emperours countreys, who then was buſied in beſieging a towne of Duke EBERARDS, called *Stiſaca*, before which he lay longer then was fit that he ſhould haue done, through the deceit and treachery of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who ſecretly was a traitour to him, & had intelligence with his enemies, to the end that HENRY and his confederates ſhould in the meane time make themſelues Lords and Maſters of the land: which when HERMAN Duke of *Sueuia*, and his brother OTHO, and CONRADE called the wiſe, and other great Lords and Knights (which were the Emperours loyall ſeruants and ſubiects) perceiued, they ioyned all their forces together, and by his direction, with a good armie went to ſeeke their enemies; and meeting them, fought a very terrible and cruell battell: But in the ende the Imperialiſts had the victorie, and EBERARD, the ringleader of this rebellion, was ſlaine fighting, and SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine*, flying from the fight, was drowned in the *Rhine*, neere to the place where they fought: yet ſome ſay that he died in another battel, and that HENRY the Emperours brother was not that day in the field, but warred elſewhere. In this ouerthrow were ſlaine, and taken priſoners, all thoſe which held with theſe Lords; amongſt which were many Earles, and principall perſonages. This great victory being obtained by OTHOES faithfull friends and ſubiects, the citie which hee beſieged yeelded to him, and he prepared himſelfe to purſue his brother HENRY, who fled into *France*. And then the Emperour went into *Lorraine*, where his ſiſter gaue her ſelfe into his power, together with her ſonne: And hauing ſet good order in that eſtate, and made peace with LEWES King of *France*, and recouered certaine townes which hee theretofore had loſt, he returned into *Germany*. In this manner he wholly ſubdued and tamed all the rebels, and in the end his brother HENRY with his leaue humbly yeelded himſelfe into his power, and he forgaue him, and gaue him lands and reuenues for his maintenance, and likewiſe pardoned the other Earles and great men which had been his aduerſaries, together with FREDERICK Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who was a traitor vnto him, and was now in his power; but in the end hee pardoned him alſo. And foraſmuch as his brother HENRY perſeuered loyall vnto him, he made him Duke of *Bauiere*, after the death of BERTOLD, who died without iſſue male, whoſe brethren loſt their right to that eſtate, for that they had conſpired againſt the Emperour; and HENRY had his legitimate daughter to wife, & ſo in good Grace remained in his brothers ſeruice: Who hauing brought theſe matters to an ende, determined to make an end of the troubles in *Bohemia*, which through the aide of the Hungars ſtill continued, without any one dayes intermiſſion,

Duke Eberard ſlaine fighting, and Duke Sigisbert drowned in the Rhine.

Henry fled into France.

intermiſſion, from the firſt beginning of his raigne, which was a long time. Finally, in ſome battels, wherein he was himſelfe in perſon, BOISLAVS was ouerthrowen in ſuch maner, that he ſubmitted himſelfe, and became ſubiect. And hauing in this maner ſubdued the Hungarians, the Bohemians, and ſuch as rebelled, he determined to relieue LEVVES the French King, who was his brother in law, and had ſued vnto him for ſuccours, whom for ſome occaſions, too long to bee recited, certaine Dukes and great Lords of *France* oppreſſed. Yet ſome authors ſay, that this his going into *France* was before the warres of *Bohemia*: but at what time, or in what order ſoeuer it was, he went thither with a great armie, and relieued his brother in law, and ſo againe returned into *Germany*, where we will leaue him to enioy his victories and good ſucceſſe, and will briefly declare, in what eſtate *Italy* then ſtood, & the accidents which thé happened therein, which appertaine to our hiſtory, aſwell for that it was part of the Empire, as alſo for that HVGH before named, raigned therein with the name of Emperor, although a tyrant. HVGH hauing for certaine yeeres ſpace poſſeſſed *Lombardy*, and great part of *Italy*, with[illegible] that any man ſought, or went about to bereaue him of his eſtate; for OTHO (as is already ſayd) was buſied with the troubles of *Germany*: in the ende BERENGARIVS the third after many long iourneys, hauing a deſire to recouer the kingdome which his father and vncle had poſſeſſed, and of all *Italy* alſo, whereof the Emperour RODVLPHVS had bereaued him, with the aide of certaine Princes of *Germany*, and of *Italy*, he reſolued to make warre againſt HVGH, and to that effect, waged a great number of ſelected men of warre, and tooke his way towards *Italy*. And HVGH holding himſelfe vnable to make his party good againſt him, for that he found, that ſuch as were of greateſt power and authority in the cities, did not fauour his faction, he reſolued therfore to come to any compoſition: and ſo finally they agreed, that HVGH ſhould leaue the title of King of *Italie*, and returne to his Duchie of *Orleans* in *France*, vpon condition that his ſonne LOTHARY ſhould remaine King in *Italy*, together with BERENGARIVS. BERENGARIVS accepted theſe conditions, & HVGH returned to his old Dukedome, and left his ſonne a King, and companion with BERENGARIVS. This LOTHARY was maried with ADELHAIDA, which by ſome was called ALVADA, daughter of ARNOLPH Duke of *Burgundy*, who had reigned for ſome certaine time in *Lombardy*, as wee ſaid before, and was expelled by HVGH. It happened that HVGH afterwards died in *France*: and within a ſhort time after (and after other matters which enſued, which I leaue to relate) LOTHRIVS died in *Lombardy*. And BERENGARIVS ſeeing himſelfe freed from company, tooke to wife the widow Queene ADELHAIDA, which was a very excellent Lady. And ſith that he found no contradiction or reſiſtance in the Eſtate of *Italy*, againſt the dignity of the Emperor OTHO, (from whom he had receiued many benefits and fauours) hee tooke vpon him the name and title of Emperour, and inſtituted his eldeſt ſonne, called ALBERT, King of *Italy*, and began to intreat the people very ill, and in other matters to behaue himſelfe like a tyrant.

Boiſlaus ouerthrowen by the Emperor.

The death of Hugh, and of Lothary, two tyrants.

At this time AGAPETVS the ſecond was Pope, who was held for a vertuous, religious, and an innocent man (which amongſt men of that coate, was a matter not ſlightly to be regarded) and he conſidering the violence and tyrannie vſed by BERENGARIVS, hauing now bin Pope the ſpace of ſixe yeeres, ſent to ſolicite OTHO the Emperour of *Germany* to come into *Italy*, to free the ſame from ſo pernicious a tyrant. The like was done by ſundry other Prelates and great men. OTHO at that time was a widower of his wife EDITHA, by whom he had a ſonne whoſe

name was LVITOLPHVS, a valiant and high minded young man, and hauing heard the Italian ambaſſadours, at ſuch time as he had ended the warres before mentioned, moued by their perſwaſions, and through the deſire he had to marrie Queene ADELHAIDA, whom BERENGARIVS held priſoner in *Pauia*, and to make himſelfe Lord of *Italy*, hee leuied an armie of fiftie thouſand men, and came downe againſt BERENGARIVS; who hauing no ſufficient power to make head againſt him, in the beſt order that he could, gaue ground, ſtill defending the ſtrongeſt caſtles and fortreſſes. And OTHO marching forwards, taking townes and cities, comming to *Pauia*, ſet ADELHAIDA at liberty, and with her good liking married her, holding ſolemne nuptials: by reaſon whereof, his ſonne LVITOLPHVS was very ſory; and after it enſued many inconueniences. This being done, and OTHO hauing ſetled all matters concerning the State of *Italy* in good order, he returned into *Germany*, leauing CONRADE for his Lieutenant in *Lombardie*. This CONRADE was called the wiſe, and was Duke of *Franconia*, and ſonne in law to the Emperor by the mariage of his daughter LVIGVARDA: but his ſonne LVITOLPHVS was gone before into *Saxony*, which was his fathers houſe and patrimony, where he raiſed ſome Commotions againſt him, for hee was much grieued and diſcontented with his fathers late mariage. OTHO being returned into *Germany*, and BERENGARIVS ſeeing that by warre, hee could not recouer what he had loſt, came into *Germany*, and brought with him his ſonne ALBERTVS, and deſiring pardon, yeelded himſelfe into the Emperours power, vowing to be his loyall ſeruant and ſubiect; which he proteſted in ſuch manner, that the Emperour thought himſelfe well aſſured of him, and thereupon made him his Lieutenant in *Milan* and all *Lombardy*, the auncient inheritance of the Empire, and gaue certain lands to him, and to his ſaid ſonne ALBERTVS; wherewith his ſonne in law CONRADE, which before held that charge, being greatly diſcontented, ioyned with LVITOLPHVS the Emperors ſonne, and ſo the ſonne and ſonne in law rebelled againſt him. BLONDVS and other Italian writers, make no mention of CONRADES abode in *Italy*, neither of BERENGARIVS his going into *Germany*; yet they mention his pardon, and the offices that the Emperour beſtowed vpon him: But ABBAS WESPERGENSIS writeth in the ſame maner as I haue recounted, and ſo do NAVCLERVS and other Dutch writers. *Italy* remaining in this eſtate, the Emperour did not ſo ſoone abandon it (as I ſuppoſe) without ſome ſuſpition conceiued of his ſonne LVITOLPHVS, who departed from him and rebelled: truely hee had reaſon to miſtruſt him, for LVITOLPHVS being accounted for his ſucceſſor, found many friends to ioyne with him againſt his father; amongſt which was his brother in lawe CONRADE, and ARNOLD, and the other ſonnes of BERTOLD late Duke of *Bauiere*; who dying, the Emperor gaue to his brother HENRY that Eſtate: wherefore all thoſe which were called Dukes of *Bauiere*, were ſo much grieued at him, that they raiſed an armie, and tooke many townes and caſtles, meaning by force of Armes to defend the ſame, with a determination to depoſe him from the empire, without regard of the faith and loyalty which they, as his ſonne and ſonne in lawe, ought to him. OTHO making ſuch account of this warre as the importance thereof required; leuied his forces, and went againſt his ſonne; who daring not to keepe the field againſt him, fortified himſelf in the citie of *Mentz*, wherein his father beſieged him the ſpace of threeſcore dayes, after that hee had recouered many of thoſe townes which had giuen their voices againſt him: the citie in the meane time being battered, and moſt valiantly defended, in the end the beſieged made a motion of peace,

Otho made Bevengarius his Lieutenant in Lombardy.

Luitolph and other riſe againſt Otho.

Luitolphus beſieged by his father Otho.

peace: and to the ende to haue time to treate thereof, a truce was granted; in which time, the forces brought by the Emperours brother HENRY to his seruice, through the secret perswasion of ARNOLPHVS, and his brethren, which were called Dukes of *Bauiere*, came to an agreement with LVITOLPHVS; with which, and with those which already were in *Mentz*, in a night hee found meanes to depart the citie, & to get into *Ratisbone*. The Emperor without making one daies tariance, raised his siege, and went to *Ratisbone*, which was better fortified and furnished then *Mentz* was, and so the siege was more hard and doubtfull; and in the assaults and sallies many men lost their liues, of the one and other party. And although that LVITOLPHVS desired peace, and his father to pardon him, yet the Emperor would neuer yeeld thereto, vntill that by the importunacie of some Prelates, he limitted a certaine time, wherein his faults and offences should be examined, and a treaty should be held concerning what was to be done; and so LVITOLPHVS gaue vp the citie: And going thence, absented himselfe from his fathers presence, vntill that vpon a day, within the time prefixed, the Emperor being on hunting in the fields, his strayed sonne acknowledging his error, and being very sory for the same, without any security or safeconduct from his father, came before him vpon the way, bare headed and bare footed, and kneeling at his fathers feete, wept; who being amazed at the strangenes thereof, expecting no such matter, stood still: and the sonne recouering spirit, in this maner entreated him to haue compassion on him, acknowledging his faults and offences to be very great, rather deseruing a thousand deaths then any pardon; and therefore being heartily sorie for the same, (like the prodigall childe) hee presented himselfe before his father, who also had a father in heauen, by whom he hoped to be forgiuen: and if it might please him to grant him his life, he should be assured of him, to be euer after a loyal and obedient sonne, and one which liued, and would liue, in continuall sorow for what was past: if he meant to doe otherwise by him, he should yet consider that he was his owne flesh and blood, and although that the offence were onely his, yet of the punishment inflicted vpon the culpable sonne, the Iust father would beare part of the sorowe for the same; and that in shewing him mercie, there could no inconuenience ensue thereof; but if he did to the contrary, he should rather lose the most obedient sonne that euer father had. Hauing ended these speeches, and other to the same effect, with great humilitie he prostrated himselfe vpon the earth, expecting his fathers sentence of life or death. This strake so great an impression into the Emperours heart, to heare and see his sonne to shew such humility, and to shed so many teares, that he could not forbeare from doing the like: and commanding him to arise from the ground, with ioy mixt with teares from himselfe, and the rest which were there present, he presently pardoned him, and restored him to his grace and fatherly fauour, and to the same place and dignity which he held before; and so he continued constant in that loyalty and duety which he ought to his father and soueraigne Lord. This is a notable example to be read with consideration, whereby sonnes and subiects which haue erred and offended their soueraigne Lords, may learne to repent and amend; and Princes to pardon those which truely desire to bee reduced to their grace and seruice: for although that it be most certaine, that it is expedient for the good of the Common wealth, that offences be punished; yet generally it ought not to be held for so rigorous & cruel a rule, that no exception be made, seeing that somtimes for the cõmon good, clemencie is as profitable. Moreouer, the shame & sorow for the offences cõmitted is no smal punishment to him that is pardoned.

Luitolphus submitting himselfe to his father entreated him.

The pittie of Otho towards his sonne Luitolphus.

OTHO then hauing pardoned his ſonne, and recouered *Mentz*, and *Ratisbone*, and all the other ſtrong holds which had rebelled, and (according to the moſt and beſt authors) reclaimed his ſonne in law CONRADE, (yet ſome ſay the contrary) when he ſhould haue taken reſt, and haue repoſed himſelfe, there aroſe new warres, more dangerous then the former; for on the one ſide the Dalmatians and Slauons entred the lands of the Empire; and on the other ſide, the Hungars (which now had liued ſome time in reſt) gathering together an infinite number of them, began againſt him the moſt dangerous and cruell warre that they euer had made; for beſides that they were a moſt valiant and proud people, they were ſo many in number, that they reported of themſelues, that the skies might fall and ſo kill them, or the earth might open and ſwallow them; but the power of no nations, or of any Kings of the earth was ſufficient to make head againſt them. Againſt people ſo valiant and reſolute, the valorous Emperour leuied the beſt and mightieſt armie that euer he had done; for it conſiſted of eight legions, vnder the leading of excellent Captaines, and thoſe Dukes and Princes of the Empire. In this warre were many conflicts and feates of Armes worthy to bee recited, which I omit for breuities ſake, which I am bound to obſerue.

In the end theſe two mightie armies ioyned, and fought a battaile neere the riuer *Danubius*, which began about noone, and continued vntill night, without any ſigne of victorie to either ſide; the fields lying full of dead bodies, and died with the bloud of the ſlaine and wounded; and the darknes of the night parted the armies, and made them leaue fighting: but the Emperour ſpent the whole night in dreſſing the wounded, giuing them meate, and in encouraging the reſt; and ſo ſoone as it was day, ſetting his troupes in order, he tooke the field, where they againe began the fight, with as great furie as the day before: But the Hungarians began to giue ground, and within ſhort ſpace were ouerthrowne, and the Imperialiſts made an exceeding great ſlaughter of them, and obtained one of the moſt famous victories that hath bin in the world: wherewith the Hungarians were ſo much daunted, that they neuer durſt after that time attẽpt to make wars in *Germany*. There died that day of the Emperors ſide ſome principal men, among which was his ſonne in law CONRADE Duke of *Franconia*, of whom all authors write, that he was the beſt and moſt valiant captaine of his time. Of the Hungarians died in a manner all the Nobilitie, and three Dukes or Reguli, were taken priſoners, which the Emperour commaunded to be hanged, for an example and puniſhment of the rebellion and pride of that nation. This battaile was fought in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, after which he ſpent many daies in proceſſions, and in ſhewing himſelfe thankfull to God for ſo noble a victorie: which being ended, he ſent the greateſt part of his armie againſt the Slauons, and other nations which warred againſt him; all which he tamed and ſubdued with the like felicitie, and then went to viſit ſundrie townes and cities of his empire, to the great ioy of his people. Great matters in theſe times paſſed in *France*, & in *Spaine*, and in other parts of the world, which I haue not time to relate. In *Italy* BERENGARIVS and his ſonne ALBERT, ſeeing the Emperour buſied in thoſe daungerous warres, forgetting the good which they had receiued from him, committed many tyrannies and inſolencies, aſwell againſt the Church of *Rome*, as againſt the people of the countrie: and therein alſo were other tyrants in diuers other parts. At this time died Pope AGAPETVS, who had held that ſeate almoſt tenne yeres, and by meanes of his death (by ſiniſter meanes more by force and fauour, then by any inſt forme of election) OCTAVIANVS, a Romane borne, ſonne of a man of great

Otho his victorie.

great power and authoritie in *Rome*, was choſen Pope, and called IOHN the twelfth, a moſt vicious wicked man, and giuen to all kinde of diſſolution and ribauldrie; and aboue all, extreme cruell and couetous.

The commendation of Pope Octauianus, called Iohn the twelfth.

At this time died alſo in *Conſtantinople* ROMANVS the Greeke Emperour, who was a Prince farre vnworthie therof; for he was both wicked and of a baſe mind, and ſuffered his ſeruants to rule him. In his time were two great warres in the Eaſt empire; one againſt the Mahometiſts Infidels, which had taken the Ile of *Candia*; and the other in *Aſia*, againſt the Turkes and Perſians: In the firſt, NICEPHORVS (nephew of that NICEPHORVS which in the time of BASILIVS was ſo excellent a captaine) was Generall, and wan great victories: In the other, LEO was Generall, couſin germane to this NICEPHORVS; both which had happie ſucceſſe: In the reſt of his gouernment he was a wicked and cruell Emperor; for although that he had an excellent ſharpe wit and vnderſtanding, yet hee abuſed the ſame. ROMANVS being dead, notwithſtanding that he left two ſonnes, BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE, and one daughter called THEODORA; yet by reaſon of their young yeeres, and the hatred borne to their father, they then obtained not the empire; but yet afterwards in proceſſe of time they gat it: and the ſaid captaine NICEPHORVS was choſen Emperour, who in the warres was very fortunate, and both valiant and carefull, but in peace retchleſſe and couetous.

The death of Romanus the Greeke Emperour.

Returning now to our Emperor OTHO, I ſay, that it was aboue ſixe yeers after his firſt comming into *Italy*, in which time hauing ended the wars with his ſonne; with the Hungarians and with the Slauonians, as we haue declared; when as beſides other times, that he had been prayed and entreated, Ambaſſadours came vnto him from *Rome*, and from ſundrie cities of *Italy*; entreating him to come thither, and to free them from the force and tyrannie done them by BERENGARIVS, and the cruell tyrannous Pope IOHN, who alſo ſent Ambaſſadours to him: whereto OTHO conſenting, reſolued vpon his iourney into *Italy* with ſtrong hand; and ſtaying to ſet ſome things in *Germany* in order, he ſent his now louing and obedient ſonne LVITOLPHVS before him with the greateſt part of his forces againſt BERENGARIVS; who after ſome victories obtained againſt him, and the taking of many cities, died of an infirmitie: whereupon his father haſtened his iourney; but firſt he made his then eldeſt ſonne called OTHO of the age of ſeuen yeeres, whom he had by his ſecond wife, CÆSAR and his ſucceſſor. And being come into *Italy*, neither BERENGARIVS nor his ſonne ALBERT durſt to keepe the field, but fled to their holds and caſtles; and ALBERT gat into the Ile of *Corſica*, and BERENGARIVS put himſelfe into a moſt ſtrong caſtle in Mount *Leon*: And ſo OTHO, without ſhedding any drop of bloud, tooke all *Lombardy*, and marched towards *Rome*, where Pope IOHN attended his comming, and had by all meanes poſſible ſought his friendſhip; his conſcience accuſing him of his vices. In matters which paſſed at OTHO his ſecond comming into *Italy*, there is ſome difference betweene the Hiſtoriographers which write the ſame: but I will follow that rule which the moſt of them haue ſet downe, and that which by many coniectures ſeemeth to be moſt true. Being come to *Rome* (where of long time they had not ſeene any Emperour) he was receiued with great ſolemnitie and incredible pompe, by Pope IOHN and the Romanes; and with the like was by him crowned, hauing firſt ſworne thoſe things contained in the Chapter *Tibi Domine* in the thirteenth Diſtinction. The Emperour being enformed in what manner Pope IOHN had attained to the Papacie, and of his looſe kind of life; after that he had remained there certaine daies with him, in friendly ſort he ſecretly admoniſhed

The death of Luitolphus.

The Emperor Otho crowned by Pope Iohn the twelfth.

admoniſhed him to amend his diſſolute behauiour, and the maner of his gouernment in the Church; and ſeeing that his ſecret warning preuailed not, hee ſpake to him in the Conſiſtorie before his Cardinals, with greater authoritie and ſeueritie, then the other would that hee ſhould haue done: which being ended, in hope that the Pope would haue refourmed himſelfe, he departed from *Rome*, to ſeeke BERENGARIVS; and beſieging him in a citie which hee had fortified, hee daily aſſailed it with great force and reſolution: in the meane time that he buſied himſelfe herein, Pope IOHN, with ſome of his confederates (ſhewing himſelfe an enemie to the Emperour) called ALBERT the ſonne of BERENGARIVS into *Italy*, and made an inſurrection againſt him: whereupon, OTHO leauing to beſiege BERENGARIVS, returned towards *Rome*, wherein the Pope had vſed great cruelties to thoſe which held for the Emperour; among which (it is ſaid) that he cut off the noſes, and put out the eyes of ſome of the Cardinals and citizens: but knowing with what furie the Emperour came, he durſt not ſtay his comming, but fled, and ſo lurked in ſundrie parts: and OTHO being come, the greateſt part of the Cardinals, clergie, and people of *Rome* informed him of the Popes indignitie, and the inſufficiencie of his election; deſiring him to place a new: whereto he anſwered, that if their informations were true, they had authoritie of themſelues to chuſe whom they liſted: And they holding IOHNS election to be of no effect, made choiſe of another, whoſe name was LEO, and the eighth of that name, who was preſently receiued for Pope, the Emperour holding him for ſuch: And leauing him ſeated in his throne, OTHO went from *Rome*, returning to his enterpriſe againſt BERENGARIVS, and his ſonne ALBERT; wherein he vſed ſuch diligence, and had ſo good hap, that BERENGARIVS deſpairing to be able to defend himſelfe, yeelded to his mercie; and his ſonne ALBERT, with his wife and children, were taken priſoners: And the Emperour OTHO (vſing his accuſtomed clemencie and magnanimitie) would not put them to death, but contented himſelf to baniſh them: BERENGARIVS he ſent priſoner, and baniſhed into a ſtrong Caſtle in *Saxony*; and his ſonne ALBERT to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo ended the tyrannie of the BERENGARII in *Italy*. Well I know, that BLONDVS and other authors recount this their impriſonment to haue been ſo ſoone as OTHO came into *Italy*: but I follow the Abbot WESPERGENSIS, and the moſt part of all the other Hiſtoriographers.

Berengarius condemned to perpetuall impriſonment, and his ſonne Albert to be exiled, by the Emperour Otho the ſecond.

Within few daies after that OTHO was departed from *Rome*, wherein hee had left LEO the eighth for Pope, the Romane people, by the perſwaſion of Pope IOHN, and of his allies and kindred (with the like lightnes as they vſually are moued) altered their minds, and determined to caſt out LEO, and to receiue IOHN; and ſo IOHN was reſtored, and LEO driuen to flie, and to complaine to the Emperour at *Spoleto*. When the Emperor was aduertiſed hereof, making an end of ſuch buſines as he then had in hand, he concluded to come within few daies with his forces to *Rome*, againſt his enemie Pope IOHN, who died therein before his comming: ſome writers ſay, that a Romane taking him with his wife, ſlew him, when he had continued Pope nine yeeres. The Romanes abhorring Pope LEO, which was now with the Emperour, choſe another called BENEDICT the fifth; and he and they preſently ſent their Ambaſſadours to the Emperour, to entreate him to be pleaſed with his election: wherewith the Emperour was worſe offended then before, and gaue them a very ſharpe anſwere: But the Romanes (which by this time loathed the Germanes, murmuring againſt the Emperour) perſeuered in their opinion of holding BENEDICT for Pope: for this cauſe, OTHO remoued

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with his armie, and came to *Rome*, where Pope BENEDICT and the Romanes had made prouiſion of men and munition for their defence; and he firſt ſpoyling the territorie thereof, beſieged the citie, and brought it to ſuch diſtreſſe, that they write wonders of the famine and want which the beſieged endured; which was ſuch, that being vnable to endure the extremitie thereof, they gaue vp the citie to OTHO; who being now Lord of that citie, depoſed BENEDICT, whom he held for no Pope; and therefore reeſtabliſhed LEO, whom hee brought with him: which being done, he ſtaied ſome daies in *Rome*, ſetting all things in ſuch order as was moſt expedient, and carrying BENEDICT with him, whom they had choſen in contempt of him, together with the ſonnes of many the moſt principall men in *Rome* for his better ſecuritie; he departed thence, and came into *Lombardy*; wherein, placing gouernours and garriſons in all the cities which appertained to the empire, he returned into *Germany*; where he was ſolemnely receiued by all the princes and eſtates thereof: And within few daies BENEDICT (whom the Emperour brought with him) died of ſorrow and griefe, ſixe moneths after his election; ſo that Pope LEO remained ſole Pope without any competencie: but his proſperitie continued but a little while, for within little more then one yeere after that hee came to be Pope, he died alſo; and through his death they choſe Pope IOHN the fourteenth of that name, but hee was not receiued; for the Preſident of *Rome*, who then was called PETER, roſe againſt him, and with the fauour and aſſiſtance of the *Decarconi*, which were Rulers for one yeere; and of the two Conſuls of the city (this was the maner of their gouernment at that time) & a certaine prince which was Earle of *Campania*, whoſe name was GOFREDVS, riſing againſt the Pope, they became ſo mightie, that they apprehended him, and committed him to the Caſtle S. *Angel*; and afterwards, being maſters of the citie, they releaſed him thence; ſo as he liued exiled eleuen moneths: which being paſſed, with the aide of IOHN, Prince or Duke of *Capua*, he was reſtored to his eſtate, and the aforeſaid GOFREDVS was put to death: this was in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, ſixtie and ſeuen. OTHO hauing raigned Emperour thirtie and odde yeeres; and being in *Germany* aduertiſed of what paſſed in *Rome*, and much grieued therewith, he determined preſently to take his way towards *Italy*, to puniſh ſo great a contempt, and to ſupplant other tyrannies which were therein; and putting the ſame in execution, he came thither with great forces of foote and horſe, and brought with him his eldeſt ſonne and ſucceſſor; and comming to *Rome*, inflicted notable puniſhment vpon this Prefect PETER, and the reſt of the moſt principall offenders. This being ended, he ſent his ſonne OTHO with part of his armie againſt the Moores, which poſſeſſed many townes in *Pulia*; and this OTHO draue them thence by force of armes, and was then contracted by his Ambaſſadours to THEOPHANIA daughter to NICEPHORVS, at that time Emperour of *Conſtantinople*: And for as much as her father would not ſend her vnto him, he determined to make a conqueſt of thoſe lands which were ſubiect to that empire in *Italy*, and did ſo: for which cauſe (as ſome authors write) the Greekes rebelled againſt NICEPHORVS, and depriuing him of his empire ſlew him, taking IOHN for Emperour, whoſe ſiſter or coſine germane OTHO afterwards married. Others ſay that the cauſe of this warre was, for that the Greekes which dwelt in *Pulia*, held peace and friendſhip with the Infidels which dwelt amongſt them, and did aſſiſt them. But whatſoeuer was the occaſion, OTHO and his ſonne bereaued them of the moſt and beſt lands which they held in *Italy*: wherein PANDVLPHVS Duke of *Capua* did him eſpecial ſeruice. All which being brought to a wiſh-

Rome beſieged and taken by the Emperour Otho.

Pope Iohn priſoner in the caſtle S. Angelo

Anno Dom. 961.

Otho his ſecond comming into Italy.

The death of the Greek Emperour Nicephorus.

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ed end, Pope IOHN with the consent and good will of OTHO, crowned and made his sonne OTHO his companion in the empire, with great feasting and solemnitie; and so very ioyfull and victorious, both the father and the sonne returned into *Germany*, leauing the Pope in peace absolute Lord of *Rome*; and so was *Italy* maintained seuen yeeres in peace without any tyrannie. The Emperours being come into *Germany*, were with great ioy receiued; and to them came Ambassadours of amitie and friendship from all the Princes christian. The rest of his life, which was not long, he spent in doing iustice, in building of Churches and Monasteries, and in such like exercises: In which, in the sixe and thirtith yeere of his raigne in *Germany*, and the thirteenth yeere after his coronation in *Rome*, it pleased God to take him out of this world, in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred seuentie and foure.

The death of the Emperour Otho. Anno Dom. 974.

A little before the death of OTHO, NICEPHORVS Emperour of *Constantinople* was deposed and slaine, who had raigned sixe or seuen yeeres, and had obtained great victories against the Infidels; but through his euill gouernment in time of peace, they rebelled and slew him: And an excellent Captaine, whose name was ZIMICES, was chosen Emperour; who, the better to confirme himselfe in the empire, chose for his companions the two sonnes of ROMANVS, which was Emperour before NICEPHORVS, whose names were BASILIVS, and CONSTANTINE; and married himselfe to a sister of theirs called THEODORA: This proued an excellent and valorous Emperor, and subdued the Russians, and others Northerly nations, together with PHOCAS a tyrant, which rebelled against him; of whose end you shall heare more hereafter.

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THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of IOHN, BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE, Emperours of *Conſtantinople.*

OTHO the ſonne of OTHO (and therefore called the ſecond, yet in truth hee were the third) ſo ſoone as his father was dead, aſwell for his fathers worthines, as for that in his life time he was elect, and crowned in *Rome* by the Pope, as we haue recounted, was without any contradiction receiued and obeyed for Emperor. This OTHO was a man of a great ſpirit, and very valiant, and ſo ſhewed himſelfe in all his actions; although in the latter end of his raigne he was infortunate, as you ſhall vnderſtand. He beginning to rule the empire, all the Princes chriſtian ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him, to condole the death of his father, and to congratulate his ſucceſſion, and the Princes of *Germany* came to do him homage; onely HENRY Duke of *Bauiere* (who was his coſine germane, ſonne of the other HENRY, brother to his father OTHO, of whom wee haue made ſome mention, and whom his father made Duke of *Bauaria*; being a man of great power, and therewith very proud) refuſed to yeeld obedience to the new Emperour: but OTHO raiſed an armie, and went againſt him, and compelled him to ſubmit himſelfe, and to yeeld his obedience; this befell in the firſt yeere of his raigne: from thence

This Otho was according to the order of the Romane Emperours the ſecond, but the third Romane Emperour of that name.

thence he marched against some townes in *Slauonia*, which warred against him. In the meane time, in the prouince of *Lorrain* were some insurrections, procured by LOTHARIVS King of *France*: vpon the newes whereof, OTHO returned into *Germanie*, but the French King had raised such forces, and was so suddenly entred *Lorraine*, that he made himselfe Lord thereof; pretending, that that prouince did appertaine to the crowne of *France*; and not content to haue subdued all that countrie, within few daies after he marched forwards, spoiling and wasting the land, euen to *Aken*, wherein OTHO then was with small forces, nothing mistrusting that the King of *France* would haue proceeded so farre in that warre, where hee was likely to haue been taken, and was driuen to depart thence in more then haste: but the French King retyring with great pray and spoiles, the Emperour much displeased with his doings raised a very mightie armie, and the next yeere following, with great courage, and equall power, entred the kingdome of *France*, in such manner that the French King neither durst, or was able to fight with him; but retired, and fortified himselfe in the citie of *Paris*; whither OTHO came (the King being therein) and spoiled the countrie, in reuenge of the harmes receiued; and in comming within sight of the Citie, he lost some of his people in a skirmish against the French; and seeing that the King sallied not to giue him battaile, and that he could not besiege him with any aduantage; he resolued for that winter to returne into his countrie; and in his retreit, the King of *France* sent the Duke of *Burgondy*, and other princes to charge him in the areirguard (as write GAGVIN, and other French Historians) and at the passage ouer a riuer, which was growne so high by reason of the raine, that as it could not be waded, he receiued great harme by his enemies, and they slew great part of his armie; which the Germanes doe not so brauely depaint; (yet they acknowledge to haue lost some of their people at that passage) and the Emperour being returned, purposed to haue prosecuted that warre; but it happened otherwise, for he gaue eare to a treatie of peace, betweene him and the French King, moued by certaine prelates; which was concluded, as we wil shew you; whereof the warres in *Italy*, made by the Greeke Emperor, were the chiefe occasion; which passed in this manner.

IOHN ZIMICES (as is before recited) hauing obtained the Empire of *Constantinople* by the death of NICEPHORVS, and taken for his companions therein, the two sonnes of the Emperour ROMANVS, whose names were BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE; and hauing obtained many victories, and gouerned the Empire very well, was poisoned in *Constantinople*, when he had raigned sixe yeeres and a halfe, and BASILIVS, and his brother CONSTANTINE, which were his brothers in law, remained Emperours; but BASILIVS bare the chiefest sway in the gouernment, being now twentie yeeres old; who in processe of time wannne many great victories, aswell against tyrants which rebelled, as other people, and raigned fiftie and odde yeeres; in which time many raigned in *Germany*, the storie whereof I am to recount, although I euer make some mention of *Constantinople*, as I haue done hitherto. In the beginning of the raigne of BASILIVS, and of his brother CONSTANTINE, they being both young, and of great power, and seeing that OTHO was busied in the warres of *France*, and sorrowing that he and his father had taken the lands belonging to the Greeke Empire in *Pulia* and in *Calabria*, determined to recouer the same; accounting the time fit thereto, considering that OTHO was pestred with these troubles, and that the Popes were of small power, by reason of the great tyrants which were

The Emperor of Constantinople poisoned. Basilius and his brother Constantine succeeded Iohn in the Greeke Empire.

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in *Rome*, and in a manner through all *Italy*, through the Emperors abſence. The two brothers hauing placed good captaines and garriſons in the prouinces of *Aſia*, and of *Græcia*, tooke their paſſage into *Italie*, and brought in their armie many Infidels, aſwell ſuch as were newly entertained, as ſuch as in former time had warred in that countrie, and began to take Cities and Caſtles, and in ſhort ſpace tooke all the reſt of *Pulia*, and *Calabria*, and *Rome* it ſelfe and all the countrie there about it ſtoode in great feare of them. OTHO hauing intelligence hereof (at what time as he was in parley of peace with *France*) and grieuing much that the Greekes ſhould recouer what he had conquered, at the time of his fathers coronation in *Rome*, with a reſolution to recouer and to defend the ſame, he concluded a peace with the French, wherein was graunted to him the ſupreme iuriſdiction, and all the prouince of *Lotharingia*, otherwiſe called *Auſtraſia*, which afterwards was deuided into ſundrie eſtates, as *Braband*, *Gelders*, *Cleue*, *Gulicke*, and that which now is called *Lorraine*; whereof he gaue the dominion to the French Kings brother, whoſe name was CHARLES, with the title of Duke, the more to binde the King of *France* to obſerue the peace: And hauing taken ſuch order herein, and in the reſt of *Germanie*, as was expedient; he went with great power into *Italy*, where his comming was long expected; and taking his way towards *Rome*, was therein againe crowned by the Pope, notwithſtanding that he was ſo in the time of his father; and he required the Cities of *Italy*, that at a certaine time and place appointed, they ſhould ſend him their men of warre, which was performed accordingly: and ſtaying but a very little while in *Rome*, he drew all his armie to one head; and ſo in order went to ſeeke his enemies, which refuſed not the battaile; and both parties deſiring the ſame, it was fought, wherein OTHO had very ill ſucceſſe; for hauing a greater number, and better men, then were the Greekes, the Romanes, the Beneuentanes, and others which had the auauntguards, at the firſt encounter charged ſo cowardly, that without making any reſiſtance, they abandoned the field in ſuch confuſion, that they diſordered the other Battallions and Squadrons of the Germanes; ſo as the Greekes encouraged hereby, followed the chace of them which fled, in ſuch manner that OTHOS people being vnable to doe as they would, and ought to haue done, were broken and ouerthrowne, and a very great number of them ſlaine. The Emperor ſeeing no hope of better refuge, fled from the battaile; and comming to the Sea ſide (which was not farre from thence) put himſelfe into a ſmall boate, which he found there by chance, thinking ſo to eſcape, but hee was taken vnknowne by a pirate, and carried into *Sicilia*, where he was diſcouered by a Merchant of *Slauonia*, who vpon promiſes of rewarde made by the Emperor, bewrayed him not, but agreed for his ranſome. This is reported in ſundrie manners; but in the end he was ſoone deliuered by the Merchants meanes, they nothing knowing that he was an Emperor; and ſo he returned into *Italy*, and came to *Rome*, whereof the Greekes might haue been maſters, if they had knowne how to haue followed their aduantage; for their enemies being ouerthrowne, they had not found therein any reſiſtance: but God hauing otherwiſe ordained, they left the warre, contenting themſelues with the victorie. OTHO being come to *Rome*, gathered together the remainder of his armie, and adding thereto new ſupplies; the firſt enterpriſe that he attempted, was to goe to *Beneuent*, where he put the greateſt part of the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſacked the Citie, becauſe they fled from the battaile. It is written of him, that he inflicted cruell puniſhment in *Rome* for the ſame cauſe; ſo as he was therefore called bloudie: the

The Emperor made peace with France.

Otho taken by a Sea rouer.

cauſe whereof, was the great griefe and ſorrow which he conceiued for the loſſe of the battaile, and his flight; conſidering that through the fault and cowardize of his friends it had happened; ſo as they write of him, that euer after ſo long as he liued, his countenance was euer ſad and penſiue, and that he often gaue great grones and ſighes; and finally in his apparell, and in all other things ſhewed continuall ſorrow and extreme heauines; and all his ſpeeches and diſcourſes were, kow he might be reuenged, and recouer this loſſe. After this, liuing in this care and ſorrow in the Citie of *Rome*, he was taken with a mortall infirmitie, which (as ſome ſay) came through ſorrow (but not without ſuſpition of poiſoning) which encreaſed ſo ſore that he died thereof, hauing raigned tenne yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred foureſcore and foure. He left behinde him when he died, one ſonne called OTHO (as was himſelfe) of the age of twelue yeeres, who was afterwards Emperour, and another called HVGH, which was Duke of *Saxony*, and one daughter called ALASIA, which afterwards was married to a prince of *Saxony*, whoſe name was ALRANE or ALBDRANE, and was Marqueſſe of *Monferrato*, in whom that houſe and ſtate had beginning. All theſe he had by his firſt wife, whoſe name was THEOPHANIA, who had been late wife of IOHN Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. He had alſo another daughter called VTILHVIDA, by his ſecond wife, which was the Marqueſſe of *Auſtrich* his daughter, which was married to THEODORICVS, the firſt Earle of *Holland*; and OTHO being dead, the Greekes for that time continued Lords of *Pulia* and *Calabria*.

The death of the Emperor Otho the third. Anno dom. 984.

THE LIFE OF OTHO THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND NINE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE, Emperors of *Conſtantinople*.

THE ARGVMENT.

After long diſputations and contentions about the election of the Emperor, betweene the Romanes and the princes of Germanie; in the end Otho the ſonne of the deceaſed Emperor, was choſen,

choſen, being a childe not fully twelue yeeres old; and ſo one Creſcencius in the beginning of his raigne rebelled againſt him in Rome; which aſpired to the Empire, and made himſelfe a tyrant ouer many countries, and perſecuted the Pope, driuing him to flie, but finally for feare of the Emperor, which came into Italy to protect the Pope, he made his peace with him, and became his ſubiect: the Emperor being departed, Creſcencius againe tooke armes and made a new Pope, and perſecuting the Pope made by the Emperor, he conſtrained him to flie to the Emperor, who conducting him into Italy, tooke Rome, and ſlew Creſcencius; and the other Pope died miſerably. In this time, an order and forme was ſet downe for the chuſing of the Emperor, and the honor being giuen to the Germanes, the Romanes were therewith much diſpleaſed, and conſpiring againſt the Emperor, put him ſo to his ſhifts, that he was driuen to flie diſguiſed; but in the end, vnable to eſchew treaſon, he died of poiſon, when he had raigned eighteene yeeres.

IN ſuch manner as I haue declared, the Emperor called OTHO the third deceaſed (yet in truth hee was the fourth) and in the Citie of *Rome* was great contention and controuerſie about the election of a new Emperor, betweene the princes of *Germanie* which were there, and came with him; for ſome would haue his ſonne to ſucceede him, whoſe name was OTHO, as was his, being then but a childe of eleuen and halfe yeeres old. Others were of opinion (by reaſon of the childes nonage) to make HENRY Duke of *Bauaria* Emperor, who was his fathers coſine germane, the firſt OTHO his brothers ſonne; who being a mightie man and there preſent, ſought to haue gotten his young coſine into his power, to the end that he ſhould not haue been choſen; and did ſo, and tooke vpon him the title of Emperor: and the Romane and Italian princes (deſiring to be exempt from the gouernment of the Germanes which they naturally hated) ſought by all meanes that an Italian might haue been choſen; and they named one which was a very mightie Romane, called CRESCENCIVS NVMETANVS, who at that time was gouernor, & Conſull in *Rome*, for (as it is ſaid) they had eſtabliſhed a new manner of gouernment, imitating the auncient cuſtome; for at this time they had a certaine kinde of Conſulate. The princes of *Germanie* ſtanding in feare of the Romane and Italian people (in a manner) by common conſent, mauger HENRY Duke of *Bauaria* (which thought to haue been Emperor) determined to chuſe OTHO, ſonne of the laſt OTHO; for although that he were but young and ſcarcely twelue yeeres olde, yet he gaue great ſigne and hope of a future excellent prince; and taking him out of the power of the ſaid HENRY of *Bauiere*, they departed with him from *Rome* towards *Germanie*, and came with him to the Citie of *Aken*, where he was crowned with great ſolemnitie, and obeyed and held for Emperor; and ſo he was in *Milan*, and in other parts of the Empire. But in *Rome* CRESCENCIVS NVMITANVS, who (as we ſaid) ſought to haue been Emperor, poſſeſſed himſelfe of the citie, and of the territorie thereof: and foraſmuch as Pope IOHN tooke part with OTHO, he made him to be apprehended in the third moneth of his papacie, and committed him priſoner to the Caſtle Saint *Angelo*, wherein within fiue monethes after he died of ſorrow. Afterwards IOHN the ſixteenth came to be Pope, who was a couetous wicked man, and conſented to the tyrannie of CRESCENCIVS afore named, and rebelled with *Rome* againſt the Emperor OTHO (whereof the Emperors nonage gaue the chiefe occaſion, and for the ſame cauſe ſome princes of *Germanie* likewiſe rebelled againſt him) but within ſhort ſpace, hauing attained to the age of fourteene yeeres, he was of ſuch

Obſeruing the ordinarie courſe, this Otho was the fourth of that name, although the third of the Germane Emperors.

Creſcencius apprehended Pope Iohn the firſt, and committed him priſoner to the Caſtle Saint Angelo, where he died of ſorrow.

ſuch courage and diſcretion, as hee might well be accounted for a perfect ſtaied man: and with the aide of thoſe which continued his loyall ſubiects he ſubdued and ouercame (although long firſt) al ſuch as rebelled againſt him, with ſuch happines and good ſucceſſe, that he was held for the wonder of the world, ſeeing in him ſo great valour and ſo ripe a wit in ſo greene yeeres. What rebellions theſe were, and in what manner he had ſo great good fortune, none of the Hiſtoriographers doe write particularly, that I could euer ſee; ſo briefly doe they paſſe ouer this place: wherefore I can relate no more then what I finde written; onely this they affirme, that for the ſpace of tenne yeeres, he was buſied in pacifying and ordring the ſtate of *Germany*: in which time CRESCENTIVS tyrannized *Rome*, which paſſed in this manner. Pope IOHN the ſixteenth, who (as I ſaid) ſucceeded IOHN the fifteenth (as it pleaſed God) liued Pope but ſeuen moneths, all which he ſpent vilely; and hee being dead, a learned man was choſen, whoſe name was IOHN alſo, which was IOHN the ſeuenteenth, but much vnlike his predeceſſor, for he was an honeſt man, and for being ſo, was ſoone at variance with the tyrant CRESCENTIVS; who was of ſuch power, that Pope IOHN was driuen to leaue *Rome*, and to giue place to his tyrannie: and he oftentimes ſent to the Emperour OTHO for ſuccours, and to come and reforme the ſtate of *Rome* and of *Italy*: But the Emperor could not then performe his requeſt, by reaſon of his other waighty affaires; yet afterwards he did it, as you ſhall heare. In the meane time, CRESCENTIVS fearing the Emperours comming, acknowledging his error, practiſed with Pope IOHN to returne, promiſing him to be obeyed and reſpected: and hee ſo effectually handled the matter, that a peace was concluded betweene them; and the Pope came, and was receiued with great ſolemnitie. But this notwithſtanding the Emperour held on his way, and came into *Italy* with great power; which was in the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, and was receiued euery where as he paſſed with great ioy and feaſting: and ſo hee came to *Rome*, where the Pope and CRESCENTIVS (after ſome treaties and ambaſſades which paſſed) made great preparation to receiue him; and the Emperour being come neere to the citie, the Pope accompanied with all his Cardinals and clergie, and with all the Romane Nobilitie and gentlemen, went foorth into the fields to entertaine him; and ſo in peace and good friendſhip the Emperour ſtaied ſome daies in *Rome*; and to gratifie the Pope and the Romanes, he went with his armie to *Capua*, and to *Beneuent*, which diſobeyed, and were at warres amongſt themſelues, which he compelled to liue in peace, to the contentment of the Romanes. About this time died Pope IOHN; and the Emperour returning to *Rome*, procured an vncle of his of the houſe of *Saxony*, whoſe name was BRVNVS, to be made Pope, and he was called GREGORIE the fifth; who being ſeated in his papall dignitie, annointed and crowned the Emperor, with ſuch ſolemnitie and pompe, as his father and grandfather had been before him. Which being ended, and OTHO imagining that the eſtate of *Italy* ſtood now in good forme and order (conſidering that his vncle remained higheſt Biſhop) he tooke his way towards *Germany*, and by the way viſited *Lombardy*, and other parts ſubiect to the empire.

The comming of the Emperor Otho into Italy.

In the meane time, whileſt that OTHO was buſied about the affaires of *Italy*, the ſucceſſors of CHARLES the Great were depoſed from the crowne of *France*, which although that it concerne not our hiſtorie, yet for as much as it is a matter ſo notable, I thinke it worthie to be reduced to memorie: And thus it was. King LOTHARY being dead (who as wee ſaid made warre againſt OTHO the ſecond) his ſonne LEVVES ſucceeding him, within one yeere died alſo: And this LEVVES being

being dead, HVGH called CAPVTIVS, Earle and gouernor of *Paris*, being a man of great power and authoritie in that kingdome; tyrannically tooke vpon him the title of king, and made himselfe Lord of *France*; hauing no right thereto, but the right of warre: and first he tooke CHARLES (brother of LOTHARIVS) prisoner by treason (who by the death of his nephew LEWES was called king) and made him to die in prison, and (ouercomming and subduing all such as made resistance) gat the crowne and kingdome; which hath continued in his successors vntill this day. *Hugh Capet vsurped the kingdome of France.*

OTHO being returned into *Italy*, the Romanes which had euer murmured at the election of Pope GREGORIE, and loathed the rule and dominion of the Germanes, chose the tyrant CRESCENTIVS for Consul; by whose aide and counsell they againe rebelled against the Pope, in such sort that he was driuen to flie *Rome*, and earnestly to entreate the Emperour to relieue him: which he did, in hope that he would haue come to his rescue; or that CRESCENTIVS and the Romanes fearing the Emperours comming, would haue recalled him, and haue made peace with him, as they had done with his predecessor. But it fell out cleane contrarie: for CRESCENTIVS alleaging that Pope GREGORIES election was violent (the Emperor forcing the same) caused the Bishop of *Placentia* to be chosen and made Pope, who was called IOHN the eighteenth (yet sundrie authors account him not for Pope.) Wherefore Pope GREGORIE leauing *Italy*, went into *Germany* to the Emperour; who being highly displeased, leuied an Armie and came into *Italy*, and so directly to *Rome*, wherein CRESCENTIVS had fortified himselfe, and prouided a garrison to defend the same, and the Emperour besieged the citie; which put the Romanes in such feare, that they dared not to stand to their defence, but opening the gates, desired the Emperour to pardon them; and the two tyrants, CRESCENTIVS and Pope IOHN, withdrew themselues into the castle S. *Angelo*, which CRESCENTIVS had so well fortified, that it was held for impregnable: whereupon OTHO came to a parley with him, to the end that hee should haue yeelded, and CRESCENTIVS presuming that his life should haue been saued (whereof he was put in some hope) deliuered vp the castle; and he and the pope comming towards the Emperour, were apprehended vpon the way; and CRESCENTIVS was presently put to death by his commandement, as a violater of his faith, and one that had been twice a traytor. Others write that he made him to be hanged, and Pope IOHNS eyes to be put out, who afterwards died miserably: such are the rewards which the world bestoweth vpon those which to follow the same forget God, their owne honor and honestie. These tyrants being suppressed, the Emperour restored pope GREGORIE to his seate and dignitie, and set the best order in all matters in *Rome*, that that time would permit.

Crescentius put to death.

Pope John the eighteenth had his eyes put out.

Pope Gregorie restored to his seate.

All this which I haue recited being ended, Pope GREGORY acknowledging the succours which the Church of *Rome* had receiued from the Emperour, and from the princes of *Germany* (as a man affected to his natiue countrey, and to the Germane nation; by the will and consent of the Emperour, and to preuent and eschue the discord which did arise, or might happen, about the chusing of the Emperour) made a law and Canon, which hath lasted about sixe hundred yeeres, euen vntill this day, which was, that the election of the Emperour, so long as the empire should be voide, should appertaine to sixe princes onely, which we will presently nominate: three, whereof were Prelates, and the other three, secular Princes, *viz.* a Duke, a Marquesse, and an Earle, and if by chaunce there should be equality of voyces betweene these sixe, the king of *Bohemia* (which then was no

king) ſhould alſo haue his voyce, and the party whereto he inclined, ſhould make the choiſe, and their election ſhould ſtand: the Prelates are, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Archbiſhop of *Colein*, and the Archbiſhop of *Treuier*: the Princs are the County Palantine of *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*. And he further ordained, that no man ſhould be choſen Emperour, except he were a Germane borne; and that being choſen by the princes electors aforeſaid, he ſhould be called king of the Romanes, and not Emperour Auguſtus, vntill that hee were confirmed and crowned by the Pope, as it is obſerued vntill this day. This decree and law (as the moſt authors write) was made in the yeere, one thouſand and two: which cannot be ſo, for all agree, that Pope GREGORIE the fifth which made the ſame, died in the yeere, nine hundred ninetie and ſeuen: but this contrarietie is eaſely ſalued, for the Emperour OTHO died in the yeere, one thouſand and two, or three, and ſo in that yeere, or the next, that law was put in execution, notwithſtanding that it was made ſome time before, and therefore they ſay that it was made that yeere: And thus are they excuſed, which attribute this order and forme of election to pope SILVESTER, which ſucceeded pope GREGORIE, who indeed was the man which made the ſame. And he further ordained, that the election ſhould be made in the citie of *Franckford*, and that hee which was choſen, ſhould come to the citie of *Aken* to be crowned king of the Romanes. And the Emperour OTHO ordained certaine preheminences and offices, which each of theſe Electors ſhould hold in the Emperours houſe and court; as one to beare his Sword, and another to be his Cupbearer, with ſuch like, which concerne not our hiſtorie. This being ended and concluded in this manner; ſome authors write, that the Emperor went into *Germany*, to ſet an order in the affaires of the empire, where this election before recited was approoued and ratified: others make no mention of this his going, but rather giue to vnderſtand, that hee ſpent the reſt of his time in *Rome*. Howſoeuer it was, after the death of pope GREGORIE (which was when he had been pope two yeeres and halfe) in his place was choſen one GILBERT, a more excellent man for wit and learning, then any in his time was to be found: but he abuſed and ill employed the ſame, for he was a great Necromancer and enchaunter, and gaue himſelfe to bargaining with the diuell, and to other vnlawfull Artes: he was a Frenchman borne, and was called SILVESTER, and had been the Emperours Schoole-maſter, whom moſt authors affirme, to haue learned Magicke in the citie of *Seuill* in *Spaine*, which notwithſtanding that it was in the power of Infidels, yet the Artes and Philoſophie did floriſh therein. This pope held the chaire foure yeeres, in which time the Emperour came againe to *Rome* (or had not gone foorth of it) and very effectually applied himſelfe to the good gouernment of the empire, puniſhing and reforming the abuſes committed by ſundrie, through the ſmall authoritie and worth of the former popes, and the tyrannies and factions which had been in *Rome*: all which was done by the popes conſent, as by him which had bin the Emperors Schoolmaſter, and was placed there by his authoritie. The Emperour (as it is written of him) was a man of great vnderſtanding, and of a very good condition: But the Romanes which now were much diſcontented with the forme eſtabliſhed for chuſing the Emperour, wherein they had no voyce or authoritie, either to chuſe or to be choſen; they being the chiefe ſeate and head of the empire; and being alſo extremely grieued, to ſee that OTHO did ſo abſolutely commaund in *Rome*, and in *Italy*, and made ſo long abode therein: firſt they began to murmure thereat, and afterwards ſecretly to conſpire, and to practiſe his death, and in the end their

The originall of the order of the chuſing of the Emperours, ordained by Pope Gregorie the fift.

Pope Silueſter a Necromancer.

their enuie encreasing, their audaciousnes and contempt likewise encreased: whereupon, one day when the Emperour suspected no such matter, and the people which he then had with him in the citie being but onely Courteours, the Romanes rose in a great tumult, and putting themselues in armes, slew many of the Germanes, and then went to the palace wherein the Emperour was, and being vnable to enter at their first approach (for that his guard & gentlemen which repaired thither defended the same) they compassed the house, in such sort that the Emperour had been either presently taken, or slaine; but that one HVGH (which was his Lieutenant, and gouerned great part of the Emperours countries in *Italy*, with the title of Marquesse, and was well beloued amongst the Romanes) came to a parley with them, desiring some treaties of peace and agreement: and with him ioyned HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, to whom they also gaue eare; which restrained the furie and rage of the people: and holding them thus in talke, a meane was found whereby the Emperour (chaunging his habit) gat foorth of the citie, without being discouered, and went to the place where his forces lay (and the pope did the like) whither repaired to him al those which fled from the furie: and so for that time he escaped death. But although that he was deliuered from this publike treason, yet hee could not free himselfe from that which was secret: for within short space after, being busie in gathering his forces together (with an intent (as some say) to haue gone into *Germany*, and as others say, against *Rome*) hee was poysoned (as some write) by the wife of CRESCENTIVS the tyrant before named (who hee commaunded to be hanged in *Rome*) with whom, as she was the fairest woman of her time, they say, that the Emperour being in *Rome* had secret conuersation, and that she faining to be greatly in loue, poysoned him in a paire of gloues, which she sent him excellently perfumed: whereof within three or foure daies after he died, the poyson working slow and leisurely. Other authors beleeue not this, but that he was poysoned by others; yet they all agree that he died of poyson, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and two; when hee had raigned eighteene yeeres complete, and liued onely nine and twentie and a halfe, without leauing any sonne to succeede him: which some affirme was the cause why he procured pope GREGORIE to ordaine that manner of chusing the Emperour, as I haue already described: And they say moreouer, that he was married with the king of *Arrogans* daughter, whose name was MARY, a woman not so carefull for the preseruation of the honour and honestie of her person, as she ought to haue been. This prince is accounted amongst the good Emperours, for his many vertues, and for that he ruled the empire with iustice and vprightly. Before his death there appeared great signes in the firmament, as Comets, which lasted many daies; and the most notable was, that one day in the morning about nine of the clock, there appeared in the element a great flaming fire like to a burning torch, which continued a great while; and the light being vanished, there appeared in the same place the likenes of a Serpent: The bodie of the Emperor was carried by HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, and the other great Lords, into *Germany*, and was buried in the citie of *Aken*. A little before his death pope SILVESTER died in *Rome*, whither it seemeth that he was returned, who died through Gods great goodnes (as it is written) very penitent for his sinnes; and in his place was chosen IOHN the nineteenth, who dying within foure moneths after, without doing ought worth the writing, another IOHN succeeded him, which was IOHN the twentith, of whom we will hereafter make mention.

The Romanes made an insurrection against the Emperour and would haue slaine him.

The death of the Emperour Otho by poison, anno 1002.

The Emperour Otho buried in Aken.

During the raigne of OTHO; in *Constantinople* raigned BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE

STANTINE brethren; but (as I ſaid) BASILIVS was the more valorous, and the man by whoſe counſell and direction, all actions were worthely and happely atchiued in the warres: for he inlarged that Empire both in *Aſia* and in *Europe*, and obtained many great victories. In the beginning of their raigne (as is before declared) they came into *Italy*, and ouerthrew OTHO the ſecond: after this, their quarrels were with Tirants; the firſt was with a Captaine called SCLERVS, a very valiant man, and of great power, who was their Lieutenant in *Syria* and in *Phenicia*; and rebelling, made himſelfe to be called Emperour: this was a very dangerous warre, but in the end he was ouerthrowne, and eſcaped by flight to *Babylon*: but afterwards (many things happening in the meane time) he was reduced to their ſeruice. The ſecond was with PHOCAS, another Captaine of no leſſe renowne and valour then SCLERVS, who would alſo haue been Emperour, and to that effect had leuied ſo great an armie, that he doubted not to fight a battaile with BASILIVS, wherein he was ſlaine, and therewith ended his life and tiranny; and ſo atchieued BASILIVS theſe two great exploits: after which, enſued the warre which he had begun with SAMVEL, King of the Bulgarians; from whom, the lands of the Empire had receiued much harme by fire and ſword, in the time of the warres with the Tirants aforeſaid; of whom BASILIVS was ſufficiently reuenged in many battailes, as hereafter ſhall be touched when time ſhall ſerue: the Greeke Emperours alſo held the greateſt part of *Pulia* and *Calabria*; for the ſaid BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE recouered the ſame, when they ouerthrew OTHO the ſecond in *Italie*; and therein commaunded ſome, with the titles of Gouernours and Captaines, and were called *Caliſti*, as in auncient time were the Exarchi: yet *Sicilia* was in a manner wholy poſſeſſed by the Infidels of *Africa*.

THE

THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE SECOND OF THAT NAME; AND FOVRESCORE AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

OTho being dead, the Germane Princes Electors, according to their authoritie choſe and Crowned Henry Duke of Bauiere (Couſin Germane of the deceaſed Emperor Otho) Emperour. This Prince, in the beginning of his raigne, was much troubled; by reaſon of certaine rebels. He warred againſt Robert King of France, and leuied a power againſt the Duke of Bohemia which rebelled: in both which attempts, he obtained honourable victory. He made the King of Hungarie (who deſired his ſiſter in marriage) to be baptized; and went into Italy, whereto he had a great deſire; and marching with an armie againſt the Infidels, which held many townes in Italy, chiefely in Pulia, he ſubdued them. And returning into Germany, he inuited Pope Benedict to come to viſit him; and the Pope comming thither, was receiued with exceeding great honour. He liued with his wife in continuall chaſtitie, and left her as good a mayde as he found her; and ſo falling ſicke of an extreame infirmitie, hauing performed all things appertaining to a good Chriſtian, he departed out of this life; but he firſt intreated the Princes Electors, to make choyce of a good Emperour.

IT cannot be denied, but that the three OTHOES, the Father, the Sonne, and the Nephew, of whom we now left to diſcourſe, were very valorous and worthie Princes; and which repaired the credit and reputation of the Empire, very much rent and decayed; and for ſuch are commended and recorded by the Hiſtoriographers. OTHO then dying in *Italy*, (in ſuch maner as I haue declared) after that the Germane Princes and people were returned into their Countrey, with the Emperours dead bodie, and had buried the ſame, with ſuch ſolemnitie as thereto appertained: the aforenamed Princes, which were made Princes Electors (which were the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Colen*, and of *Treuier*; the

the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*, and the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*) purpoſing to ſhew their authoritie, and to chuſe an Emperour, met together in the Citie of *Franckeford*; where knowing and conſidering the many vertues and deſerts of HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, they choſe him for King of the Romanes, and future Emperour AVGVSTVS; and he was annoynted in *Aken* by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, which was in a manner by the common conſent of them all, excepting HERBERT only Archbiſhop of *Colen*, who was of a contrarie faction. This HENRY was couſin Germane to OTHO, whom he ſucceeded in the Empire, and Nephew of HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, Brother to OTHO the firſt (yet ſecond of that name) who by the ſame OTHO was made Duke of *Bauiere*, as in his life we haue ſpecified; and was the ſecond of the Emperours ſo called; yet the Italian writers ſay, that he was the firſt, for they doe not reckon the other HENRY, Duke of *Saxony*, for Emperor, (whoſe life we haue before written, who was Father to OTHO the firſt) for that he came not into *Italy*, neither was Crowned therein by the Pope. The election of the new Emperour was commended and approued by all thoſe which deſired the good of the Commonwealth, for that he was a good man, yet there were ſome ambicious, and vnquiet Princes, which rebelling, tooke Armes againſt him; but he ſhewing his power and valour, in ſhort ſpace tamed and brought them to his obedience: who they were which thus rebelled againſt the Emperour HENRY, I could neuer reade, for the writers doe not ſpecifie the ſame. This HENRY being confirmed and aſſured in his ſeate, deſired to come into *Italy*, but he could not bring it to paſſe, vntill the eleuenth yeare of his raigne, by reaſon of ſuch warres as happened. Firſt, ſome Authors write, that there preſently grew warres betweene him, and ROBERT King of *France*, who (by the report of all writers) was alſo an excellent Prince, although the ſonne of HVGH CAPET, which vſurped thoſe Kingdomes: for what cauſe thoſe two good Princes fell at variance I finde not written; but thoſe which make mention thereof, ſay, that HENRY had the victorie in this warre; and that afterwards they came to an agreement: which being ended, there followed a farre more dangerous warre than the former; which was againſt BODISLAVS Duke of *Bohemia*; who being of great power, and ayded by the Slauons, the Polacres, the Morauians and other nations, rebelled againſt the Empire; and the Emperour with a great power reſolutely marching againſt him, the warres grew to be very cruell; and ſome battailes were fought, wherein BODISLAVS was ouerthrowne: but not diſmayed therewith, perſiſting in his rebellion; he reinforced his armie, and leuied the greateſt power that he was able, and againe gaue the Emperour battaile; which, through the valour and courage of the Captaines and Souldiers of either ſide, was very doubtfull and terrible, and the Emperour HENRY with much difficultie obtained the victorie, and executed the ſame in ſuch manner, that BODISLAVS was conſtrained humbly to craue pardon, and to ſue for peace; which was graunted vpon very hard and heauy conditions; and ſo he was ſubdued, and made ſubiect to the Empire, together with his abbettors.

Henry the ſecond, choſen Emperour.

Bodiſlaus Duke of Bohemia, ouerthrowne by the Emperour.

This enterpriſe being ended, and he free from warre, in the meane time that he made preparation for his going into *Italie*, (which he greatly deſired) he applied himſelfe to matters of peace and good gouernment, doing iuſtice to all men indifferently; and builded and enriched many Churches and Monaſteries; and honoured and aduanced Biſhops, Monkes, Prieſts, Friars, and other ſuch like religious people. In thoſe dayes (being importuned, and in a manner compelled

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by the great Princes of the Empire, wholy against his will) he married the daughter of the Countie Palantine of *Rhine*, called AMIGVNDA, with whom (vndiscouered and vnknowne to any, vntill his death) he liued most chastly, both of them obseruing voluntary virginitie, without hauing any carnall knowledge the one of the other; which is one of the most notable matters that I euer read, of any King or Emperour. This Emperour had also a sister called GISELA, which (as they write) was the faireſt woman of her time; whom STEPHEN, Duke and Lord of *Hungary*, desiring to haue to wife, could not obtaine his sute, except he would first become a Christian, and be baptized (for although that in that Kingdome were many Christians, yet the Princes were Infidels) whereto STEPHEN yeelded, and became so deuout, that he is accounted amongst the Saints: and the Emperour gaue him his Sister, and with her the title of King, and so he was the first that was called King of *Hungary*. Some write that this GISELA was Neece, and not Sister to the Emperour. In these accidents before recounted, HENRY spent ten yeeres of his raigne, and then resolued to leuie a great Armie, therewith to goe into *Italie*, wherein had passed some great matters: those which are for our purpose, are, that MOLOCHVS, gouernour of *Pulia*, and of *Calabria*, for the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and with him WILLIAM, and his other Brothers, Sonnes of the Duke of *Normandy* (a Prince and great Lord in *France*, who at that time was in *Italy* with great forces, whither they came about some certaine enterprises) ioyned their forces together, and agreed with the Duke of *Salerno*, and other princes, to expell the infidels of *Africa*, out of the Ile of *Sicilia*, wherein they inhabited: which they did with such force and courage, that within lesse then two yeares they recouered the whole Iland: whereof (according to the agreement) certaine cities and townes were to haue bin giuen to the sayd WILLIAM, and to the other Dukes; but MOLOCHVS satisfying the debt with part of the pray and bootie, which they had taken; of all the rest would part with nothing; but put garrisons into all the townes, to holde the same for his Lord the Emperour: and WILLIAM, and the rest discontent herewith, came into *Italy*, wherein they took by force of Armes, such cities as were vnder MOLOCHVS his gouernment; and MOLOCHVS comming out of *Sicilia* to make head against him, they ioyned in battaile, and WILLIAM obtayning the victorie therein, became Lord of the most part of *Pulia*, and of *Calabria*; and hee dying, his Brother DROGVS succeeded; and afterward through sundry accidents, his ofspring became Lord of those prouinces, and in processe of time, of *Sicilia* also for a long time after: first with the title of Dukes, and afterwards of Kings of *Sicilia*, and in the end of both the *Sicilia*, which are *Sicilia* and *Naples*, as in time shalbe remembred in our History. In the time that this WILLIAM and the Normans came into *Italy*, the Authors differ; but so farre foorth as I can coniecture by the true computation of times, it happened at such time, as I recounted. This being passed, Pope SERGIVS died in *Rome*, and BENEDICT the eyght, of those so called, succeeded him: yet BLONDVS calleth him STEPHEN, which is contrary to the opinion of all the other Historiographers, so that I imagine it was thorough the errors of the Writer; for in that time there was not any Pope of that name. In the time of this BENEDICT, the Emperour HENRY prepared for his comming into *Italy*, and came very mighty, and by the way visiting *Milan*, and the other Imperiall cities, he came to *Rome*, where by Pope BENEDICT he was most solemnly receaued, and afterwards crowned with exceeding feasting and magnificence: where making his aboad for some few dayes space,

Voluntary chastity obserued by the Emperor and the Empereſſe.

The King of Hungary became a Christian, and was baptized.

The Emperour Henrie, his comming into Italy.

ſpace, he marched thence with his army againſt the infidels, which through the ayde and permiſſion of the Greekes, (to vſe their ſeruice againſt the Normans) came into *Italy*, and had beſieged the citie of *Capua*, with which the Emperour fought, and ouerthrowing them, forced them to abandon the countrey. And after that he went againſt SVBAGENVS, Generall for the Emperour BASILIVS, for that he had ſupported the infidels in *Pulia*; and making cruell warre againſt him, diſpoſſeſſed him of many townes; and in the end laying ſiege (which laſted fower monethes) to the citie of *Treya*, which was but newly erected and ennobled, he tooke it by force of Armes: ſo as expelling the infidelles, and taming the Greekes, leauing them ſome part of *Calabria* to inhabite in, and in part fauoring the Normans, as thoſe which had ſhewed themſelues his obedient and dutifull ſeruants, he left to them *Pulia*, whereof they were alreadie poſſeſſed, and returning to *Rome*, ſtayed there certaine daies, and thence went into *Germany*, with great honor, and by the way, viſiting *Milan* and other townes, was in *Germany* receiued with great ioy and ſolemnitie; and ſo his dominions being in peace, he ſpent his time in miniſtring iuſtice, and in well gouerning his Empire. As the Emperor HENRY buſied himſelfe in thoſe actions before ſpecified, and had raigned twentie and two yeeres, ſome ſet two yeeres leſſe, yet PLATINA and BLONDVS ſay, that he raigned but onely eight yeeres, wherein they are manifeſtly deceiued: but I thinke for certaine, that (as they were Italians) ſo they reckon his raigne but from the time that hee was crowned in *Rome*, which was in the twelfth yeere thereof; and ſo commeth their account to agree with the reſt of the authors; whereof let the reader be well aduiſed, aſwell in this, as in what ſhall be ſaid hereafter. At the end of which time being taken with a greeuous ſicknes, wherewith ſeeing himſelfe oppreſſed, he commaunded ſuch of the princes electors as might come in ſo ſhort ſpace, to be ſent for; which being come, he counſelled them, that after his deceaſe they ſhould chuſe the valorous prince CONRADE, Emperour; who was one of the Dukes of *Sueuia*, others ſay of *Franconia*, the cauſe whereof, may be, that he came of both houſes, and ſo after the Germane manner, was called by both names, as at this day the Dukes of *Bauiere* are called Counties Palantines of *Rhine*. He named this man vnto them, for that he thought him to deſire the Empire: and within few daies after died, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand foure and twentie, leauing his wife as good a virgin as ſhe came to him. It is written that ſhe being accuſed of adulterie, ſhewed her innocencie, by going barefooted vpon certaine plates of fiery hot yron; and that the Emperour became very penitent for permitting her to expoſe her ſelfe to ſuch daunger, being ſo chaſt and vertuous a woman.

The death of the Emperor Henry the ſecond, anno. dom. 1024.

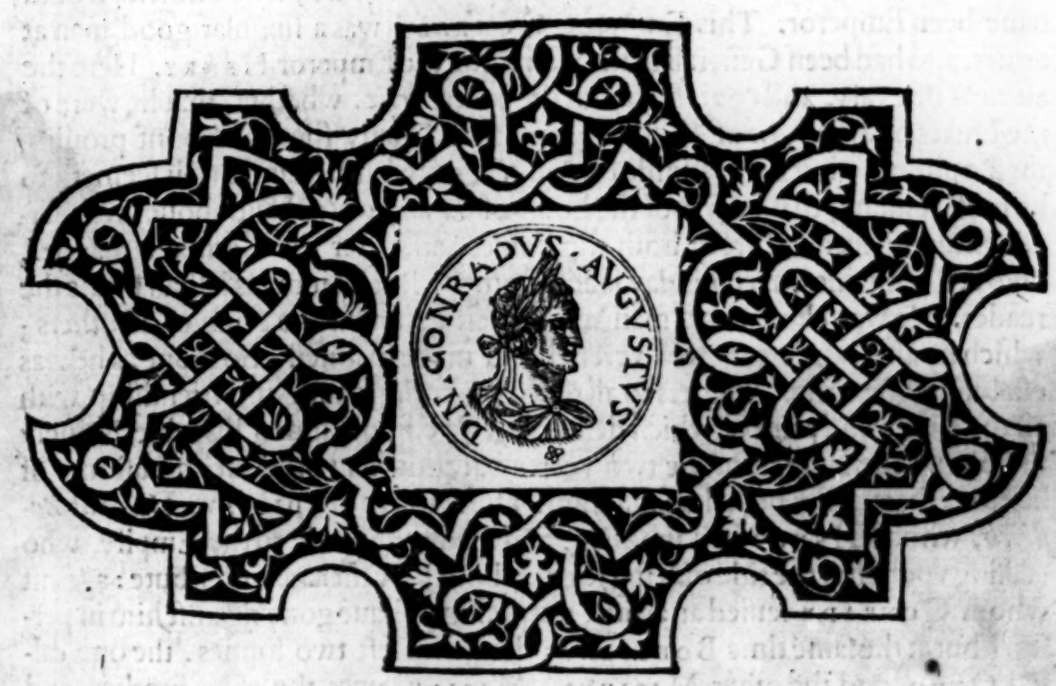
In a manner about this time died BASILIVS Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, I ſay in a manner, for that in this place, it is a harde matter to agree the times, by reaſon of the incertaintie and variablenes amongſt the writers. BASILIVS when he died was ſeuentie and two yeeres old, and had raigned two and fiftie; in moſt matters, in great proſperitie, at leaſt in armes, aſwell againſt the Bulgarians, which he compelled to pay him tribute; as againſt the Infidels: and dying left his Empire to his brother CONSTANTINE, who raigned three yeeres, and gouerned the ſame negligent and viciouſly; and he before his deceaſe, ordained and left a great and valorous perſonage, called ROMANVS ARGIROPHILVS, for Emperour, whom he firſt married to his daughter. This ROMANVS in the beginning, ſhewed himſelfe to be an excellent and valorous prince, but being afterwards ouerthrowne by the Infidels in *Aſia*, he altering his condition, became couetous and

The death of Baſilius Emperor of Conſtantinople.

and gaue himſelfe ouer to many other vices; for which cauſe he grew to be ſo-much abhorred, that hauing raigned but onely fiue yeeres, his owne wife ZOE practiſed his death, by the hands of one MICHAEL PAPHLAGONVS, with whom ſhe liued in adulterie; and afterwards married him, being a man very well conditioned; who by her meanes had the Empire, which he valiant and manfully defended the ſpace of ſeauen yeeres, in the warres which he held with the Infidels in *Aſia*, in *Soria* defending the frontires of *Phenicia*.

THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND ELEVENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of MICHAEL Emperour of *Conſtantinople*.



THE ARGVMENT.

CONrade the ſecond was choſen Emperor accordingly as the Emperor Henry before his death had ordained, and thereto had perſwaded the princes electors; yet that notwithſtanding, his election was not without ſome contradiction and difficultie. Being in poſſeſſion of the Empire, he was to prouide for many matters, and to ſubdue many rebels, which rebelled through the long vacation of the imperiall ſeate, which was two yeeres without any ſoueraigne. But all theſe rebellions and tumults of warre were pacified without ſhedding any droppe of blood, or drawing of ſworde, for he ſubdued them all through his humanitie and courteſie: theſe warres letted him three yeeres. This being done, he came into Italy with a very great armie, and tooke Milan, which was a more rebellious citie, then any of the reſt, and comming to Rome was crowned by Pope Iohn the one and twentith. Afterwards underſtanding of certaine tumults in Ger-

manie, he ſpeedily returned thither, and that enterpriſe being ended, he came againe into Italy, wherein many cities had renolted, but inflicting terrible puniſhment vpon the malefactors, he came at length to Rome, to relieue the Pope againſt ſuch as moleſted him; and hauing reformed all matters in Italy, he returned into Germanie, where being aſſailed by an infirmitie, he died, hauing raigned Emperor ten yeeres.

THe princes electors of the Empire being aſſembled, to chuſe a ſucceſſor for the Emperor HENRY (whoſe hiſtorie we haue but now written) notwithſtanding that he counſelled them to make choice of CONRADE, yet they could not ſo eaſily agree, but that the difference continued betweene them the ſpace of two yeeres, without being able to reſolue, who ſhould, or ought to be Emperor; whereof many inconueniences and diſorders enſued, and many cities and townes in *Italy*, and ſome princes in *Germanie*, attempted to ſet themſelues at libertie, and to ſhake off the imperiall yoake, wherewith the new Emperor elect was afterwards greatly troubled. At the end of this time, the aforeſaid CONRADE was choſen, and crowned Emperor, as HENRY had willed, yet he was in ſome ſort contradicted, particularly by CONON, one of the Dukes of *Bauiere*, and Vncle to the late Emperor HENRY; who himſelfe would haue been Emperor. This Emperor CONRADE was a ſingular good man at armes, and had been Generall in the warres for the Emperor HENRY. Here the authors doe vary, and contend about the matter, *viz.* whether, that he were of the Dukes of *Suetia*, or of *Francōnia*, and ſpend many ſpeeches about prouing their opinions; but I will auoide this trauell, notwithſtanding that it ſeemeth to be moſt certaine, that he was of the houſe of *Suetia*, or (as I ſaid aboue) was peraduenture deſcended from both the houſes, and after the Germane manner, enioyed both titles, as at this day is accuſtomed. But let it be, as it ſhall pleaſe the reader. He was choſen as a man which beſt deſerued the fame of all others; which he afterwards very well verefied and made manifeſt. So ſoone as he was eſtabliſhed, he wrote his letters to all parts, procuring peace and friendſhip with all the Kings and princes which deſired it, and commaunded his ſubiects duely to obſerue the ſame: but the two yeeres vacation had bred ſuch a cuſtome of libertie, that they rebelled againſt him. The firſt was BODISLAVS Duke of *Auſtrich*, whom HENRY had ſubdued, and made tributarie to the Empire, who (taking vpon him the title of King) denied both his vaſſelage and tribute: againſt whom CONRADE leuied an armie, purpoſing to haue gone againſt him in perſon; but at the ſame time BODISLAVS died, and left two ſonnes, the one called OTHO, and the other MISICVS. MISICVS was the elder brother, and remained abſolute Lord, and imitating his father, perſiſted in his rebellion againſt the Emperor, and expelled his brother OTHO, becauſe he would not ioyne with him in the action; and this OTHO went preſently to the Emperor, who entertained him well, but was ſomuch diſpleaſed with his brother MISICVS his preſumption, that he ſent the ſame OTHO with part of his armie to begin the warre, and within few daies, he himſelfe followed with the reſt, and entred the countrie with ſuch power, that MISICVS durſt not abide his comming, but went into *Bohemia*, to craue aide of WALDERICVS Duke and Lord thereof, who was alſo one of thoſe which rebelled againſt the new Emperor. WALDERICVS hauing entertained and aſſured him; in liew of ayding him, ſent to treat ſecretly with the Emperor, to the end to haue deliuered him vp into his hands thinking by this meane to haue come to the better compoſition with him. But

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the Emperor diſdaining to entrap his enemie by treaſon, was ſo much diſpleaſed with WALDERICVS, for his treacherie, that beſides, that he would not accept his offer, he ſhewed the greatnes of his noble heart, by ſending to MISICVS, ſecretly aduiſing him to come to his obedience, or to ſeeke reliefe ſomewhere elſe, for in *Bohemia* he had no certaine refuge. MISICVS vnderſtanding what paſſed, and well conſidering and waighing the Emperors goodnes, went out of *Bohemia*; and comming into his countrie, left the enſignes and title of King, which his father and he had vſurped, and with a ſmall traine, came and yeelded himſelfe into the Emperors power, humbly ſubmitting himſelfe, more in regarde of his kinde and gentle admonition and aduice, then of the force of his armes: and the Emperour pardoned, and graunted him peace vpon the ſame conditions, as before. Following the example of MISICVS, the Duke of *Poland* and all the reſt which had taken armes, and rebelled, came to the Emperors ſeruice and obedience; amongſt which were STEPHEN King of *Hungarie*, and WALDERICVS Duke of *Bohemia*, notwithſtanding that they firſt failed not to try the vtmoſt of what they were able to doe by force of armes. In all which CONRADE ſpent the firſt three yeeres of his raigne, and could not (accordingly as he deſired) goe into *Italy* to be crowned; where he had much to doe, by reaſon of the great leagues and confederacies made againſt him, to the end to free themſelues from the imperiall yoake and ſubiection. This time being expired, and hauing taken order for the eſtate of *Germanie*, he leuied the greateſt and moſt mightie armie that he could, and came into *Italy*, but he firſt nominated his ſonne HENRY, King of the Romanes: and foraſmuch as *Milan*, and all the townes in that quarter, which in former time were wont to be moſt ſeruiceable and in greateſt ſubiection, were now in armes, and rebelled; he therefore marched directly thither, and ſo it behoued him to doe, for Pope GREGORIE the fifth (in the rule and Canon which he made in the time of OTHO the third, concerning the princes electors, and the chuſing of the Emperour) inſtituted and ordained, that he which was choſen, beſides the golden crowne which he ſhould receiue of the Pope, ſhould be crowned with two other crownes; the one of ſtraw in *Monzi*, a citie in *Lombardie*; and the other of Iron, in the citie of *Milan*; which I haue reſerued to be written in this place, and doe here finde it written by my authors. Wherefore, for the full accompliſhment hereof (although I haue not read that any his predeceſſors had done the like) the Emperour battering and ſcaling ſuch townes as would not peaceably receiue him, came to *Milan*, which then was more obſtinate and rebellious then any other, and doing much harme in the territorie thereof, he narrowly begirt the citie with a ſiege, with a determination to haue ruinated and burnt the ſame, for the great diſpleaſure which he had conceiued againſt it; and for an example to the reſt. Which he might and had eaſily performed, and that in ſhort ſpace (as many writers affirme) but that (I know not vpon what occaſion) he raiſed his ſiege from before it, and went towards *Rome* (no man daring to make head againſt him) where Pope IOHN the one and twentie moſt ſolemnly receiued him, and with the like ſolemnitie crowned him with the crowne of gold: at which cronation (as affirme ſome authors which I follow) was KANVTVS King of *England* in pilgrimage, with whoſe daughter, they ſay, that HENRY, ſonne of this Emperor CONRADE, was before this time maried. And there was alſo RODVLPH, King of *Burgundie*, and and Vncle to GISELA the Empereſſe, who was deſcended from CHARLES the great; and being depriued of his eſtate of *Burgundie*, by ROBERT brother to the

The loyaltie of the Emperor Conrade.

Conrade came into Italy.

French king, came to emplore the Emperors aide and succours. CONRADE being in *Rome*, there arose a great tumult betweene his traine, and the citizens; in so much that they all tooke armes and fought all one whole day together, and many were slaine of either side, but the Imperialists had the better; and the Emperour in the best manner that he could, pacified this ryot, and staying but a shorte space after this in *Rome*, he departed thence, and out of *Italy* also towards *Germany*; for his sonne in law ERNESTVS Duke of *Suevia*, sonne to the Empresse GRSILA, by her first husband Duke of *Suevia*, rebelled, and made warre, seeing him pestred in *Italy*. But he being come into *Germany*, ERNESTVS being of no sufficient power long to defend himselfe was soone ouerthrowne, and fled to the Mountaines, where he was afterwards taken and slaine by the Emperours souldiers, and his estate was giuen to his brother, whose name was HARMAN. At this his comming (so farre as I can gather, comparing the times with the accidents) CONRADE gat by his captaines the countrie of *Burgundie*, and made it subiect to the Empire, which one hundred and odde yeeres had been subiect to the house of *France* (but yet there had been very mightie kings and Dukes therein) which was effected by the will and testament of RODVLPH, who was present at the Emperors coronation in *Rome*, and hee bequeathed it to the Emperours sonne HENRY, which could not be done without warre and bloudshed; for the King of *France* of the one part, and a certaine mightie Earle of another, pretended right thereto, and were possessed of great part of the countrie; but to be short (for herein much might be said) at this time the supreme dignitie of *Burgundie* was transported to the Empire: yet ROBERT GAGVIN in the end of his fifth booke, saith, that *Burgundie* was then diuided into two parts, the one remaining subiect to the French, and the other to the Empire. The Emperor CONRADE hauing ended these things so well for his profit, after that he had in rest liued some yeeres in *Germany*, without any accident worthie writing (by reason whereof the historie of his time is more briefe then of other Emperors) he determined to come the second time into *Italy*; for at the first, by reason of the small time that he made his abode therein, he could not leaue matters in such order as he desired; and also for that he vnderstoode that the Italians sought aide and reliefe from the Slauons, and the Hungars, against him, with a determination not to yeeld him any obedience. So that hauing all things in a readines for his iourney, so speedily as hee could hee departed, and came with greater expedition and power, then any man thought of; and in his iourney ruinating some townes, and punishing some offenders which thought to haue made head against him, he came to *Milan*, which presently yeelded, where he punished the guiltie for former offences, and remained some daies therein; and departing from thence, tooke all the cities in that territorie; and then went to *Rome* to see the Pope, and to relieue him against such as disobeyed him (which now, as I coniecture, was BENEDICT the ninth, IOHN the one and twentith being dead, who was Pope eleuen yeeres) and from thence with great power he trauelled ouer all *Italy*, visiting all the lands belonging to the Church of *Rome*, and to the Empire, without finding any resistance; yet in *Pulia*, and in *Calabria*, the warres still continued betweene the Greekes and the Normanes. In this manner returned CONRADE into *Germany* triumphing and mightie, whose historie I haue written very briefly, for so doe the authors handle the same: and thinking now to repose himselfe after his former troubles (which for the space of fifteene yeeres that he was Emperour he had endured) he was taken with an infirmitie, whereof within few daies

The diuision of Burgundie into the Duchy, and the Countie.

Conrade his second comming into Italy.

daies he died, in the yeere of our Lord 1040. ſome adde thereto three yeeres, he left one ſonne whoſe name was HENRY, who as I will preſently tell you ſucceeded him in the Empire. In the time of the Emperour CONRADE, MICHAEL PAPHLAGONVS (as is alreadie ſaid) raigned Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, for that ZOE tooke him for her husband, with whom ſhe had liued, euer ſince the deceaſe of ARGIROPHILVS her firſt husband; and he ruled the Empire ſeauen yeeres. After his deceaſe ſhe tooke another husband of the ſame name called MICHAEL GALAFATES, and being accuſtomed to that trade ſhe made him Emperour, but for that hee liued with her but foure monethes, ſhe remained a widow: by reaſon whereof, the ſame ZOE, together with her ſiſter THEODORA (which were the Emperour CONSTANTINES daughters) gouerned the Empire three monethes; and as ſhe was both inconſtant and incontinent, ſo ſhe reſolued once againe to haue an husband: and vpon this occaſion baniſhed her ſiſter, and married a man whoſe name was CONSTANTINVS MONACVS, for that he came of the line of the Emperors, who neuertheleſſe was a wicked and euill Emperor, which was the occaſion that the Empire began to decline, and to be of ſmall account. In this time died the Emperor CONRADE. Of what end this Emperor CONSTANTINVS MONACVS made, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

The death of the Emperor Conrade. Anno Dom. 1040.

THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND TWELFTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of thoſe which in his time raigned in *Conſtantinople*.

THE ARGVMENT.

IN the beginning of this Emperors raigne there were ſome troubles, for that he was not choſen according to order; neuertheleſſe, being held for ſuch, he warred vpon the Duke of Bohemia, which denyed him tribute; and taking him priſoner, conſtrained him to become

come a good and obedient ſubiect. He afterwards warred againſt the Hungars, aſwell for that they had giuen aide to the Bohemians; as for contriuing ſome vnlawfull innouations, and gaue them a very great ouerthrow; and their King being dead (which knew not how to make benefit of the Emperors clemencie) he reſtored Peter to the crowne: and afterwards ſubdued the Duke of Lorraine, which denied him obedience. He came into Italy, where he redreſſed the eſtate of the Church, which was farre out of order, and was crowned in Rome; and afterwards bending his forces againſt the Infidels, he drane them out of Italy: and being come into Germanie he ſent a Pope to Rome (hauing accepted the offers made vnto him by the Cardinals concerning the Popes election) who being receiued by the Cardinals, lined like a Pope; this Pope going againſt the Duke of Normandie, being in a battaile taken priſoner, was the very ſame day ſet at libertie, and obeyed by the victor. This Emperor once againe warred againſt the Hungars, for putting Peter their King to death; and after many accidents came to an agreement with them; in which time, there were ſo many calamities and ſcourges ſent from God into the world, that the Emperor falling ſicke, died for ſorrow, when he had held the Empire ſeauenteene yeeres.

IT cannot be denied, that after that the Empire was wholy tranſported to the Germanes in the perſon of OTHO, but that the Emperours thereof defended and gouerned the ſame very valorouſly, as by the hiſtorie appeareth; principally the OTHONES and the HENRIES likewiſe, as is to be ſeene by the two, of which we are to treat: this HENRY being the ſonne of CONRADE, was a good Emperor, and in condition no leſſe vertuous then his father, or any of the HENRIES or other his predeceſſors; neither in armes of leſſe valour and courage. We haue tolde you before how that his father in his life time had made him King of the Romanes, which was a policie, which the Emperors haue euer ſince vſed, to procure the Empire for their ſonnes; and by that meane to leaue the ſame to them by election; ſeeing they could not doe it by inheritance: which in truth ſeemeth to be but a deuice to fruſtrate and preuent the law and decree made and eſtabliſhed by the Emperor OTHO the third, and Pope GREGORIE the fifth, concerning the place where, in what manner, and by whom, the Emperors (the Empire being voide) ſhould be choſen, and that it ſhould not be inherited by ſucceſſion, but by election: whereupon there grew ſome queſtion and doubt about the matter, *viz.* whether this HENRY ſhould be held for Emperor or no; for the princes of *Germany* held it for very inconuenient and vnfit, that his father ſhould nominate him; and that it was a daungerous matter to introduce ſuch a cuſtome, for this was a thing that ought to be done by the princes electors onely: but in the end (they acknowledging his good parts and deſerts) he was confirmed and crowned Emperour, and generally obeyed for ſuch, according to the accuſtomed manner: Onely GRATISLAVS Duke of *Bohemia*, whom the Abbot WESPRAGENSIS, BLONDVS, PLATINA, and OLDERICVS call FRATISLAVS (who was a man of great power) rebelled againſt him, denying any ſuperioritie, or to pay him any tribute, which (as IOHN CVSPINIAN ſaith) was one hundred cowes, and fiue hundred markes of ſiluer yeerly; againſt whom HENRY (as a new Emperour, of an high ſtomacke, deſirous to winne honour and reputation) raiſed a great armie, and that ſooner then hee ſhould haue done; for they write that hee began his warre in the winter, and therefore failed of his expectation; and that through the vnſeaſonablenes of the time, and the diſtemperature of the countrie; in skirmiſhes and encounters he loſt many of his men, which were taken and ſlaine by the enemie; ſo as for that time he had the worſt, and was driuen to retire, without accompliſhing what he had proiected, and with loſſe of reputation; wherewith he was ſo much grieued and

Henry the third choſen and crowned Emperor.

and aſhamed, that preſently in the beginning of the next ſpring, he returned to the warres of *Bohemia*, with all the force that he was able to make; and GRATISLAVS growne proud of his late good ſucceſſe, and through the new ſupplies which came to him out of *Hungary*, offered him battaile, wherein (notwithſtanding that both armies fought couragiouſly) yet in the end the Duke was ouerthrowne, and afterward taken flying, and the Emperour (ſhewing that compaſſion, which the other craued) graunted him life, and pardoned the offence vpon ſecuritie, that from thence forth he ſhould be a loyall ſubiect; firſt gathering in the arrerages of three yeeres tribute, which was behinde vnpaied, as COSMVS DE ANDREPRAGANA recounteth in his Annales; whereby the Emperor wanne much honor. And preſently after this, followed another warre againſt the Hungarians for the ſame occaſion. By the death of King STEPHEN which was King of *Hungarie*, PETER came to the crowne, againſt whom for ſome ill vſage, his ſubiects rebelled, and made a kinſman of his, King, whom the Abbot WESPERGENSIS calleth VBO, and others call him ABA, and the tyrant ABA being of greater power then the King; PETER was expelled his countrie, and driuen to ſeeke redreſſe and reliefe of the Emperor HENRY, who notwithſtanding that he was not well pleaſed with him, for aſſiſting the Duke of *Bohemia* againſt him, yet for that he had ſubdued them both, he as his ſoueraigne Lorde entertained him, ſeeing that to him it appertained to doe iuſtice, and not to permit any tyrannie in his time: and ABA or VBO being aduertiſed hereof, and hauing ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, to ſhew him the equitie of his cauſe, and to deſire his confirmation in the kingdome, not contenting himſelfe in that hee had tyrannized *Hungarie*, entred *Auſtrich* aud *Bauaria*, and robbing and ſpoiling thoſe countries, carried great bootie and pray out of thoſe quarters; this hee did at ſuch time as the Emperour held a diet, or Parliament in *Colen*; where the princes of *Germanie* were aſſembled: whereupon by the generall conſent of them all the Emperour (accompanied with ſome of the princes) with a great armie departed from *Colen* towards *Hungary*, ſending GRATISLAVS Duke of *Bohemia* before him, to begin the warre, which ABA the tyrant King of *Hungarie* fearing, ſent Ambaſſadours to meete the Emperor vpon the way, withall the butin and pray that they had gotten in *Auſtrich* and *Bauaria*, deſiring and entreating him, for peace; promiſing to doe what he ſhould enioyne him vnto, conditionally that he might not be depoſed from that kingdome: whereto the Emperor for that time yeelded and conſented; moued thereto by a rumor ſpred abrode, that the Duke of *Lorraine*, with the aide of *France*, was in armes, and rebelled; which was the occaſion of the peace graunted to the King of *Hungary*, to the end that the Emperour thereby might haue the better leaſure and oportunitie to follow the warres of *Lorraine*, which were ſo much doubted. But ABA tooke not the benefit of that peace (as a wiſe, and a peaceable prince would haue done; but intreated his ſubiects rather with greater pride and rigor then theretofore, putting many of the moſt principall of them to death; vpon which occaſion the Emperor the yeere next following (with no leſſer an armie then the former, but with greater reſolution) entred *Hungarie*; where ABA alreadie attended his comming with his whole power; and with ſuch other aide and aſſiſtance as he could get; which was ſuch and ſo great, that aſſuring himſelfe to preuaile againſt the Emperors forces he offered him battaile; which was exceeding reſolutely fought of either ſide, and was very bloodie and cruell: but the King in the end was ouerthrowne, and (as writeth HENRICVS MVCIVS) twentie and ſixe thouſand of his

The Emperor Henry his victorie againſt the King of Hungarie.

Aba king of Hungary ouerthrowne in a battaile by Henry the Emperour, and slaine by his owne people.

men were slaine therein: and of the Emperours side, which had the victorie, three thousand: And ABA escaping by flight, was afterwards in a village (wherein hee had hidden himselfe) found & slaine by his own people: yet some say, that he was taken and slaine by his competitor PETER. After this ouerthrow, all the whole kingdome of *Hungary* sued to the Emperour for pardon, imputing all their former faults to their king; and hee gaue them a generall pardon, and restored king PETER to his throne, first reconciling him to his subiects, & placed a noble man to be in some sort assistant to him in the gouernment: But this king (as he was naturally cruell) agreed so ill with his people, that in the end hee lost both his kingdome and his life also, as hereafter shall be specified.

This warre being ended, in such manner as I haue recounted, the Emperour longed to come into *Italy*, aswel to be crowned, as to take away the schisme out of the Church: but first hee determined (for so was it requisite) to tame the pride of GODFREY Duke of *Lorraine*, who would neither obey nor acknowledge him, but rather tooke and vsurped some townes of his; which he had long dissembled, awaiting fitter opportunitie, thinking that at length he would haue reduced himselfe to his seruice: but now holding it vnfit any longer to dissemble, calling a Diet or Councell in the citie of *Spire*, without declaring his intention vntill that all the princes were assembled, he then manifested the offences and contempts committed by the Duke of *Lorraine*, and by common consent it was concluded to make warre against him: whereupon the Emperour without any further delay, departed with such forces as he had alreadie leuied for that purpose, towards *Lorraine*; and made such haste, that the Duke (notwithstanding that he was promised great aide and fauour both out of *France* and *Germany*) before that he could vnite those forces together, the Emperour had entred his countrie, and besieging him in a towne tooke him prisoner, and so ended that exploite: yet they write not in what forme the state remained. And so I aduertise the reader, that in the order and time wherein these warres were, those which wrote the same doe much vary: I therefore haue chosen this which I haue set downe. And the Emperour hauing now ended and performed (so much to his honour) three such enterprises and warres, as these before mentioned, of *Hungary*, of *Bohemia*, and of *Lorraine*, about which he had spent sixe yeares, he ingrossing and reinforcing his armyes, (wherein he staied some daies) took his way directly towards *Italy* to be crowned, and to procure a reformation of abuses in the Church thereof, wherein was a schisme, such as before that time had nener been, which was thus. The Emperour CONRADE being dead, and BENEDICT the ninth being Pope (as I then said) the Emperour HENRY hauing then raigned more then foure yeeres; the Romanes which knew not how to liue without factions and tumults, rebelled against the Pope: the cause whereof, and in what manner it passed, I finde not written; but their boldnes and audacitie was such, that they deposed him from the Papacie, alleaging that he neither was, neither ought to be Pope, and so they placed in his seate a Bishop, whose name was IOHN, who tooke part with them, and was called SILVESTER the third: And as PLATINA and BLONDVS report, was Pope but nine and fortie daies, at the end whereof BENEDICT was restored by those of his faction, and he within sixe weekes after, as a coward (being a wicked man and of ill behauiour and condition) for feare to bee againe deposed, for a certaine summe of money before hand paid, compounded with the Archdeacon of Saint *Iohn de Lateran*, who was a mightie rich man in *Rome*, to renounce to him the Papacie; and did so, but afterwards recanting of his bargaine, challenged to be still Pope:

The Duke of Lorraine taken prisoner by the Emperour.

Pope Benedict sold his papacy, and hauing receiued the money would continue Pope.

Pope: and the Archdeacon with the title of BENEDICTS renunciation, assisted by his friends, was made Pope, and was called GREGORIE the sixth, his owne name being IOHN, alleaging that he held the Papacie by graunt, by renunciation, and also by election; and enioyed the name and authoritie of Pope (as PLATINA saith) aboue two yeeres: BLONDVS and others say, but one yeere and seuen moneths and halfe: and some authors, as GILBERTVS, and IOHANNES DE COLVMNA, and ANTONINVS are of the same opinion, and write in their histories that he performed the office of a good Pope, and was valorous, ministred iustice, maintained the Papall dignitie, and recouered much of the Church patrimonie, which others had vsurped: so as in time of this confusion, and of setting vp, and putting downe Popes (for there were at one time three which were so called, and had been so) and (as writeth GOTHIFREDVS VITERBIENSIS, an author of foure hundred yeeres antiquitie) they all three came to a composition, and diuided the Church rents amongst them: whereof one of them dwelt hard by S. PETERS Church, another at S. MARIES; and this BENEDICT in the palace at LATERAN.

Three Popes in Rome at one time.

Things standing in this estate, the Emperour HENRY with many good men of warre entred *Italy*, and came to *Rome*; whither he called a Synode and Councel to be held of all the Bishops in *Italy*, and of most parts of Christendome; which being assembled, together with the three Popes, they treated of them three, and (after many verdicts and opinions) the Emperour and all the rest concluded, that these three should be held for no Popes, but be deposed, and that another should be chosen, considering the voluntarie renunciation made by BENEDICT, and other nullities and insufficiencies in the three elections: And this resolution was put in effect, and they were condemned, depriued, and banished the countrie: And by the same Councell, with the fauour of the Emperour, a Germane prelate and Bishop of *Bambergh* was chosen, and was called CLEMENT the second; who so soone as he was Pope, annointed and crowned the Emperour, after the accustomed manner, with great feasting and solemnitie. After this coronation the Emperour departed from *Rome* towards *Capua*, which the Africane Infidels had taken, in time of the warres made by the Normanes in those parts; and obtaining notable victories against them, draue them out of the countrie; and setting the best order that hee could in all the rest, returned to *Rome*; and thence visiting *Italy* and *Lombardy*, he returned into *Germany*, and was scarcely come thither when Pope CLEMENT the second (whom he had chosen) died in *Rome*, when he had been Pope but onely nine moneths; and not without suspition of poyson by the practise of one STEPHEN a Bauarian Bishop, who more by force and through friendship, then any right of election, gat the Papacie, and was called DAMASVS the second: Onely BLONDVS putteth another Pope betweene CLEMENT the second and DAMASVS, whom he calleth STEPHEN, of whom no other author (that I haue seene) maketh any mention: but I gesse that he is deceiued in the name, for this DAMASVS was first called STEPHEN. In those times the Popes were of so little worth, and the Church lands were so vsurped by tyrants, that they durst attempt nothing, and therefore were accordingly disobeyed and lightly regarded. Returning to Pope DAMASVS, I say, that the Papacie which he obtained by force, he held and enioyed the same but three and twentie daies, and he being dead, the Romanes neither would, nor durst make choice of a pope, without the Emperours consent, for (as some write) pope CLEMENT the second had so ordained when he was (at his suite) chosen; and they did so, imagining that the

The Emperour came into Italy

Pope Clement the second crowned Henry the third Emperour.

the Emperour would haue ſent them word, that they ſhould haue choſen him whom they ſhould hold moſt worthie thereof. The newes of pope CLEMENTS death, and of his ſucceſſor DAMASVS, and the Ambaſſadours, came to the Emperour in a manner all at one inſtant: to the Ambaſſadours he gaue no ſuch anſwere as they expected, but accepting their offer, choſe in *Germany* the Biſhop of *Tulon*, whoſe name was BRVNVS, whom he nominated to be choſen pope, and made him preſently to depart towards *Rome*; which the ſaid Biſhop was conſtrained to accept, much againſt his will, and in a manner perforce. PLATINA and BLONDVS ſay, that from the time of his departure out of *Germany*, he made him to weare the papall habit: but a Monke whoſe name was ILDEBRAND meeting him vpon the way, perſwaded him to put off that weede, ſeeing that yet he was not choſen; alleaging further, that the Emperour had no authoritie thereto: which perſwaſion ſo much preuailed with BRVNVS, that he went to *Rome* as a priuate man, repenting that he had entred ſo farre into the action. This was in yeere of our Lord 1049.

Being come to *Rome*, the Cardinals, clergie, and people thereof, conſulted about chuſing a new Pope, but would not accept of BRVNVS, becauſe the Emperours ſhould not challenge to themſelues any right of election: but this ILDEBRAND vſed ſuch meanes, and gaue ſuch counſell to the Cardinals, that by a generall conſent BRVNVS was choſen, and called LEO the ninth; when the Chaire had been voide the ſpace of ſixe moneths. LEO being made Pope, GISVLPHVS Duke of the Normanes, being then Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, made war againſt him, and beſieged the citie of *Beneuent*, which the Emperour HENRY the ſecond gaue to the Church of *Rome*: whereof when the Emperour was aduertiſed, beſides the forces which the Pope had already leuied, hee ſent him other; with which the Pope departed from *Rome* againſt GISVLPHVS: but GISVLPHVS being the better man of warre, and hauing alreadie taken the citie of *Beneuent*, gathered his forces together and ſtaied for him in the plaine fields; and the pope more like a valiant Almaine, then an expert man at armes, gaue him battaile, and was ouerthrowne and taken priſoner therein. So, as ſaith IOANNES DE COLVMNA, it might be ſaid to him as CHRIST ſaid to S. PETER; Put vp thy ſword into the ſheath: But being priſoner, GISVLPHVS entertained him with great honour, and preſently the ſame day ſet him at libertie, and gaue him companie and ſeruants fit to attend on him, wherewith hee went to *Rome*: and they afterwards came to a compoſition betweene themſelues. Herein is a great confuſion among the Hiſtoriographers, for the Germanes write that this pope went into *Germany* to ſee the Emperour, and that there he aſſembled a Synode or Councell in the citie of *Mentz*, and that the Emperour came the ſecond time into *Italy*: Others write nothing, either of the popes going, or of the Emperours ſecond comming; in the reſt they all agree. LEO held the chaire fiue yeeres and halfe, and when hee was dead, one GEBEARDVS a Germane Biſhop borne in *Bauiere*, was choſen, and called VICTOR the ſecond; which they did to gratifie the Emperour: and preſently without any delay, to the end that he ſhould not be diſcontented, for that they had made choice of a pope without his conſent; the new pope and clergie ſent ILDEBRAND to him, who perfourmed his legacie in ſuch ſort, that the Emperour approoued and confirmed all what they had done.

Pope Leo the ninth was in a battaile ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Giſulphus Duke of Normandie.

While theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, the ſubiects of PETER king of *Hungary* (whom the Emperour had placed in that kingdome) rebelled againſt him; and ſent into *Poland* for certaine great men of *Hungary* which liued there in exile, one

of

of which was called ANDREVV, and another LEVENTA, which were their captaines; and after other great matters (which I omit) they laid hands on their king, and putting out his eyes, made him die in prison; and with the helpe of certaine Barbarians and Infidels, which came to their aide, slew some Bishops: which when the Emperour knew, hee made great preparation for warre against them, principally against ANDREVV, which tooke vpon him the name of king; and hauing builded and rigged vp a great number of Barkes and Ships, the Emperour came downe the riuer *Danubius*, from *Austrich* to *Buda*, and to other places, where this ANDREVV and the rest were; which voiage had ill successe, for his aduersaries gat certaine excellent swimmers and diuers which would lie a long time vnder the water, and these in a night buldged the Emperours barkes, in such sort that the greatest part of his munition and victuall was lost; so as he was constrained to returne with his people in the best maner that he could, without effecting any thing of worth. Afterwards hee twice entred *Hungary*; in the first, notwithstanding that he went with great preparation of horse and foote, yet he obtained no notable victorie; and the third yeere hee made peace with the Hungarians, ANDREVV remaining still their king, who acknowledged a certaine kinde of superioritie. This being ended, and it seeming a small time since that the Emperour began to repose himselfe; through the secret iudgement of God, great calamities ensued in many countries, as famine, cruell plagues of pestilence, horrible earthquakes, and other lamentable disasters: after which ensued the death of the Emperour, the end of whose raigne was for the causes aforesaid, pitifull and sorrowfull. It is written, that of sorrow and griefe, to see so great euils and miseries to happen in his time, he fell sicke and died; leauing behind him one sonne of about tenne yeeres old, called HENRY, whom before his death he made to be crowned king of the Romanes, the Electors consenting thereto; and three daughters, which afterward were married to seuerall princes: he raigned seuenteene yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord 1057.

Peter king of Hungarie was taken by his subiects, and had his eyes put out.

Expert swimmers.

Calamities by Gods prouidence.

The death of the Emperour Henry the second.

Anno Dom. 1057.

In *Constantinople* during the time of this Emperour HENRY (of whom we now spake) raigned CONSTANTINVS MONACHVS, by his marriage with the Empereresse ZOE, as I said in the end of the Emperor CONRADE: This CONSTANTINE was a retchlesse and vicious Emperour, and a publike ill liuer. In his time began the Turkes to be of great power in *Asia*, and did much harme in the lands of the empire. This Emperour was also much troubled by some which rebelled against him; yet he at length subdued them all: and so betweene prosperitie and aduersitie, he raigned thirteene yeeres. In his time also the empire did greatly decay, both in power and authoritie. One onely good qualitie he had, which was, that he was an almes giuer, and a great relieuer of the poore; and made a great Hospitall for old men only, such as through their great age being decrepit, could not get their liuing. Both he and the Empereresse died (in a manner) at one time; and both of the plague. The husband and wife being dead, THEODORA, sister to ZOE had the empire, by the authoritie and sentence of the Senate, and people of *Constantinople*, and gouerned the same with such equitie, iustice and quietnes, for the space of two yeers, that they sorrowed that she had not liued much longer. Before that she died, by the counsell of certaine Eunuches (by whom she was much ruled) she made YSACIVS CONNENVS Generall of her forces, who was a valiant and wise captaine. THEODAORA being dead, a man of great age, called MICHAEL, was made Emperour: but prouing to be incapable & insufficient for the gouernment, which he had not ruled one whole yeere to an end; by a generall consent he

When the Turkes began to grow mightie in Asia.

he was deposed from the Empire, and YSACIVS CONNENVS (whom THEODORA had made her Captaine Generall) was chosen in his place; who raigned two yeeres; and although he made a good shew of himselfe, yet (considering his short time) he could doe no notable matter, and him succeeded CONSTANTINVS DVCA.

THE LIFE OF HENRY THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND THIRTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of those which in his time raigned in *Constantinople.*

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry being yet but a childe when his father died, and he chosen and proclaimed Emperor; it behoued him therefore for many yeeres space, to liue vnder the gouernment of his mother, who by the consent of all men, tooke the charge of him, and the protection of the Empire; but afterwards being come to riper yeeres, he would no longer liue vnder her commaund, but tooke the gouernment into his owne hands. The first enterprise that he vndertoooke in the warres was against the Saxons, wherein hee behaued himselfe so gallantly (notwithstanding that he was but young) that he brought them to his obedience; yet they afterwards rebelled against him, for that he would not endure the insolence of the Pope and court of Rome, which he little regarded: this second warre was farre more dangerous then the first (although he had the victorie) and made him more disobedient to the Pope then before: whereupon he was solemly excomunicated, and depriued of the title & dignitie of the Empire, for that he called a Councell in Germany against Pope Gregorie. Of which excomunication he could neuer be absolued, vntill that he had three daies together come barefooted, to intreate the Pope for pardon, who met him at Vercelli. Whilest the Emperor was in this parley with the Pope (many princes of Germanie rebelling against him, made another Emperor, which was Rodulph Duke of Saxony; with whom Henry comming to a battaile, had no such victorie as he expected; but was againe excommunicate, and deprived of the title of Emperor; which was giuen to Rodulph newly chosen: vpon this occasion,

Henry

Henry being highly despited, chose another Pope, called Clement, and made a schisme in the Papacie, which was the occasion of very great war; but Henry after the death of his competitor Rodulph, came into Italy, and besieged Rome; and entring it, was crowned by the hands of Pope Clement, the other Pope being retired into the Castle Saint Angelo; to whom great succors being comming, Henry abandoned Rome, and with Pope Clement went into Germany, and Pope Gregory, accompanied with his crue of Cardinals, went to the citie of Salerno, where he ended his daies. At this time followed the enterprise of Ierusalem; and the rebellion of Henries eldest sonne Conrade, who rebelled, for that the Emperor sought to make his second sonne whose name was also Henry, his successor, which being done, he also rebelled against his father, so as there were more then cinell warres betweene them; neither could there any meanes or waies be found to appease them; neither could this warre be ended but through the death of the old Emperor, who having publikely (but by constraint) renounced all his iurisdiction of the Empire to his sonne, and afterwards repenting, and seeking to recouer the same, could obtaine no composition with him, and so for sorrow and griefe falling sicke, died, God permitting him to make so miserable an end.

TRuly the three Emperours called HENRIES, of which we haue treated, were very valiant and worthie princes in armes, as the father of him of whome we now begin to write, and the other two before mentioned; but none of them can be compared to this fourth, of whom we are now to discourse. It is certaine, that he was valiant, and addicted to the bearing of armes, as being trained vp therein, and was one of the most excellent princes that euer was in the world; for vntill this day it is not found written, that any Emperour came so often to blowes with his enemies as he did; for all authors affirme, that he fought in raunged battailes with ensignes displayed threescore and two seuerall times; and for the most part had euer the victorie; to which number IVLIVS CÆSAR, MARCVS MARCELLVS neuer attained (which two in their time excelled all others) This Emperour raigned fiftie yeeres. He was a man liberall, well spoken, very wise, and had many other naturall gifts and vertues; but (as saith this author) he stained and spotted them all with his ambition, for he would be Lord ouer all, both spirituall and temporall, contemning the Canons and Decretals of the Church of *Rome*, which was the occasion, that in his latter daies, he was disobeyed by those which ought him greatest obedience, which were his owne children. The Historie of him cannot be but longer then ordinarie, for that it treateth of many great accidents which happened in the space of more then fiftie yeeres that he raigned. I say then, that when his father died, he was not fully ten yeeres old; but yet for his fathers worthines, and his mothers vertues, whose name was YNES (an excellent and very wise woman) he was crowned and obeyed for Emperour and King of the Germanes, as his father in his life time had intitled him; and by the consent of the most part of the princes, his mother tooke vpon her the gouernment, both of his person and of the Empire also: And all that time she gouerned very wise and valorously, aswell in peace as in warre, against some princes, which for that she was a woman, and her sonne the Emperor so very a childe, rebelled against him: Into *Italy* she sent one GILBERT for Gouernor, who afterwards was the cause and moter of great schismes and dissentions in the Church of *Rome*. Of those which rebelled, the first was a great Lord called FREDERICKE of GILBERGH, and his brothers, all which were men of great power: but she tooke so good order with them, that she compelled them to sew for pardon, and to yeeld their obedience. The greatest trouble and

The qualities of the Emperour Henry the fourth.

difficultie that ſhe had, was againſt RODVLPH, Earle of *Reinsfelt*; with whom in proceſſe of time, HENRY had moſt cruell warre; who by the aide of ROMOLDVS Archbiſhop of *Conſtance*, tooke the Emperours ſiſter MAVVD, and married her, reckoning by this title to haue been Emperour: and the Empereſſe to the end (to bring him into fauour, and to reduce him to her ſons ſeruice) made him Duke of *Sueuia*, which then was voyde, through the death of OTHO which died without iſſue; which Dukedome was promiſed to a great Earle called BERTOLD; in recompence whereof, the Empereſſe gaue him *Corinthia*, & ſo ſhe pacified the great troubles which then aroſe; and ſome other by force of armes, with the aide and aſſiſtance of ſuch as remained loyall ſubiects. But in the end the young Emperour growing to riper yeeres, by the aduice of ſome which were of his counſell diſobeying his mother, ſought to be out of her authoritie, being thereto perſwaded, chiefly by ANO (and as others ſay OTHO) Archbiſhop of *Colen*, who delt ſo cunningly, that hee gat him into his protection, and by the aſſiſtance of ſome others, he aſſembling the princes, alleaged, that it was very vndecent, and vnfit to be rulded by a woman, ſeeing that the Emperour was of ſufficient diſcretion and vnderſtanding to doe what was conuenient. The Emperor being gotten out of the power and controulment of his mother, the Archbiſhop commaunded in ſuch ſorte that all went to wracke; for being bred vp at ſuch libertie, he did what he liſted, which in the end was the cauſe of his ruine; for he became both licencious, and preſumptuous; fauoring ſome, and grieuing others; by reaſon whereof he was ill beloued of many, and gaue himſelfe to hunting, and to ſuch other diſports, as that age is chiefly delighted with all. His mother ſeeing her ſelfe ſo little regarded, and that ſhe could beare no more ſway with him, went to *Rome*, where ſhe liued and died in a Cloiſter of Nuns. *Germany* ſtanding in theſe termes, in *Italy* a little before this time died Pope NICHOLAS the ſecond, when he had held that chaire foure yeeres. This Pope recouered much of the Church lands which were vſurped by ſundrie Captaines and Gouernors, which made themſelues tyrants thereof. And he alſo gaue the title of Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, to GVISCARDA Normane, being alreadie Lord of thoſe prouinces, who made himſelfe and his countries ſubiect and feudatorie to the Church of *Rome*. This Pope held a Councell, wherein hee ordained that from thenceforth, the Cardinals onely ſhould chuſe the Popes, thereby to auoide the factions and diſſention which aroſe concerning the ſame; as it appeareth in the chapter *In nomine domine* in the three and twentith diſtinction; which is obſerued vntill this day. By this meane, the Deacons and Cardinals attained to great eſtimation, for vntill then, they were not of any ſuch account (although alreadie very much eſteemed.) This name and dignitie of Cardinals, was in *Rome* at the beginning, but a troubleſome and painefull office; for they were as the Curates of pariſhes, and had the charge of miniſtring the Sacraments, and of burying the dead, and were called Prieſts Cardinals, as the more worthie & of greater reputation: and as *Rome* was then held for the head of all other Churches, ſo theſe Prieſts Cardinals were regarded and more reſpected then any other; and they afterwards attained to greater preheminence, for that they were euer neere vnto the Pope; and being in the time of this Pope NICHOLAS the ſecond eſtabliſhed electors, they grew to be of greater reputation; but not in ſo high degree, as we now ſee them, vntill the time of Pope INNOCENT the fourth, about the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand two hundred foure and fortie; for hee gaue them libertie to ride on their footeclothes, and to weare ſuch robes as they now vſe to weare, to the end, that

The death of Pope Nicolas.

The dignitie of Cardinals.

as

as they did excell other men in their weedes and ornaments, ſo ſhould they in their behauior and vertuous conditions: wherefore to depaint Saint AMBROSE with a Cardinals hat on his head is a meere mockery; for in his time there were not any: and ſo at length the dignitie of Cardinall came to be the greateſt, and the higheſt degree next to the Pope, and they accompany and counſell him in all matters of importance: but many of them haue carried themſelues ſo prophanely, that they haue giuen iuſt occaſion to the world, to note and murmure at their Conſiſtorie.

Pope NICHOLAS being dead, ANSELME Biſhop of *Luca* was choſen, and called ALEXANDER the ſecond; againſt whom, GILBERT the Gouernour of *Lombardy* for the Emperor, by the conſent of certaine Biſhops of that Prouince, made a ſchime in the Papacie, and choſe another Pope: But GOTHIFREDVS and his wife MAVVD, (which were the greateſt Princes in *Italy* at that time) protected the firſt Pope: And in *Rome* and abroad elſewhere, followed many ſlaughters and murthers of the one and the other partie, vntill that in the ende Pope ALEXANDER preuailed, and the other Pope fled to *Milan*. Whileſt theſe matters paſſed in *Italy* (the Emperor, as it was ſaid, permitting and allowing the ſame) the like or greater were tolerated in *Germany*, for he ſuffered Prieſts to marrie, and gaue Benefices and Biſhoprickes without the Popes licence or authority, wherewith the Pope was much diſpleaſed, and twiſe or thriſe ſent his ambaſſadors to the Emperour about that matter. And in other matters were great troubles and factions, and many roſe againſt the Emperour: the firſt were the Saxons, for from OTHO Duke of *Saxonie* and *Bauiere*, who was accuſed of treaſon, the Emperour tooke the Duchie of *Bauiere*, which his mother had giuen him, and gaue the ſame to a principall man, whoſe name was GVELPHO; againſt theſe Saxons was the Emperors firſt attempt in the warres, when hee was ſcarcely eighteene yeeres olde; wherein ſhewing himſelfe to bee of an high minde, and free from feare or cowardize, he perſonally fought in many battels and skirmiſhes againſt that people, which is, and euer hath been accompted for one of the moſt valiant nations of the world: but he finally ouerthrew them, and compelled them (for this time) to yeeld to doe him ſeruice. Hauing obtained theſe victories, the Emperour ſent into *Italy* for his ambaſſador to the Pope, the Archbiſhop of *Colein*, with ſufficient authoritie to conclude, what to him ſeemed beſt to be done, and to excuſe him of ſuch things as were layd to his charge: who being come into *Italy*, put GILBERT out of the Chancellorſhip and gouernment of *Lombardy*, which the Empreſſe INES had giuen him, and placed therein the Biſhop of *Bercelli*, and from thence, with great authority and maieſtie, he went to *Rome*, where (Pope ALEXANDER giuing him publique audience) he made a ſolemne Oration; wherein in effect, in the behalfe of his Lord the Emperour, he reproued the Pope; for hauing accepted the Papacie without his confirmation, with other matters in the behalfe of the Emperor: wherto the Archdeacon HILDEBRAND, by the Popes order, made a very peremptory anſwere, alleaging that the Pope ought not to attend any ſuch confirmation; and he ſo ſharpely reprehended the Emperor, that the Archbiſhop was conſtrained to hold his peace. After this, many matters in *Italy*, which (much againſt my will) I omit, to the end to treate of the reſt of what paſſed in the time of the Emperor HENRY, of whom onely I write this Hiſtory.

About this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand ſixty and ſixe, EDVVARD King of *England* dying without iſſue, made WILLIAM Duke of

Normandie his heire, who with the aide of BALDVVIN Earle of *Flanders*, obtained the kingdome; and ſo the houſes of *England* and of *Normandie* were vnited, and ſo continued a long time in the Kings thereof, and in their ſucceſſors. The Archbiſhop of *Colein* hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe in *Italy*, returned (diſcontent with his anſwere) into *Germanie*, and within fewe dayes after died Pope ALEXANDER, hauing been ſo eleuen yeeres and halfe: afterwards the Archbiſhop of *Rauenna* reuolted from the Church of *Rome*. ALEXANDER being dead, by the general conſent of al the Cardinals and Clergie, HILDEBRAND the Archdeacon (often before named) was made Pope, and was called GREGORY the ſeuenth; who ſent his ambaſſadours to the Emperour, praying and requiring him to become an obedient ſonne to his Church, and to alter the manner of his gouernment in *Germanie*; and therby gaue him further to vnderſtand, that he was determined not to allow thereof, but to vſe his authority in redreſſing the ſame. The Emperour hereto gaue an equiuocall anſwere, but performed in effect nothing of what was required, perſiſting that the Pope ought not to accept the Papacie without his confirmation, according to the agreement made betweene his father the Emperour HENRY the third, and Pope CLEMENT the ſecond, and ſo theſe ambaſſadors returned without any concluſion: this was in the ſeuenteenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand ſeuenty foure. At this time, (and alſo both before and after it) the Emperour held cruel warres with the Dukes of *Saxonie*, which againe rebelled againſt him, they alleaging the Emperours diſobedience to the Church of *Rome* to be the occaſion thereof. This was the moſt dangerous warre that euer hee waged, wherein paſſed many perillous conflicts and feats of Armes, the Emperor therein hazarding his perſon, (ſo valiant and deſirous was he to beare armes) & he principally fought one very bloody battell, wherein he preuailed; but (as ſaith BLONDVS) with the loſſe of fiue thouſand men: and the Emperour, and his brother in lawe RODVLPH, which afterward was his great enemie, fought therein with their owne hands moſt valiantly.

While as theſe matters paſſed in *Germany*, *Italy* was not free from factions and controuerſies, betweene the Imperialiſts, the Pope, and others; for GILBERT the beforenamed Archbiſhop of *Rauenna*, (who had beene gouernour for the Emperour in *Italy*) layed a plot; which was, that foraſmuch as the Pope had determined to excommunicate the Emperour, hee therefore ſecretly agreed with one CINCIVS a yong Romane Knight, (whoſe father was Prefect of the citie) to apprehend the Pope; aſſuring him, that the Emperour would accept thereof, for a ſpeciall peece of ſeruice; and he accordingly put the matter in execution; the pope being vpon Chriſtmas eeuen ſaying Maſſe in the Church of S. MARY the greater in *Rome*; this CINCIVS, with a good guard, entred the Church, and laying hands vpon him, caried him away, and in a tower detained him priſoner. But the people ſo ſoone as it was day (being aduertiſed thereof) went to CINCIVS his houſe, and ſetting the pope at liberty, raſed the tower, from the top to the foundation: and of all ſuch of CINCIVS his ſeruants as they found, they cut off the noſes, and baniſhed them from *Rome*; and CINCIVS eſcaping the death (which they deſired to haue giuen him) by flight, durſt not ſtay in *Italy*, but went into *Germany* to the Emperor: And this Archbiſhop GILBERT, whoſe practiſe was not yet diſcouered, ſetting a good countenance vpon the matter, departed the citie; but being come to *Rauenna*, was by the pope excommunicate, and depriued of all his eccleſiaſticall dignities and Beneficces.

In *Germany* were no leſſe contempts againſt his Holineſſe then in *Italy*, for (as the

the Abbot WESPERGENSIS and other Germane authors recount, beſides the Italians which vereſie the ſame) by the procurement of SIGEFRIDVS Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, with ſome other Biſhops and Abbots which ioyned with him, a Councell was held againſt the pope, (the Biſhops of *Saxony* diſallowing and contradicting the ſame) in which Councell it was determined, that GREGORY ſhould not be held for Pope; and that they all ſhould renounce their obedience vnto him: whereupon the Emperour and his Councel, ſent for ambaſſadour to Pope GREGORIE, a prieſt, whoſe name was ROVVLAND. The Pope in like manner called a Councell againſt the Emperor, at Saint IOHN DE LATRAN in *Rome*; where ROVVLAND being arriued, and the Pope and his Councell giuing him audience, he in the behalfe of the Emperor, required GREGORIE to deſiſt from any longer exerciſing the papall function, and to reſigne the authoritie of Pope, and he further notified the ſame to the Cardinals, willing them to repaire into *Germany* to the Emperour, who would appoint them a pope. GREGORIE was herewith much troubled, and for as much as ROVVLAND was but an Ambaſſador, he made him preſently to depart without any anſwere. But it is alſo written, that the Emperours mother, at the popes requeſt, went into *Germanie*, accompanied with many great prelates, to perſwade her ſonne, to deſiſt from intermedling with the donation of Biſhoprickes, or other eccleſiaſticall Benefices; to forbid the mariage of prieſts, and to yeeld obedience to the Church of *Rome*; but for that it tooke no effect, the pope very ſolemnly excommunicated the Emperor, and depriued him of all imperiall dignitie; and he alſo excommunicated all ſuch as tooke his part, and releaſed all the princes and Lords of *Germany*, and elſewhere, which ought him any dutie or allegeance, from their oathes, homage, and bands of obedience or ſubiection, giuing free libertie to all men; and authoritie to the princes electors to chuſe another Emperor, ſuch as ſhould beſt pleaſe them. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* was likewiſe excommunicate, and depriued of all eccleſiaſticall dignitie, and with him all ſuch others as had bin in the Councel aforeſaid; but before the pope had proceeded ſo farre herein, hee aduertiſed all the princes in chriſtendome of all, both paſt, and preſent: and the Emperor wrote to them in like manner defending his cauſe, and excuſing himſelfe againſt the popes accuſations. The popes terrible ſentence being publiſhed in *Germany* (as there were many that tooke his part, principally the prelates of *Saxony* and others) RODVLPH Duke thereof with many other princes called a Diet or Councel, wherein they reſolued to require the Emperor to aske the pope forgiuenes, and to ſubmit himſelfe to the Church of *Rome*, which if he refuſed to doe, they concluded to renounce their obedience vnto him. The Emperour notwithſtanding that he was a very braue man, and exceeding valorous (as ſome ſay) fainedly, and as others ſay, of his owne accord, promiſed to doe what they required, which hee openly proteſted. Finally, it was agreed, to ſend to the pope, to come into *Germany*, where full and entire obedience ſhould be yeelded vnto him; and in the name of the Princes and Lords aſſembled at that Diet or Councell, the Archbiſhop of *Treuier* and ſome others of great account, went to the pope, and intreated him with ſuch inſtancie, that he was perſwaded, and to take his way towards *Germany*, to meete the Emperor, who ſtayed (as they ſaid) for him, and would come to aske him forgiuenes, and ſubmit himſelfe into his hands. The pope came to the citie of *Bercelli* in *Lombardy*, where being aduertiſed, that the Emperor came towards him with great troupes of men at armes; fearing that he would haue either killed him, or taken him priſoner, gaue ouer his iourney, and turned into the

A Councel held in Germany againſt the Pope.

The Emperor Henry the fourth excommunicated by the Pope.

countrey of GOTHIREDVS and his wife MAVVD, and was by them protected in an expugnable towne and castle, called *Canusio* or *Canisio*, whither within fewe dayes came the Emperour; who lodging his armie before the towne, in great humilitie sent to intreate the pope to absolue him of his excommunication, offering to become his obedient sonne and subiect, and three dayes together came barefooted to the gates of the citie to sue for this absolution; but the pope would not yeeld thereto. In conclusion, there passed many treaties, oathes and promises; but at length (through the instant suit of the said MAVD, and of ADELAVS Earle of *Sauoy*, and as some say, of INES the Emperors mother also) the pope admitting the Emperour into his presence, absolued him: but whereas he had depriued him of his empire, and had layd other penalties vpon him for former matters, he referred that to the iudgement of the next generall Councell, which should presently be called; and the Emperour promised to stand to the Councels arbitrament, and to banish from his company CINCIVS, which apprehended the pope in *Rome*, and some excommunicated prelates.

The Emperors submission, who came three seuerall dayes barefooted, to the citie gates wherein the Pope was, sueing for absolution.

The Emperour remained some dayes in those quarters, (as some write, expecting when the pope would haue come foorth of that Citie, imagining that hee trusting to the peace might haue been apprehended) and departing from thence, went to *Pauia* in *Lumbardie*, where the before named CINCIVS died, and the Emperor by reason of the great abundance of raine which fell at that time, made his abode there for certaine dayes; in which hee was giuen to vnderstand, that in *Germany*, the Saxons and other his enemies, (among which were BERTOLD Earle of *Carinthia*, the Duke of *Bauiere*, RODVLPH Duke of *Sueuia*, and others) rebelled against him; and assembling themselues together (denying him their obedience) made the Duke of *Saxonie* Emperour, of whom wee haue heretofore made mention, who was a man of the greatest accompt both for power and valour, of his time in *Germany*. This (after the Abbot WESPERGENSIS his computation) was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand seuenty and nine, and in the twentieth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour HENRY the fourth.

Rodulph Duke of Saxony chosen Emperor.

These newes being being brought to the Emperour HENRY, (as hee was a man of an high minde and great courage) with the greatest fury of the world, he departed towards *Germany*, and by the way gathered together all such his friends as tooke his part, which were many: and RODVLPH, assisted by the Saxons and Sueuians, accompanied with some Princes and great prelates; the most cruell warre began betweene them two, that had beene euer seene in *Germany*; which lasted full foure yeeres after. In the beginning whereof (besides sundry conflicts and fortunes of warre, whereto either of these Emperours did set their hands) they came to a field battell of power against power: which for that their forces were in a manner equall, and both the Generals very valiant, was very doubtfull and bloody: HENRY to defend the Empire, and RODVLPH to get the same, did both that day marueiles in Armes in their owne persons. Finally, the authors affirme, that either partie fought with such resolution, that hauing spent the greatest part of the day therein, the battell was ended without any certaine apparance of victory, both Campes remaining ful of dead and wounded bodies; and each Captaine was constrained of necessitie to withdraw his armie from the other, to the end to refresh and relieue his troupes; but yet the warre ceased not.

A battell betweene the Emperour and the Duke of Saxonie.

In the meane time both these Princes sent their Ambassadours to the pope, either of them entreating him to condemne the other: and the pope returned ambassadours to both these princes, requiring them both to lay downe their

weapons

weapons; and HENRY (according to the agreement made with him in *Lanuſio*) to permit a generall Councell to bee held in *Germanie*; and that either of them ſhould ſtand to ſuch arbitrament, as by that Councell ſhould be awarded. RODVLPH accepted theſe conditions; but HENRY anſwered that he was not bound thereto, except the pope would firſt excomunicate RODVLPH; and ſo proſecuted the warre with greater reſolution then before. The pope receiuing this aunſwere, ſent a new excomunication againſt him, and approued and ratified the election of RODVLPHVS; to whom (as IOHANNES DE COLVMNA, ANTONINVS, VINCENCIVS, IOHN CVSPINIAN, IOHN CARION, and many others doe write) he ſent a crowne, wherewith he ſhould be crowned, with this incription, *Petra dedit petro: Petrus diadema Rodulpho.*

After this, both theſe Emperors purpoſed againe to try their fortunes by battaile; notwithſtanding that it was in the middeſt of winter, which was no leſſe cruell and doubtfull then the former, but rather more, and therein (as ſaith PLATINA) was as little ſigne of victorie, as in the laſt: ſome authors attribute the victorie to RODVLPH, and others to HENRY; the cauſe whereof was (as ſaith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS and ſome others) for that in the beginning RODVLPHS vauntguard of Saxons was put to flight, and HENRY proſecuted the victorie: wherein the Duke of *Bohemia*, who bare RODVLPHS imperiall ſtandard, made a great ſhew of his valour, which ſtandard his ſucceſſors afterwards bare in the wars, in remembrance of this victorie. And in this meane ſeaſon, RODVLPHS arrierguarde robbed the Emperor HENRIES tents and his campe, and ſo they might retire without being broken, and either party might pretend to haue gotten the victory: this is the cauſe why it is ſo diuerſly reported. But howſoeuer it was, HENRY was wounded, although not dangerouſly, but yet the war ceaſed not; for ſhortly after either of theſe Emperors reinforcing his army, deſired to fight the third battaile, with power againſt power, (notwithſtanding that betweene them was dayly notable ſeruice) and neither partie refuſing the fight, the two armies ioyned, and they fought with greater furie then at any time before, for the harmes which were done, and the ſlaughters made of their people of either ſide were ſo great and ſo many, and their hatred and malice was growne to ſo high degree, that they thought on nothing elſe but how to kill and deſtroy; with this deſire and rage they maintained the fight: wherein after the death of an infinit number of men, and the effuſion of much bloud, HENRY obtained the victorie, and RODVLPH was ouerthrowne, and loſt many of his Saxons, which were very good men; but notwithſtanding that RODVLPH was ouerthrowne, yet (as a valorous prince) gathering his people together, and reinforcing his armie, he rerired into *Saxony*, which was his beſt refuge: where were ſome treaties of peace and of a compoſition to be made betweene the Emperor HENRY and him; which tooke no effect, for HENRY would not determine the wars, but by the ſworde: for as he was a man of a great and high minde, ſo he preſumed to ſubdue all his aduerſaries by his power, and his hautie ſtomacke was ſuch as could endure no riuall or equall which through his late victorie greatly encreaſed.

A third battaile betweene the Emperor Henry the fourth, and Rodulph Duke of Saxony.

The affaires of *Germany* ſtanding vpon theſe termes, HENRY ſtill following the warre, ſought the popes deſtruction, and procured to be aſſembled in a citie in *Germany*, ſuch prelates as tooke part with him, in the name of a Councel; which choſe and made the before named GILBERT Archbiſhop of *Rauenna*, pope (who was pope GREGORIES capitall and deadly enemie; and had laid the plot before remembred for his apprehenſion in *Rome* by CINCIVS) and was called CLE-

MENT. Hereupon began a ſchiſme and diuiſion in the Church of *Rome*, for thoſe which tooke part with the Emperour HENRY, held him for pope. The Emperor at that time ſent his ſonne HENRY into *Italy*, there to gouerne ſuch eſtates as were ſubiect vnto him, and to warre againſt ſuch as held with pope GREGORIE: of which, that MAVVD (before named) was the principall; and ſhe leuied her power and came to a battaile with HENRY the ſonne, wherein ſhe was ouerthrowne, for which the pope was very ſorie; comparing this his ill fortune, with the ſchiſme made by pope GILBERT. The Emperour was herewith ſo much encouraged, that he leuying the greateſt power that he was able to make, went to ſeeke RODVLPH; who (as I ſaid) was in *Saxony*, making preparation for the warres; and was alreadie in ſo good readines, that he doubted not to fight with the Emperour, in hope to haue ouerthrowne him. And ſo they fought a moſt cruell and bloodie battaile; wherein (as then there were no Cannons, Culuerines, Musket ſhot, or other artillerie, as now is vſed) neither partie wanting either force or courage, or ſtanding in any feare or doubt to come to blowes with the other; with dint of ſword and launce, they ſlew and wounded their enemies; the two Emperours in perſon fighting in the thickeſt of the preaſe. This fight was maintained the greateſt part of the day; the end whereof is recounted by Hiſtoriographers in ſundrie manners: the moſt common opinion is, that the Emperor HENRIES partie was ouerthrowne, and that RODVLPH had the victorie; but was ſore wounded and loſt his right hand: ſome ſay that hee receiued that hurt by miſchance amongſt his owne people, which wound bled ſo much and pained him ſo ſore, that he could not proſecute the victorie, and therefore was conſtrained to retire himſelfe to a ſtrong caſtle to be cured; wherein within few daies after he died. So as the Emperour HENRY of a man conquered became a conquerour: for RODVLPH being miſſing, his people disbanded, and ſo HENRY became Maſter of the field. Yet BLONDVS writeth, that the Emperour HENRY fled out of the field the ſame day wherein the battaile was fought, and lay cloſe in a caſtle, vntill that he was certified of the death of RODVLPHVS; and that he then came foorth to enioy the victorie, through the death of his enemie, whom hee had not ouerthrowne. And RODVLPHVS his ſeruants going about to burie the body of their deceaſed Lord, with the enſignes and ornaments of Emperour; ſome asked of the Emperour HENRY, wherfore he ſuffered RODVPHVS to be buried with ſuch honour, ſeeing that he was a tyrant and his enemie: whereto he truly made an excellent anſwere: I would to God (quoth he) that all mine enemies were (like RODVLPH) buried with the ornaments and enſignes of Emperours.

A fourth battaile betweene the Emperour and Duke Rodulph: and his end.

A notable ſaying of the Emperour Henry the fourth.

The Emperour HENRY hauing ſlaine his competitor RODVLPHVS, making ſmall account of the reſt, ſeiſed *Sueuia* into his hands, and diſpoſſeſſed BERTOLDVS therof, to whom RODVLPH had giuen the ſame; & leauing garriſons in the frontiers of *Saxony* (which was not yet throughly pacified) and eſtabliſhing the beſt order that hee could in all parts of *Germany*; with his victorious armie hee tooke his way towards *Italy*; whither he came within few daies, hauing with him the pope CLEMENT which was choſen in *Germany*, with a determination to depoſe pope GREGORIE; to whoſe aide the aforenamed MAVVD had ſent a great ſupplie of men of warre; and pope GREGORIE had alreadie fortified and victualled *Rome*: for the Emperour came with ſo great force and furie, that there was no reaſon to attend his comming in the open fields; ſo as without encountring any reſiſtance, he came to the very walles of the citie, whereto he preſently commaunded aſſault to be giuen: but he found ſuch reſiſtance therein, that being

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out of hope to enter it at that time, he burned and ſpoyled all the countrie round about it, continuing his ſiege before the citie notwithſtanding; which was one of the moſt notable that hath been ſeene before any citie in the world, aſwell for continuance of time, as for the many accidents and aduentures in armes; for it continued aboue three whole yeeres, in which time there were many cruell aſſaults and ſallies; and the beſieged endured great famine and want of all things neceſſarie: and in the meane time the Emperour made ſome roades into *Lombardie*, and into other parts of *Italy*: the Germane pope CLEMENT commanding his armie in time of his abſence. In this ſiege was taken the Vaticane, wherein are the Popes palace, and S. PETERS Church, which were deſtroyed and burned by the Emperour, together with the beſt and faireſt houſes and buildings therein. And whileſt that the Emperour was buſied in *Italy*, they were not in quiet in *Germany*: for beſides the ordinarie warres, the Saxons aduaunced a great man called HARMAN to the dignitie of Emperour: but this was a matter which continued not long, and did little hurt, for they themſelues expelled him. And in the end of the long time that *Rome* was thus beſieged, ROBERT GVISCARDA mightie Normane, Prince and Lord of *Pulia* and of *Calabria*, being grieued to ſee the pope thus diſtreſſed, reſolued to giue ouer his warres with the Greekes in *Dalmatia* and in other parts, and (as the popes liege man) to come to the reliefe of *Rome*: and to that effect left his ſonne BOHEMVND in his place, and leuied forces and other neceſſaries fit for ſo high an enterpriſe. The newes hereof being euery where publiſhed, the Emperour with greater care and circumſpection more ſtrictly continued his ſiege; and vſing aſwell policie as force, cauſed to be publiſhed amongſt the Romanes, that his deſire was, but to be abſolued and crowned by the pope, and that hee confirming him in the empire, he would preſently depart from *Rome*: Whereto the pope would not giue eare, except the Emperour would giue ſecuritie for the performance of his promiſe. But the Emperour vſed ſuch meanes, that the greateſt part of the Romanes being tired with ſo long and ſo cruell a ſiege, went ouer to the Emperours campe; and others were ſo bold as to tell the pope to his face, that he did ill in not receiuing him into *Rome*, ſeeing he promiſed preſently to depart againe from thence: beſides this the pope was certified, that ſome had determined, whether he would or no, to let the Emperour into the citie: whereupon he withdrew himſelfe into the Caſtle S. *Angelo*, and with him all the Cardinals; and made a nephew of his, whoſe name was RVSTICVS, to poſſeſſe himſelfe of another Caſtle called *Septem Solia*; wherein he was well aduiſed, for the Emperour was preſently receiued into the citie, and with him the Germane Pope CLEMENT, and the ſaid caſtles by his commaundement were preſently ſtrictly beſieged, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand foureſcore and foure: And the Emperour with great ſolemnitie was annointed and crowned by Pope CLEMENT, more accompanied with men of warre then with Biſhops and prelates. Yet not omitting to batter the caſtles, wherein Pope GREGORY and his nephew were; the aſſaults giuen were ſo furious, that RVSTICVS was driuen to yeeld himſelfe priſoner: but the caſtle S. *Angelo* was ſo ſtrong, that the Emperour could not preuaile againſt it. The matter ſtanding in this eſtate, the ſaid ROBERT GVISCARD ſo much haſtened his comming with ſuch and ſo great power, that (as the Italian authors write) the Emperour durſt not ſtay for him; but ſpreading a report, that by reaſon of ſome vrgent affaires in *Germany*, it behoued him preſently to depart; he left part of his forces for the defence of the citie, and to continue the ſiege of the caſtle, wherein the

Rome beſieged by the Emperor Henry.

Anno Dom. 1084.

The Emperour annointed and crowned in Rome.

the Pope was; and fortified the Capitoll, which then was ſtrong, and repayred other towers and fortreſſes decayed. The Abbot WESPERGENSIS, and other Germane authors write nothing of any ſuch feare as the Emperour was in, but write all the reſt. But howſoeuer it was, he went out of *Italy*, and with him his pope, whom RICHARD Duke of *Beneuent* did ſupport for a ſeaſon. And within few daies following, ROBERT GVISCARD came to *Rome* with all his troupes of Normanes and Calabrians (it had been better that he had neuer come, as it afterwards happened) and others which came to his aide, to ſet pope GREGORY at libertie: for from elſewhere there was no pope, for in *Græcia* the Emperours were at warres; and from *France* could come no reliefe, for that *Lombardy* held for the Emperour: and in *Spaine* the princes were troubled and turmoyled with warres againſt the Moores; ſo as onely ROBERT GVISCARD had meanes to doe it, and none other: And being come, as I ſay, the citizens of *Rome* which had receiued in the Emperour, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe which he had left there in garriſon, addreſſed themſelues to defend the citie, ſo as hee entred it by force of armes, with the aide and fauour of ſome which were within it. He found ſo great reſiſtance in his aduerſaries, that the two factions oftentimes fought within the citie; the greateſt part of the citizens taking part with the Imperialiſts: and there was ſo great diſorder and confuſion, that the greateſt part of miſerable *Rome* was burnt and deſtroyed; for whatſoeuer either partie gat, they ouerthrew or ſet on fire: ſo great was the rage and furie wherewith they made this warre. But in the end ROBERT GVISCARD, and the popes partie preuailing againſt their enemies, tooke, burned and deſtroyed the Capitoll; and left *Rome* ſo deſtroyed and ruinated, that neither ATTILA, or any other nation, did euer the like harme as now was done: for at this day there are orchards, vineyards and gardens, where before that warre, were ſtreetes, houſes, Churches, and other ſumptuous buildings. ROBERT hauing obtained ſo pitifull a victorie, went to the Caſtle S. *Angelo*, which vntil then was beſieged: and releaſing pope GREGORY from thence, reſtored him to his ſeate and palace. But within few daies after, the Pope conſidering into how miſerable and pitifull eſtate the citie was brought; by the counſell of the ſaid ROBERT, he determined to abſent himſelfe; and being accompanied with the ſame ROBERT, and with his Colledge of Cardinals he went to the citie of *Salerno*, where he afterwards died, hauing been pope twelue yeeres, one moneth, and three daies. It is written that this Pope was a iuſt, an vpright, a wiſe, and a charitable man, and an almes giuer: but it is certaine that he was an obſtinate, preſumptuous, ſtout, and firme defender of the Romane prelacie, with the liberties and immunities thereof. For I haue read one BRVNVS, and one SIGIBERTVS which report him to haue been, both ambicious, a Negromancer, and an Inchaunter; and that he had poyſoned ſeuen other Popes before he could attaine to the Papacie.

Hildebraad called Pope Gregorie the ſeuenth, a notable Inchaunter and Negromancer.

Before that we proceed any further, it ſhall be very requiſite to make ſome relation of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople* (ſeeing that wee are not to diſcourſe of other kingdomes and common-wealths) to the end that hauing ended herewith, we may proceede with our HENRY and the ſucceſſors of Pope GREGORY, I ſay then that in the ſpace of ſeuen and twentie yeeres of HENRIES raigne, little more or leſſe, fiue or ſixe Emperours had raigned in *Conſtantinople*, before which time, the Infidels, Turkes, Perſians and other nations made themſelues Lords of what the Greekes held in *Aſia*, whoſe euent was this, as wee ſaid in the end of the life of HENRY the third, father of this HENRY of whom we now wrote, the better to

vnderſtand

vnderſtand the matter it ſhal not be amiſſe to returne to YSACIVS CONNENVS, which raigned two yeeres Emperour in *Conſtantinople*: and him ſucceeded CONSTANTINVS DVCA, who in the beginning behaued himſelfe very valorouſly, ſubduing and puniſhing ſuch as rebelled againſt him, and in the reſt was a very deuout chriſtian: but being infected with the diſeaſe of couetouſnes, was therefore contemned, both by his owne ſubiects, and by the Barbarians alſo; and in his time were loſt many townes in *Aſia*; and in *Conſtantinople* was ſo great an earthquake, that Churches and other buildings fell downe: and ſo his empire being infortunate, he died in the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne, and his ſonnes remaining his ſucceſſors; his wife EVDOXIA tooke vpon her the gouernment, who held the ſame the ſpace of ſeuen moneths onely: for by reaſon of the warres with the Turkes and Barbarians, the Greekes made her to take to husband a great man amongſt them called ROMANVS DIOGENES, to helpe to defend the empire; who not contented to gouerne in the behalfe of her ſonnes, but proclaiming himſelfe Emperor, vſurped the empire, and going into *Aſia* with an army againſt the Turkes, had variable ſucceſſe, and was ſometimes victorious, and ſometime vanquiſhed, and in the end was in a battaile ouerthrowne by them, and many of his people were ſlaine; and being afterwards by the Generall of the Infidels well intreated and ſet at libertie, comming to *Conſtantinople*, he found alreadie placed in his throne the eldeſt of his wiues ſonnes, called MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS: And notwithſtanding that he attempted by force of armes to haue recouered the empire, yet he could not bring it to paſſe, but was taken priſoner, and had his eyes put out (a crueltie much vſed in *Græcia* in thoſe daies) and was baniſhed in the habit of a religious man to a certaine Iland, where he died; when he had been Emperour about the ſpace of foure yeeres. And MICHAEL PARAPINNASSVS remaining in the imperiall throne, grew to be ſo careleſſe and negligent, and therewith of ſo little worth, that he applied himſelfe to nothing but to making of verſes, and to dreſſe the gowt wherewith hee was grieued: he held the empire ſixe yeeres and halfe, with great diminution of eſtate in *Aſia*, the Infidels conquering many cities thereof: for which cauſe his ſubiects roſe againſt him, and choſe for their Emperour a man of great renowme and parentage, whoſe name was NICEPHORVS BOTANIATES, who was deſcended from the Emperour PHOCAS aboue mentioned: this man much honoured the brothers of his predeceſſor MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS, which were the ſonnes of CONSTANTINVS DVCA and of EVDOXIA before named; and giuing them offices and captainſhips, ouerthrew by their meanes, BRIENIVS and BASILICVS, which rebelled againſt him: for which and other things which he did, hee was very ill requited, for they being ſonnes and brothers to Emperours, ſought to bee ſo themſelues: and ſo the youngeſt and moſt valiant of them, called ALEXIVS CONNENVS, (procuring friends thereto) depoſed him from the empire, and gat the ſame for himſelfe; when he had raigned three yeeres, and made him to take a religious habit: and this ALEXIVS held the empire ſeuen and thirtie yeeres, and fought many battailes, both with Infidels and with Chriſtians, but chiefly with ROBERT GVISCARD, Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, who releaſed Pope GREGORY, as wee haue recounted; who alſo thought to haue been Emperour of *Græcia*; which warres he continued with the aide of the Venecians. In this eſtate ſtoode the affaires of *Græcia*, at ſuch time as the Emperour HENRY the fourth departed out of *Italy*, and Pope GREGORY the ſeuenth died: wherefore let vs now returne to ſpeake of them.

A great earth quake in Conſtantinople.

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The Emperour HENRY being departed out of *Italy* in ſuch manner as we haue declared, and (as I ſaid) leauing *Rome* in ſuch trouble, as aforeſaid, came into *Germany*, where he called a Diet or Councell in the city of *Mentz*, aſwell to excuſe and iuſtifie himſelfe concerning ſuch matters as were done in *Italy*; as to proſecute and end the war againſt the Saxons and their adherents. In this Councell (being perſwaded and in a manner compelled by ſundry prelates) he yeelded to the altring of ſome matters in the Church; as to graunt that prieſts ſhould haue no wiues, and ſome other matters; yet he perſeuered in ſupporting Pope CLEMENT, who was choſen againſt Pope GREGORIE, and in ſuch other things as before he did. This Councel of *Mentz* being diſſolued, the Emperour againe proſecuted the warre againſt the Saxons; in which, betweene both parties enſued much harme, many ſlaughters, and great battels and encounters; wherein the Emperor did often hazard his perſon, and in the moſt of them fighting moſt valiantly the victory, there being of either ſide great princes, captaines and very valiant men, with many of which he came to agreement in the end, and ſo grew dayly more mighty, yet neuer without enemies: wherein paſſed many and ſundry accidents, which the breuitie whereto I am bound, permitteth mee not particularly to relate.

In the meane ſeaſon that he was buſied herein, Pope GREGORY the ſeuenth died in *Salerno*, in whoſe place was choſen (notwithſtanding that CLEMENT was ſtill called Pope) an Abbot, called DESIDERIVS, who being inſtalled, was called VICTOR the third; this Pope alſo withſtood the Emperors proceedings. At this time alſo died ROBERT GNISCARD, Lord of *Pulia*, of *Calabria*, and of great part of *Sicilia*, and him ſucceeded his ſonnes, ROGER and BOHEMVND. VICTOR continued Pope one yeere and foure moneths onely, and hee being dead, they choſe to ſucceed him, the Cardinall of *Hoſtia*, whoſe name was OTHO, and called him VRBAN the ſecond; who in the beginning of his papacie was ſomewhat troubled in *Rome*, by ſome which were the Emperours adherents, and tooke part with Pope CLEMENT, which yet liued, whom a certaine Duke of *Italy* maintained in his countrey: whereupon this Pope (for his better ſafetie) went from *Rome* to the citie of *Melfi*: but hee afterwards remoued to the citie of *Placencia*, (there to be of the greater power by reaſon of MAVVD, the great Lady ſo often before named) where he aſſembled a Synode, wherein ſome new orders were made; but he ſtill vpheld and maintained the quarrell of his predeceſſors Pope GREGORY, and Pope VICTOR, againſt the Emperour and his followers: and there alſo he held not himſelfe to be ſafe, for that the Emperour HENRY was of very great power: wherefore he determined to goe into *France*, where what befell him you ſhall vnderſtand. In this place the authors doe greatly varie, in reciting the actes of this Emperour: for ſome make not any mention of his ſecond comming into *Italy*: others account it to haue been at this time; and thoſe which doe recite it, agree not well together in the times, neither doe they diſtinctly ſet downe what he did there; which hath been a great trouble to me, and hath cauſed a great confuſion: wherefore let the reader paſſe it ouer as he may, for I cannot certainly auerre, which accidents proceeded the other. The Abbot WERPERGENSIS and BLONDVS ſay, that the Emperour HENRY after that hee had buried his firſt wife, whoſe name was VBERTA, and had maried againe the ſecond time, came into *Italy*, and made his abode therein about ſeuen yeeres, warring againſt the Popes dominions in his owne perſon, and that he tooke many cities by force of armes; among which were *Mantoa* and *Ferrara*, which were held

by

by MAVVD. And the ſame BLONDVS affirmeth, that others write that theſe cities were in the ſame warre recouered by MAVVD, through the permiſſion and ayde of CONRADE the Emperours eldeſt ſonne, who openly fauoured her and the pope againſt his father: whereupon (they ſay) MAVVD grew to be ſo valiant, as to leuie all her owne forces, together with the power of his friends and allies, to the end to ſtoppe the Emperours paſſage to *Rome*; and that ſhe fought, and ouerthrew him; ſo as he was conſtrained to depart out of *Italy*. Howſoeuer it was, among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions, the trueth is, and is approued by all without any difference, that in this time the pope being come into *France*, aſſembled a generall Councell in the citie of *Cleremount*, in the yeere of our Lorde 1094, wherein he attempted the greateſt matter that euer any other pope had done; which was, by conqueſt to recouer the citie of *Ieruſalem*, and other cities in the marches thereof, which of long time had been ſubiect to MAHOMETS ſucceſſors; and he ſolicited the ſame in that Councell, with ſuch inſtance and efficacie, and his ſpeeches ſo incenſed the hearts of the people, that many great princes reſolued to vndertake the action: for out of *France*, *Spaine*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Germany* went ſo many, that all writers affirme them to exceede the number of three hundred thouſand fighting men, which tooke for their deuice the ſigne of the Croſſe: the principall Captaines whereof for one partie, were PETER the Hermit, and another great Lord Duke of *Lorraine*, called GODFREY of *Buillon*, and his two brothers, the one called EVSTACE, the other BALDVVIN, and with them other great princes: And on the other ſide went HVGH, brother to the French King, ROBERT Earle of *Flanders*, ROBERT Duke of *Normandie*, STEPHEN Earle of *Carnuto*, RAIMOND Earle of *S. Angelo*, and BOHEMVND prince of *Otranto* in *Italy*, and others of equall and inferiour degree; ſome taking their way through *Germany*, *Hungarie*, and *Graecia*, paſſed ouer into *Aſia*; and others thorow *Italy*, (taking the Popes bleſſing with them, who then was VRBAN the ſecond) and paſſing the ſeas, diuided themſelues into two armies, although not without great trouble and difficultie; the cauſe whereof was ALEXIVS Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. In the end, theſe troupes paſſed ouer into *Aſia*, and made great warres in ſundry parts, principally in *Soria*, and in *Iudea*: This was one of the moſt notable warres that euer was in the world, which I forbeare to write at large, aſwell for that it maketh nothing to my purpoſe; as alſo, for that it is ſo great a matter, that it deſerueth a particular hiſtorie alone; but the concluſion thereof is, that after they had wonne many battailes, taken many cities, and continued the warre the ſpace of three yeeres; the citie of *Ieruſalem* was taken by GODFREY of *Buillon*, the Duke of *Normandie*, and the Earle of *Flanders*, and others, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand ninety and nine, vpon the 15. day of Iuly: foure hundred & ninety yeeres after that it was firſt taken by the Sarazins, in the time of the Emperor HERACLIVS. And the ſaid city being taken, the ſame GODFREY was made King therof, and of all the countrey round about it. Other of the princes and captaines before named, remained Lords & gouernors of other great cities & townes in *Syria*, yet many of thē returned to their countries, after the performance of ſo honourable an action; among which were the Earles of *Flanders*, and of S. GILES and others: And the war continuing, this kingdome remained in him, and his ſucceſſors, the ſpace of foureſcore and eight yeeres: which being expired, through the weakneſſe, and diſſenſion among the princes, it was againe loſt, in the time of the Emperor BARBA ROSSA, as hereafter you ſhall vnderſtand.

Anno Dom. 1094.

The conqueſt of the Holy Land.

Many authors write of this warre, as Abbas VVeſpergenſis, in the life of Henry the fourth. Paulus Emilius in his fourth booke of the hiſtory of France. Merula in his third booke of the hiſtory of Milan. Blondus in his fourth of his ſecond Decade. Antoninus. Platina. Sabellicus. Nauclerus.

Let vs now returne to our diſcourſe of the Emperor HENRY, who at ſuch time

as these matters passed in *Ierusalem*, being returned out of *Italy*, the last time that euer he was there; wherein he then left his eldest son CONRADE for his Lieutenant; and assembling some of the princes Electors in the Citie of *Colen*, he procured to haue his sonne HENRY to be chosen King of the Romanes, whom he had alreadie made Duke of *Franconia* (which was his house and patrimonie) which HENRY was his second sonne, and whom he best loued. When this was made knowne to his eldest son CONRADE, he became very wroth, and much grieued at his fathers determination; and therefore resolued openly to deny him his obedience (as to an Emperor, which was a schismatike, and excommunicated) and so he seised into his hands all the lands of the Empire in *Italy*, finding al men well affected thereto, for the hatred which they bare to his father; & he held the same nine yeeres with the title of King of *Italy*: his father either dissembling, or not daring to come thither against him, and they say that he gouerned as a wise and vertuous prince: at the end of which time, hee fell sicke and died, about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and twentie: and at the same time died GODFREY the new King of *Ierusalem*, whom his brother BALDVVIN succeeded, and pope VRBANE the second likewise died in *Rome*, and him succeeded PASCVAL the second, and within few daies after died CLEMENT, who was made pope by the Emperor, and after his decease, the Earle of *Capua*, and others attempted to make one ALBERT pope; and afterwards one THEODORICVS; and in *Rauenna* one MAGINVLPHVS, a man of great courage and power, assaied to haue made himselfe pope; but none of them all continued long: and so PASCVAL remained pope in *esse*, who recouered and defended the Church patrimony, which the Emperor could not hinder, as he would haue done, for at that instant, his sonne HENRY (being desirous to rule) rebelled against him, and warres began betweene them two, which were more then ciuill, which in summe I will set downe. The Emperor HENRY (the better to assure himselfe in his estate) procured his sonne HENRY to bee chosen King of the Romanes (publishing that he meant to go into *Italy*) and summoned a generall Councell to be held in *Rome*, with intent (as some write) to haue deposed pope PESCVAL: the pope being aduertised hereof, presently excommunicated him, for which cause, after many accidents which happened (which for breuitie I slightly ouerpasse) by the aduice and counsell of some of the princes and prelates of *Germany*; his sonne HENRY began to stirre against him, publishing that he did so, for that his father was disobedient to the Church, and that he abhorred his simony, and other crimes which he laid to his charge: and in short space vnder this pretext (which as is most likely, was rather to depose his father, then for any loue he bare to the pope) he grew to be so mightie, that his father offered him large compositions, to the end to reduce him to his seruice and obedience; which taking no effect (for the sonne was resolued to be absolute) they tooke armes, and each of them assembled their power, and leuied armies, and began to make cruell war one against the other. The sonne was aided and assisted by the Dukes of *Bauiere* and of *Saxony*, and by other princes and great cities: and the father by the Duke of *Bohemia*, and the Marquesse of *Austrich*, with other mightie Dukes and Earles. In the beginning, neere the citie of *Ratisbone*, with the aide of those of that citie, the father obtained the vpper hand against the son, so as he was driuen to retire to reinforce his troupes: afterwards much desiring a battaile, the sonne came in quest of his father, in whom his people now for his old age had lesse confidence then in former times. And the armies and Emperors drawing neere together, stoode the space of three dayes continually in sight,

Conrade rebelled against his father the Emperor.

Conrade deceased anno 1120. The death of Godfrey of Buillon.

Henry rebelled against his father the Emperor.

A battaile fought betweene the father and the sonne.

ſight, the one of the other marſhalled, and in readines to fight; a little riuer being betweene the two camps, where were many skirmiſhes, in which died many notable perſonages; and both father and ſonne being reſolued to fight, the night before they ſhould haue fought, LEOPOLDVS the Marqueſſe of *Auſtrich* being wearie of the fathers quarell, counſelled him to withdraw himſelfe and not to fight; but ſeeing that his aduice was not accepted, he departed with all his forces, and the Duke of *Bohemia* being aduertiſed thereof, did the like with his, and preſently after this came a gentleman of his ſonnes troupes, to warne him to looke to his perſon, and to take heed whom he truſted, for he was in daunger: whereupon the old Emperor, with ſome ſmall troupes of horſe, and thoſe the lighteſt that he could chuſe, forſooke the campe, and went into ſundrie parts, emploring aide and ſuccors. The ſonne by reaſon of the fathers flight, ſeiſed into his hands the beſt and moſt of the cities of *Germany*, and the moſt of the princes came to his ſide: and then he went againſt the citie of *Spire* (wherein his fathers treaſure and iewels lay) and tooke the ſame. After this were moued ſome treaties of peace betweene the father and the ſonne; which was concluded vpon condition, that they two ſhould meete in the towne of *Binge*, which lieth vpon the *Rhines* ſide, before that the Councell ſhould be aſſembled, which the ſonne had procured to be called, of all the princes Secular and Regular, to bee held in the citie of *Mentz*, the next Chriſtmas following; which was in the end of the yeere of our Lord one thouſand one hundred and fiue, and the beginning of the yeere 1106. And they two meeting there, the ſonne proteſted that hee pretended nothing but the peace of the Church of *Rome*, with a reformation of matters in *Germany*, and that his father ſhould be abſolued and reduced to the popes obedience; and that he neuer meant to bereaue him of either title or dignitie of Emperor, but that he ſhould ſet matters in ſuch order as was conuenient. The father promiſed to doe all that hee ought to doe, and offered more then hee either would or could performe: but the one diſtruſting the other, the father ſaid that hee would ſtand to that which the eſtates ſhould award in *Mentz*, and in the beſt manner that hee could, departed thence to a ſtrong Caſtle, where hee made account to line in ſafety in the meane time; and the ſonne being there with his troupes, tooke all the waies and paſſages towards that Caſtle; in ſuch manner, that the Emperor could haue no conference with any, without the knowledge of his ſonne. Some authors write, that he was apprehended, and committed thither priſoner by his ſonne; and that his ſonne perforce made him to renounce the Empire, and that he afterwards died in his power. But the Abbot WESPERGENSIS (an author of thoſe times) and OTHO FRISINGENSIS, and the moſt and beſt Hiſtoriographers write, as I haue recounted. *Anno Dom.* 1105.

Chriſtmas day being come, all the great princes of *Germany* met in *Mentz*, excepting the Duke of *Saxony*, who could not come, by reaſon of his great age; and with them pope PASCVALS Legates; where the ſaid Legates (as it was thought) not without the ſonnes will and procurement, againe pronounced the popes ſentence againſt the father, and all ſuch as tooke his part: and as they debated hereof, and of the Emperor which was in the Caſtle (who offered to performe what they required; humbly ſuing for abſolution, for which purpoſe he deſired to come to *Mentz*) the ſonne proteſted and alleaged that hee neither deſired, neither pretended any other thing, but that his father ſhould reforme himſelfe, and become obedient to the Church of *Rome*; but in truth the iſſue manifeſted, that his principall intent was to make himſelfe Emperor. The popes Legates aun-

ſwered to the Emperors offers and promiſes, that they neither could, neither had authoritie to appoint any penance for the Emperor, neither could they giue him any abſolution, but that it muſt be done in a generall Councell, and that by the popes direction, as it had been handled by GREGORIE the ſeuenth concerning his depriuation, and all the reſt. The matter ſtanding in this eſtate, as all men were now moſt affected to the ſonne, and deſiring to winne his grace and fauour, for they ſaw that he was mightie and victorious, and the father as he was a man of an high ſtomacke, comming to haue put himſelfe into *Mentz*, many princes & prelates went foorth to meete him, and perſwaded him, that accept he would wholy bring himſelfe to ruine, there was no remedie but to renounce the Empire to his ſonne, and to repoſe his truſt in him. HENRY ſeeing himſelfe thus diſtreſſed, and finding no redreſſe or counſell in any bodie, accepted hereof, as ſome ſay voluntarily, as being tired and worne out with wars and troubles. Finally, repoſing his truſt in his ſonne, or in deſpaire by reaſon of the ſolemne decree, he reſigned his title to the Empire to his ſonne HENRY, and ſent to him from the Caſtle wherein he was, the Croſſe, the Launce, the Scepter, the Globe, the Crowne, and his other Imperiall enſignes and ornaments: which renunciation being receiued in the Councell, by a generall conſent HENRY the ſonne was choſen and created Emperour, and called HENRY the fifth, after the Germane, and fourth after the Italian writers; for they allow not of HENRY the firſt, as is before ſaid: and the election was confirmed and ratified by the popes Legates, and like an Emperour, in that Councell he treated with the popes Legates, and with the princes of *Germanie*, of all matters ſpirituall and temporall, concerning the Empire: and for his Ambaſſadors ſent certaine men of great account and authoritie to pope PASCVAL, and ſo remained and was held for Emperour. But before many daies were paſſed, the father ſeeing himſelfe depriued, and his ſonne exalted, repenting, ſecretly ſought and procured friends, to the end to haue been reſtored; and wrote to the French King, and to other Kings and princes, complaining of his ſonne, alleaging that hee was forced to what hee did; and ſtanding in ſome good hope, he openly ſhewed his intent, and leuied men of warre, the Duke of *Lorraine* taking his part, and ſome others, with the cities of *Colen*, and *Gulicke*, and other imperiall townes. The ſonne hauing intelligence hereof, againe raiſed great forces, and deſiring to haue gone to a Councell in the citie of *Liege*, he ſent three hundred men at armes to take a bridge vpon the riuer *Maze*, all which were either taken or ſlaine by the Duke of *Lorraine*, who tooke the fathers part, and came vpon them at vnawares: whereupon HENRY the ſonne proclaimed him traitor, and depriued him (being abſent) of his Duchy of *Lorraine*: in the meane time, the father entred the citie of *Colen*, fortifying and furniſhing the ſame with men and munition, and thence went to haue put himſelfe into the citie of *Liege*, whither the Councell was called, which is a moſt ſtrong citie: in hope (as he was a man of a great ſpirit) to haue been reſtored, hauing ſome other aſſiſtance, beſides thoſe alreadie named; principally amongſt the common people, by which he was well beloued, they being moued thereto with compoſition to ſee him depoſed. The ſonne with his forces went againſt the citie of *Colen*, and beſieging the ſame, letters and meſſengers came thither, in generall to him and to all the eſtates, from his father, complaining in that he was thus depoſed and deceiued, and laying great matters to his ſonnes charge, he excuſed and iuſtified his owne cauſe, ſo much as he might, deſiring and requiring to be ſatisfied: whereto the ſonne made aunſwere, reciting his fathers ryot, his ſimonie, his

The Emperor Henry the fourth renounced the Empire to his ſonne.

Henry the fifth choſen Emperor.

his ſchiſme, and rebellion committed againſt the Pope and Church of *Rome*, to the generall domage of the ſtates of the whole Empire; proteſting further that what hee did, was to doe God ſeruice, by obeying his Vicor, procuring the vnion of the holy mother Church of *Rome*, with many other matters which the Abbot WESPERGENSIS, BLONDVS, and other Authors do ſet downe verbatim. Finally, hee ſent him word, that hee would not that hee ſhould now dote by reaſon of his old age, but that hee ſhould come priuate, and aske forgiuenes of the Church; & that then the equitie of his cauſe ſhould be heard, both for himſelfe, and for all the princes which were with him. The father not only refuſed to follow his ſonnes direction, but ill entreated his Ambaſſadours; ſo as they could hardly returne to their camp before *Colen* in ſafetie. Whereupon the ſonne (ſeeing that he could not take that citie in any ſhort ſpace) marched with his army towards *Lorraine*; and before his departure, ſent a ſecond ambaſſade to his father, the effect whereof was, that if he deſired iuſtice, he ſhould peaceably come to the Councell, which he ſummoned to be held at *Aken*: if otherwiſe, he gaue him to vnderſtand, that by the conſent and will of al the princes, he was reſolued to warre vpon him, as againſt a common enemie. Theſe Ambaſſadours came to the citie of *Liege*, where HENRY the father then lay; who was ſo greatly enraged with his ſonnes anſwere and reſolution, that he did and ſaid many things in furie. And matters ſtanding in this eſtate (whereof it was both thought and feared, that great warres, troubles, and other euils would haue enſued) it pleaſed God to take compaſſion of his people, which by reaſon of the cruell warres betweene the father and the ſonne, endured daily grieuous and intolerable oppreſſions, robberies, and irrepairable calamities; which was, by taking the old Emperour HENRY out of this world; which happened in the ſeuenth day of the moneth of Auguſt, about the fiftith yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred and ſixe. It is written, that he died of paſſion and griefe to ſee himſelfe (as it were) a priſoner, and beſieged in that caſtle, and depoſed and forſaken by his own ſonne and blood. The dead bodie of the Emperour HENRY, was buried by the Biſhop of the place where he died, in a Monaſtery; from whence (by the decree of the Prelates, and conſent of his owne ſonne) it was afterwards remoued, to the end, that (as a man excommunicate) hee ſhould not be buried in Chriſtian buriall; and was caried to *Spire*, where, in a prophane place, was made for him a marble ſepulchre, wherein he lay fiue yeeres; at the end of which time it pleaſed the Pope to permit him to bee buried in Chriſtian buriall. This Emperour had two ſonnes, and three daughters by his firſt wife, VRBERTA, which was the daughter of a great Marqueſſe in *Italy*, kinne to the Lady MAVVD: his ſonnes were CONRADE, who died before him, and HENRY the fift which ſucceeded him; his daughters names were INES, which married with FREDERICKE Duke of *Suevia*, & was mother of the Emperor CONRADE the ſecond; and I. IMPERGA, which married with the Duke of *Corinthia*; and SOPHIA, which was wife to the king of *Hungary*. In *Conſtantinople* at this time raigned ALEXIVS, whoſe empire continued ſeuen and thirtie yeeres, and he died afterwards in the time of HENRY the fifth: and him ſucceeded his ſonne CALOIOANNES, as hereafter you ſhall vnderſtand.

The death of the Emperour Henry the 4. anno 1106.

THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND FOVRTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of ALEXIVS and CALOIOANNES in *Constantinople.*

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry taking vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, after that the death of his father was publiſhed, was proclaimed Emperor, and the cities and princes which had bin his aduerſaries made their peace with him, and became his ſubiects. He ſent ambaſſadours to the Pope, promiſing to become his good ſonne; to whom he granted to call a Councell, wherein all matters concerning the Church ſhould be reformed, chiefly thoſe which were introduced by his father. He committed the Countie Palantine to priſon, by reaſon of ſome Commotions, and made warres againſt the King of Polonia, which intitled himſelfe King, and ſubdued him; but not without great difficultie. He came afterwards into Italy to be crowned by Pope Paſcual, and being come to Rome, in S. Peters Church he apprehended the Pope, and committed him to priſon, ſacking Rome and the frontiers thereof; neither would he releaſe the Pope vntill that he had confirmed his priuileges of inueſting prelates in the Beneſices of Germany: the Pope being out of priſon, and the Emperour returned crowned into Germany, the Councell diſanulled the authoritie giuen him of inueſtigation, as a matter granted perforce: which when he vnderſtood, he waxed extreme wroth, and committed the Biſhop of Mentz to priſon, who fauoured the Popes partie. But the Emperour comming into that citie the people aroſe and apprehended him, and would not releaſe him, vntill that he had promiſed to ſet their Biſhop at libertie. He was afterwarde excommunicate,

and

and in danger to haue bin depoſed from the empire; but leauing Germany, he went to Rome, where he found not the Pope, neither would he come thither ſo long as the Emperour was therein, neither would he giue credit to his promiſes, or beliene any thing that he ſaid. He againe returned the third time into Italy, and ſet a ſchiſme in the Church, and vnderſtanding of the Popes comming againſt him, he returned into Germany, and then made his peace with the Pope, baſely, humbly ſubmitting himſelfe to him. There enſued in thoſe parts a very grienous famine, and peſtilence, and the Emperour falling extremely ſick dyed, without leauing any ſonne to ſucceed him; when he had raigned Emperour, little leſſe then twenty yeeres.

IN that I was longer then ordinarie in writing the life of the Emperour HENRY the fourth, whom the Italian writers call the third, I haue alreadie made my excuſe; which was, for that hee raigned a long time, in which many great accidents happened: and as he was a moſt warlike prince, valiant, and high minded, ſo his raigne was troubleſome and vnquiet: by reaſon whereof, all men (excepting ſome few which tooke his part) were well pleaſed with his death, which (as it then ſeemed) brought to the eſtates of *Italy* and *Germany*, gentle calmes and milde weather, after long ſtormes and tempeſts: and to his ſonne HENRY, who was Emperour in his life time, all lay ſmooth before him: And *Colein*, and all the other cities which had held againſt him, ſubmitted themſelues, yeelding their obedience; and the Duke of *Lorraine* ſubmitting himſelfe, ſought his grace and fauour, and ſo he became abſolute Lord ouer all: and then ſent Ambaſſadours to Pope PASCVAL, who with the aſſent of his Cardinals and of the Emperours Ambaſſadours, ſummoned a Councel to be held in October, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred and ſixe, in a citie of *Lombardie* called *Gardacaſtello*, wherein many things in the ſtate eccleſiaſticall, both in *Lombardy* and in *Germany* were altred: and the pope depoſed ſuch as were not confirmed by his authoritie. In the ſecond yeere of this Emperour HENRY (the better to corroborate the peace betweene the Pope and him) it was agreed that the Pope ſhould come into *Germany* to the citie of *Ausburgh*, where the Emperour (for certaine daies ſpace) ſtaied for him: but the Pope repoſing ſmall truſt in the people of that countrie, by reaſon of the ancient enmitie betweene him and them, came not, but went into *France*, where he aſſembled a Synode in a citie called *Trecas*; whither came a great number of prelates, and in that Councell amongſt other matters which therein were handled, it was ordained, that the Emperours authoritie concerning the prelacies and Church dignities in *Germany*, ſhould be aboliſhed, and that he ſhould not therein inueſt prelates, contrarie to the Popes Canons and Decretals: which when he vnderſtood, he ſent to the Pope, intreating him not ſo to determine of the matter, but to allow him ſuch right of donation, as his predeceſſors had done to the Emperour CHARLES the Great. This matter was greatly argued, but in the end it was deferred till the next generall Councell; and ſo the Pope returned to *Rome*, and the Emperour in his progreſſe viſited ſundrie cities of *Germany*; and vpon ſome occaſion apprehended the Countie Palantine of *Rhine*, whoſe name was SIGIFRED, and for a time held him priſoner; I call him of *Rhine*, for the difference betweene him and other Counties Palantines.

The Councell of Trecas.

At this time to him came ALNIVS king of *Hungary*, to complaine and to deſire iuſtice againſt his brother COLOMAN, who had depoſed him, and made himſelfe king: whereupon the Emperour entred *Hungary* with an armie, purpoſing

to haue reſtored him; but through want of victuals, and by meanes of other diſaſters and diſgraces which befell him, hee was driuen to retire without effecting ought; and ſo COLOMAN enioyed the kingdome, the Emperor permitting the ſame. There likewiſe grew warre betweene him and the Duke of *Poland*; who without his leaue, entitling himſelfe king, denied to pay him any tribute, or to be ſubiect: to which warre he went with a mightie armie (it behooued him to do ſo, for hee was to encounter a mightie enemie) and ſome write that they came to blowes, and that the Emperour had the victorie: but not without much bloudſhed and great difficultie; and ſo *Poland* returned to the Emperours deuotion, and paid the tribute accuſtomed. In theſe actions and others of leſſe moment, the Emperour ſpent little leſſe then fiue yeers, which were in the beginning of his raigne; in the end of which, moued with a deſire (common to all the Emperours) to be crowned by the hands of the Pope, he determined to come into *Italy*; and to that effect ordained a Diet or Councell to be held in *Ratisbone*; wherein ſhewing his intent, his departure by common conſent was generally determined: and leuying thirtie thouſand choſen men (beſides the princes and other voluntaries, which had a deſire to ſerue and follow him in that iourney) he came into *Italy*, where other troupes of the ſtates of *Lombardy* ioyned with him, and by the way befell many matters, which I omit, to the end to relate ſuch as were of moſt importance. And afterwards taking his way towards *Rome*, many ambaſſades paſſed betweene him and Pope PASCVAL; hee requiring to be crowned, and the other promiſing the ſame; but vpon condition, which was, that he ſhould relinquiſh his demand concerning the inueſting of prelates: about this matter ſome things ſo fell out, that the Pope grew iealous, and miſtruſted the Emperour: but in the end the Emperor promiſing to maintaine and obſerue the priuileges and immunities of the church of *Rome*, & to deſiſt from inueſting of prelates, as is aforeſaid; the Pope ſent a ſolemne ambaſſade to meete him, offering him amiable and friendly entertainment: whereupon he came to the citie, vpon the twelfth day of February, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred and eleuen, being the firſt Sunday in Lent, where he was ſolemnely receiued by all the Clergie and Romane people, with the greateſt prouiſion, and ſhew of ioy, that the Pope and citizens could poſſibly make; and the Pope accompanied with all his Cardinals, attended his comming in S. PETERS Church porch: And the Emperour with his Princes and men of warre being entred the gate of the Caſtle S. *Angelo*, alighting, mounted vp the ſteps to meete him, and kiſt his foote: and the Pope bleſt him, and raiſing him vp, three ſeuerall times embraced him: and then they went together into the Church, and comming to the high Aultar, where the Pope that day was to ſay Maſſe, they ſate downe vpon ſeates prouided for them; where the Emperour againe deſired the Pope to confirme the priuileges which he and his predeceſſors had held, concerning the nomination of prelates, and the donation of Benefices; which the Pope abſolutely denied. Some authors ſay, that the Pope requeſted the Emperour (in performance of his promiſe) to renounce the right which hee challenged to haue in eccleſiaſticall cauſes; and that the Emperour therewith diſpleaſed, aroſe, and with his Germane Biſhops and princes went into a chappell, from whence hee ſent him his anſwere, and denying what was required, perſiſted in his demaund concerning the confirmation of his priuilege: and that there was much ſtrife and contention about the matter. Some report this after another manner; which is no great marueile though it ſo happen amongſt Hiſtorians, ſeeing that we daily reade, that when ſundrie men haue ſeene a matter which

The warres of Hungary.

The warres of Poland.

The Emperour Henry the fifth came to Rome. Anno Dom. 1111.

which hath happened in their ſight, yet the ſame men which then were preſent, haue afterwards related the matter after diuers manners, each one pretending to tell the truth. I ſay this, for that ſome men are ſo hard of beleefe, that if they finde any contrarietie amongſt writers, they account the whole hiſtorie to be a lie, which is too great a ſeueritie. But returning to my ſtorie, I ſay, that although they differ herein, yet all authors agree, that vpon this occaſion the Emperours captaines and companies entred the Church, and the Maſſe being ended, by the Emperors order the pope was apprehended, together with the moſt part of the Cardinals, and that the Germanes made boote or prize of the Biſhops, the prieſts, and other the popes friends. The citizens and people of *Rome* tooke this in ſuch diſgrace, that betaking them to their weapons, they went againſt the Imperialiſts, which held the Vaticane; where fighting with incredible furie, they forced the Emperour to abandon that part of the citie, and to withdraw himſelfe to his campe; betweene which and the citizens for three or foure daies ſpace were great skirmiſhes, and much bloud was ſpilt, and many men were ſlaine of either ſide. Yet BLONDVS and ſome others report, that during the three daies that the fight laſted, the Emperour held the Vaticane, and that hee being vnable to defend it, abandoned the ſame and went into his campe, leading the pope and his Cardinals with him priſoners. Finally, theſe three daies being paſt, he remoued his armie, and pitcht his tents at the foote of the Mount S. *Silueſter*, and ſo marching forwards, left the pope with ſome of his Cardinals in a place of ſtrength, and the reſt hee left in another place, guarded with great troupes of ſouldiers, and then marched vp and downe the countrey, burning and ſpoyling the caſtles, townes and villages neere there abouts; and ſo within ſome few daies after, with great furie he returned to *Rome*, and ſate downe before it; but the inhabitants were reſolued not to receiue him, except hee would firſt ſet the pope and his Cardinals at libertie: But he perſeuering earneſt in his demaund, would haue his requeſt firſt performed; imitating (in the action, although not in the intent) the Patriarch IACOB, who wreſtling with the Angell, ſaid, I will not let thee goe, except thou firſt bleſſe me. Wherefore the pope to auoide further inconueniences, and to get out of the priſon wherein he was detained, came to a compoſition with the Emperour, and confirmed to him the priuilege of inueſtiture which he required, & admitted and allowed thoſe prelates which the Emperour had preferred and inueſted. And ſo all being concluded, the Pope was conducted to *Rome*, & at the day appointed, the Emperour entred the citie, and came into S. PETERS Church, firſt ſetting a good guard in the ports and turrets of the Vaticane; and with the accuſtomed ſolemnitie was therein by the Pope crowned, with apparance of very great ioy and gladnes generally, by reaſon of the wiſhed peace, after ſo long irkſome warre. The coronation being ended, the Emperour (taking his leaue, and the Popes bleſſing with him for his good ſpeed) departed from *Rome* very peaceably; and ſo paſſing through *Italy*, and the eſtate of *Lombardy*, hee returned into *Germany*; where hauing made ſufficient proofe that his father dying, and acknowledging his fault, deſired to be forgiuen, he obtained leaue to burie him in the Church; which was performed with accuſtomed ſolemnitie; and in *Italy* and in *Germany* generally was peace.

Pope Paſcual apprehended by the Emperour Henry the fifth.

Pope Paſcual being releaſed from the Emperours priſon, crowned him Romane Emperour.

A little while after this, died the great and mighty Princeſſe MAVVD, which was Lady of many townes in *Italy*: This Lady after her death, left great part of her dominion to the Church, among which, is reckoned the citie of *Ferrara*: but the Emperour FREDERICK neuertheleſſe afterwards challenged to be her heire, by

by reaſon of the affinitie betweene her and his mother. The Emperour being in *England* ſolemniſing his mariage with another MAVD, daughter to the King of that land; Pope PASCVAL at the requeſt and perſwaſion of his Cardinals and clergie, ſummoned a Councel of Biſhops and prelates of many nations; in which Councel (amongſt other matters) it was determined, that the priuilege graunted by the pope to the Emperour, for the inueſting of Biſhops and other clergie men, ſhould be reuoked, and held for none; ſith it was exacted by force, the Pope being then his priſoner; and for ſuch they declared and publiſhed the ſame, excommunicating the Emperor, if he perſiſted in the execution thereof: in this Councel were one hundred Biſhops, ſome Archbiſhops and Patriarchs, and al the Cardinals. This being made knowne to the Emperour, he was very ſorie for the ſame, and much more, after that he vnderſtood that many of the principall prelates in *Germany* took part with the Pope againſt him, and had left his ſeruice; amongſt which was ALDELBERT Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, a very mightie prince and prelate, whom the Emperour commanded to be apprehended, and held him aboue two yeeres priſoner; whereof enſued many great tumults: And ſome Biſhops were ſo bold (being authoriſed by a Cardinal Legate in *Hungary*) as to excommunicate the Emperour: And the number of thoſe which conſpired againſt him, daily encreaſing, he fearing the like fortune as befel his father, appointed a Councell to be called in the citie of *Mentz*, there to treat of thoſe affaires; offring to ſtand to that which therein ſhould be determined; and to right any wrong that he had done. The day appointed for this Councel being come, and the Emperor therein appearing, ſo few made their repaire thither, that he was therewith much troubled, and highlie diſcontented, and therefore with greater inſtance procured the aſſemblie, but it little auailed him: for before that they could come, the inhabitants of *Mentz* aroſe againſt him; as well for that he held their Biſhop priſoner, as for that in former time in the warres betweene him and his father, that citie had endured much loſſe by his meanes: whereupon they putting themſelues in armes, went to the palace wherein he was, whereof they became maſters, and of his perſon alſo; and threatning to kill him, they made him to promiſe ſatisfaction for the diſpleaſures and iniuries which they had receiued, and that he ſhould preſently ſet their Biſhop ALDELBERT at libertie: all which he promiſed and confirmed with an oth, in ſuch manner, that they holding themſelues ſatisfied, left the palace; and the Emperour departed, and in performance of his promiſe, preſently releaſed the Archbiſhop: but this notwithſtanding hee continued extremely diſpleaſed, through the iniurie receiued in that city, and no leſſe with them which failed to come to the Councel. And the next yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred and ſixteene; he holding his Chriſtmas in *Spire*, many prelates aſſembled themſelues in the citie of *Colein*, and with them ſome princes, with a determination to ſeeke to depriue him, for that he was excommunicate, and diſobedient to the Church of *Rome*: which he (to his great diſliking) hauing vnderſtood, and deſiring to redreſſe the ſame, ſent his Ambaſſadours to that aſſemblie, promiſing to beare what ſhould be impoſed, and proteſting that he was in all points readie to ſatisfie the Pope: but his ambaſſade was ill receiued, and as ill anſwered, for they ſent him word, that hee ſhould make his peace with the Pope, and conforme himſelfe to his will; otherwiſe, they would neither ſerue, nor obey him, but generally would all forſake him. Whereupon he tried his friends, ſeeking aide by all meanes poſſibly; and as princes neuer faile to find ſome to helpe and aſſiſt them (ſome of dutie, and others in hope of gaine) he gathered

Mawd the Empereſſe daughter of Henry the firſt, king of England, and wife of the Emperor Henry the fift.

thered many men together, thinking to effect his businesse by force of armes: and depriuing some of his aduersaries, which held with the Pope against him, of their estates, he bestowed many graces and fauours vpon his followers; and leuying a great armie, resolued to goe into *Italy*, as well to be farre absent from the furie of *Germany*, as for that he purposed (as hee published) to come to some agreement with the Pope: for hee had newes (which were certaine) that through factions and partialities in *Rome*, which arose for that the Pope would not bestow the Prefecture, or office of Lord President vpon the sonne of him which last presided, the most part of the people rose against him, and fought with such as tooke his part; and the matter came to this issue, that it behoued him to leaue *Rome*, and to goe into *Pulia*, where hee was harboured by WILLIAM the Feodatorie Duke thereof, and by some other princes. The Emperour being with his armie arriued in *Italy*, tooke his way directly for *Rome*: yet some write that he first sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, and requiring absolution vsed some complements; but for as much as hee would not make such satisfaction as was required at his hands, the Pope would not absolue him. Others write, that the Emperours Ambassadours found the Pope in *Rome*, and that hee vnderstanding of his comming, would not stay for him. But howsoeuer it was, hee came to *Rome* with his wife without any resistance (but yet he found not the Pope therein) hauing first made cruell warres in the lands of the Church as he came: and pretending that his coronation was violent, and done by force, although by the Pope, he therfore made himselfe to be crowned by an Archbishop, whose name was MAVRICE DE BRACHIA, whom he brought with him; the whole Clergie and people of *Rome* murmuring thereat. This being done, hee departed thence, and made very cruell warres against all such townes as held for Pope PASCVAL: but knowing that through his absence *Germany* was like to be lost, for (as all writers affirme) at that time iustice and equitie tooke no place, and there were such warres, factions, robberies, insultations, and other disorders, as cannot be recited: wherefore he marched with his armie thitherwards, taking his way through *Lombardy*. Comming into *Germany* with the aide of FREDERRCK Duke of *Suenia*, and of CONRADE Duke of *Franconia*, which were his nephewes (being his sisters sonnes) and of some other princes which followed him, without any stay he went to make war against the Duke of *Saxony*, who renouncing his obedience held for the Pope; with whom he fought a terrible battaile, and had the victorie; wherby his power and authoritie greatly encreased with those which had rebelled against him.

Mawd the Empresse at Rome

A battaile betweene the Emperour and the Duke of Saxony.

While these things passed in *Germany*, Pope PASCVAL came to *Rome*, and after some troubles which therein arose, he departed out of this life, hauing been Pope thirteene yeeres and halfe, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eighteene: and in his place was chosen a Cardinall, whose name was IOHN, and was called GELASIVS the second. About this time also died ALEXIVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and him succeeded his sonne CALOIOANNES, as I haue aboue said.

Anno Dom. 1118.

The Emperour hauing receiued the newes of the death of pope PASCVAL, and of the election of GELASIVS (seeing himselfe excommunicate, and shunned by many prelates and princes, which neither serued, neither saw him, although they warred not against him) setting the affaires of *Germany* in the best order that he could, with a great armie came the third time into *Italy*, addressing his way to *Rome*, where Pope GELASIVS durst not stay his comming; for in *Rome* were parcialities and bandings against him; whereof the Frangepanes (which were

The Emperours third going to Rome.

were many in number, and of great power) were the chiefe; yet some others took his part, as the Cossi, the Normanes, the families of the Leoni, and the Columnesi, which then began to grew great.

The Pope being fled from *Rome* in his galleys downe the riuer *Tiber*; the Emperour comming thither, alleaged that the election of GELASIVS was insufficient, for that he was chosen without his consent, and therefore procured such Bishops and prelates as were of his faction, to make that MAVRICE, who (as I said) crowned him, Pope: and they did so, and called him GREGORY; who being installed and lodged in the Papall palace, absolued the Emperour, and confirmed and ratified his donations and inuestitures: And hauing set vp this new Idol, the Emperour recommended him to the protection of the Frangepanes, which were so much discontented with the election of GELASIVS, that they would haue killed him; and then tooke the field and harried the lands of the Church, to the end to make his pope GREGORY Lord thereof. Which pope GELASIVS vnderstanding, with the aide of WILLIAM Duke of *Pulia*, ROBERT Duke of *Capua*, RICHARD, and other great Lords of *Italy*, he leuied such an armie that the Emperour doubting what would follow, published, that sith he was absolued of his excommunication, hee meant to returne into *Germany*. And being departed, pope GELASIVS (leauing the armie which he had raised) came to *Rome*, where, betweene such as tooke part with him, and the Frangepanes, which held with pope GREGORY, were so many affraies, and so many men were slaine, that hee was driuen to forsake *Rome*, and (in a manner) to flie into *France*, where he died in the Monasterie of *Cluniaque*, hauing bin pope almost one whole yeere and halfe. And he being dead, CALIXTVS the second was chosen, who before was called GVIDO; and before his comming to *Rome*, pope GREGORY departed thence, and went to a towne called *Sutrio*, where what happened to him, you shall hereafter vnderstand. The Emperour to auoide losse of time, presently so soone as he came into *Germany* besieged the citie of *Mentz*, against which hee bare an old grudge, for the iniurie which hee had therein receiued: and he holding it strictly besieged, sundrie Commotions were raised against him; for such as theretofore had shewed themselues his enemies, feared that hee would now be reuenged on them all: wherefore with him, and against him, were euery where making of parties. ALDELBERT Archbishop of *Mentz*, with the aide of the Dukes of *Saxonie*, and of other princes and prelates, had a great armie in a readines: and of the contrarie side, the Dukes of *Suetia*, and others, had no lesse in his behalfe; in such manner that it was feared that great warres would haue ensued. But the Emperour (being perswaded by some his loyall seruants, and certaine other ecclesiasticall personages which interposed themselues) inclined to peace, which was treated of; and all the differences and controuersies were referred to the arbitrament of certaine princes of the empire; and a Diet or Councell was appointed to be holden in the citie of *Wittenbergh*, wherein all controuersies should be decided and ended: and it was so. And those which were appointed to be arbitrators and iudges of this controuersie, and of the rest, being there assembled (and certaine Legates, as some say, being also there from pope CALIXTVS) it was by cõmon consent determined, that through all *Germany* a generall and vniuersall peace should be proclaimed and kept, betweene the Emperour, and all the princes both ecclesiasticall and secular: and that the princes in like manner should maintaine the same peace amongst themselues, vpon paine of death: and that whatsoeuer was taken from any Church, should presently be restored: and that the like should

be

be done by any thing withheld from the Emperours chamber of accounts or Exchequer: and that the like ſhould alſo be done betweene all eſtates, which had taken ought (from other) by violence: and that all matters in controuerſie ſhould be ſpeedily decided: and that iuſtice ſhould be equally adminiſtred in all parts: and that the offences and diſpleaſures paſt ſhould be forgiuen and forgotten: and that theeues and robbers by the high waies, ſhould be ſought out and puniſhed: and that ſuch order ſhould be taken, that the countrey ſhould be maintained in peace: For the due execution whereof, the moſt ſufficient perſonages that could be found, were appointed; and euery where was done all that was poſſible to further the ſame. And as touching the excommunication, and the Popes fulminations and cenſures; and the differences betweene the Emperour and him, all was referred to be at Pope CALIXTVS his order and diſcretion; to whom the Emperour ſent Ambaſſadours about the ſame in great humilitie. This being ended, Pope CALIXTVS ſent his Legate *Alatere*, and ambaſſadours Cardinals, to another meeting or generall Diet held at *VVormes*; the Emperour being there preſent, where peace and concord was concluded betweene them: and the Emperor acknowledging the Pope for Chriſts Vicar here in earth, and vniuerſall pope of the Church, deſired abſolution; and renounced and reſigned into the Legates hands, all the right and title that he could pretend to the inueſting of prelates, and donation of any ſpirituall dignities; and then gaue vp the poſſeſſion of all townes and goods belonging to any Church; and bound himſelfe to vſe his beſt meanes, that if any other princes vſurped any, they ſhould be reſtored; and himſelfe to be obedient to the commaundements and Iniunctions of the Church, and to aide, protect, and defend the ſame. The Deedes and Letters patents made hereof at large, were carried to the Pope, who allowed thereof, and gaue his Bull; whereby he granted that all the prelacies and Abbeyes which in *Germany* ſhould be void, ſhould be prouided by the lections of the Chapters of the ſame Churches, and that the Emperour might be preſent at the election: prouided alwaies that it ſhould not be made by force, or for bribes, or through any other kind of ſimonie; and that hee which was choſen might receiue from the Emperour, all that was meerely laicall or temporall; but muſt haue recourſe to the ſea of *Rome* for the reſt, according to the Popes Canons. This being ended, the Emperour and all thoſe which with him ſtood excommunicate, were publikely abſolued, and then the Letters patents and inſtruments were ſolemnely read, which befell in the moneth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1122. And the Emperour from thence went to *Norenbergh*, from whence he diſpatched the Popes Legates very well contented, with great gifts and preſents both for the Pope and for themſelues, and they returned to *Rome*: by reaſon whereof Pope CALIXTVS and all the Romiſh court made ſhew of great ioy, for the recouery of their loſt fat ſheep, and truly they had great reaſon, for it much imported them; and they recouered him but by great good happe.

The Emperour reconciled to the Pope.

Anno Dom. 1122.

The Emperour abſolued from the Popes excommunicatiõ.

In this time ROGER Earle of *Sicilia*, who afterwards was King, and very mightie, being vncle to WILLIAM Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, and knowing that WILLIAM was gone to marrie with the Emperors ſiſter of *Conſtantinople*, came into *Italy*, and by force of armes tooke all that his nephew held therein; and hauing made himſelfe Lord thereof he was called King of *Italy*; and afterwards leauing the title of *Italy*, he was called King of *Sicilia*: I haue reduced this to memorie, to the end that the reader may haue the better light, of what ſhall be ſaid hereafter; and may alſo vnderſtand, that his ſucceſſors haue beene euer

ſince called Kings of both the *Sicilia*, which are *Naples* and *Sicilia*.

The Emperour HENRY being reduced to the Popes obedience, in little more then two yeers which he liued afterwards, he had two warres, the one againſt the Hollanders, and the other againſt LEWES the French King: againſt the Hollanders he went with an army, and ſubdued them; againſt the King of *France* he leuied a great armie, in the behalfe of his father in law, HENRY King of *England*; and marching towards *France* the warre ceaſed, and he returned; for the citie of *Wormes* rebelled, and he went thither, and beſieging it, tooke it by compoſition, and puniſhed the offenders. At this time in *Rome* died Pope CALIXTVS when he had bin Pope ſixe yeeres, within two moneths; and in his place was choſen LAMBERT Biſhop of *Hoſtia*, and was called HONORIVS the ſecond. And CALIXTVS before his death ſent a great army, vnder the command of a Cardinall, againſt Pope GREGORIE who liued in *Sutrio*, which beſieging the place, tooke him priſoner, and brought him to *Rome*, where hee was (ſhamefully to diſgrace him) made to ride vpon a Cammell, and the Pope granted him his life vpon condition, that he ſhould ſpend the reſt of his time in a Monaſterie. In *Germany* the Emperour applied himſelfe to purchaſe the good wil of his people, and to make himſelfe well beloued; taking warning by his fathers ſucceſſe. But there befell in all that land ſo great a peſtilence, and famine, that it was thought (as all writers affirme) that the third part of the people periſhed: for which calamitie and affliction, the Emperour being very ſorowfull, and grieued, fell ſicke, and within few daies died; penitent for his ſins, deſiring God to forgiue the ſame. And although it pleaſed God to giue him a good death, yet he left neither ſonne nor daughter that might ſucceede him, but two nephewes which were his ſiſters ſonnes; the mightie Dukes of *Suevia*, and of *Franconia*, the one called FREDERICK, and the other CONRADE: ſome authors call CONRADE Duke of *Suevia*, and others, of *Franconia*; he died the firſt day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1125. when he had raigned about twentie yeers, and thoſe which account but fourteene, reckon but from the time of his coronation in *Rome*; but I euer make my account from the day of his election; his body was embaulmed and borne to *Spire*, and there buried amongſt his auncеſtors.

The death of the Emperour Henry the fifth. Anno Dom. 1125.

When the Emperor HENRY died, in *Conſtantinople* raigned CALOIOANNES, who was an excellent Prince and very requiſite for that empire. He was very liberall, loued iuſtice and equitie, and obtained many great victories in *Aſia*, againſt the Turks and Perſians, and recouered from them many cities which his father and predeceſſors had loſt; his brother ISACIVS being Generall of his armies, whom he deerly loued; and waged Italian ſouldiers in ſteed of Greekes. But with theſe vertues, enuying the wars & conqueſt which were made in *Aſia*, he did greatly hinder the French, and others which went thither; and for the ſame occaſion fell at variance with the Venecians, which tooke from him by force of armes ſome certaine Ilands in the ſea called *Archipelagus*: of his end ſhall be ſpoken hereafter. At this time in *Ieruſalem* began the order of the Knights Templars, and alſo the order of the Knights of S. IOHNS, called afterwards of the *Rhodes*, and now of *Malta*, wherein they inhabite.

The beginning of the order of the Knights Templars, and of S. Iohns, or of the Rhodes.

THE

THE LIFE OF LOTHARIVS THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND FIFTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of CALOIOANNES Emperor of *Conſtantinople.*

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry the fifth being dead, Lothary Duke of Saxony was choſen Emperour, againſt whom Henries Nephewes (aſpiring to the Empire) in the beginning of his raigne rebelled, which after many fortunes of warre, in the end became his ſubiects. He came into Italy, to the aide of Pope Innocent, againſt a Pſeudopope which had driuen him out of Rome. The Emperor was no ſooner returned into Germany, but the other Pope whoſe name was Anacletus (through the fauour and aſſiſtance of the King of Sicilia) made Pope Innocent to flie: whereof the Emperor being aduertiſed, againe returned into Italy, and reſtored innocent to his ſeate, and tamed Roger King of both the Sicilia. But returning victorious towards Germany, he died in the Mountaines of Trent; when he had ruled the Empire fourteene yeeres, leauing neuer a ſonne, that might ſucceed him in the Empire.

THe two HENRIES, father and ſonne which held the Empire ſeauentie yeeres, being dead; LOTHARY Duke of *Saxony* a mightie prince (like as his predeceſſors had been before him) was choſen Emperor. His houſe euer (or for the moſt part) was enemie to the Emperour HENRY, and to his houſe and family, and rebelled againſt him: wherefore, and for the worthines of his perſon, many of the princes and people of *Germanie*, ſo ſoone as the

Emperor HENRY was dead, fixed their eyes vpon him, to the end to haue him for their Emperor and Soueraigne Lord: for they hauing been likewiſe enemies to HENRY, ſtoode in feare of his Nephewes, CONRADE and FREDERICKE Dukes of *Suevia*, and of *Franconia*, which had euer held with him; and for the ſame reaſon, to the contrarie, the two brothers ſought by all meanes that the one of them might haue been Emperor, and with all their might withſtoode LOTHARY. Theſe two brothers (as I ſaid) were Nephewes to the Emperor HENRY the fifth, and his ſiſters ſonnes, who was the daughter of the Emperour HENRY the fourth. LEOPOLD Marqueſſe of *Auſtrich*, and CHARLES Earle of *Flanders*, by reaſon of their eſtates and power ſought alſo to haue gotten the Empire. Theſe foure great princes being competitors, by the procurement and induſtrie of ALBERT, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who remembring that he had been impriſoned and ill entreated by HENRY, for contradicting his friends; found meanes to draw the princes electors to meete at *Mentz*, where they choſe LOTHARY Duke of *Saxony*, Emperor. Wherewith CONRADE and FREDERICKE were ſo much diſcontented, that in liew of doing him homage as to their Emperour, they rebelled againſt him as their enemie: and in him wanted neither will nor induſterie to perſecute them. Firſt he ſent to Pope HONORIVS the ſecond, to complaine of them; who approoued, and was well pleaſed with the election of the Duke of *Saxony*; foraſmuch as by that houſe the popes had euer been relieued and ſupported; wherefore he might eaſily obtaine of the pope, to commaund them (by his cenſures) to yeeld their obedience. But theſe two brothers (taking armes) found ſo many friends; and their lands and countries were ſuch and ſo great, that a cruell warre began betweene them, which I omit, for that I finde it briefly written; yet it continued many daies, and came to that iſſue, that CONRADE the elder of theſe two brothers, with the helpe of his brother FREDERICKE, and of GODFREY Countie Palantine of *Rhine*, was called Emperour; and raiſing the greateſt power that he was able (leauing his brother in *Germany* to make head againſt LOTHARY) he went into *Italy*, and tooke many Imperiall cities in the ſtate of *Lombardy*, where the Archbiſhop of *Milan* crowned him with the crowne of Yron: by reaſon whereof, Pope HONORIVS afterwards depriued him of his Archbiſhopricke, and ſet another in his place: and the Emperor LOTHARY being thus diſtreſſed, knowing that HENRY of *Bauiere*, (who was called the proud, and was deſcended from the linage of the famous GVELPHONS, of which the Abbot WESPERGENSIS and other authors make ſo great account) was a mightie prince and very valiant; he practiſed with him to marrie his onely daughter, whoſe name was GERTRVDE; and to the end that he ſhould be a faithfull and loyall ſeruant vnto him, he gaue him with her for her dowrie, the title and ſucceſſion of the Duchie of *Saxonie*, which after his death he enioyed, and was Lord of both eſtates; yet afterwards in proceſſe of time, there were alterations in them, and in others; whereof I will make no eſpeciall relation, for that it requireth too long a time; yet I will ſometimes ſpeake thereof as occaſion ſhall be offered. The Duke of *Bauiere*, and other princes now helping the Emperor with all their powers, made cruell warre in CONRADES countries, whileſt that he was buſie about his coronation in *Lombardy*, with intent to haue gone to *Rome*. But as he had leuied more men then he was able to pay, and wanted meanes to giue them ſatisfaction, he was driuen to returne into his countrie, and to ioyne with his brother; and being returned, was not of power able to make head againſt the Emperour, or at the leaſt, to goe thorow with what he had begun;

Lothary the ſecond choſen Emperor.

begun; whereupon he ſought to make ſome agreement with him, and to obtaine his fauour: which was effected (as ſaith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS) at the interceſſion of Saint BERNARD, he renouncing the name and title of Emperor, and giuing other ſecuritie to ſerue him as a ſubiect: the like did his brother FREDERICKE alſo, and ſo ended the Emperour LOTHARY this warre, which (as he writeth) was very bloody; during the which in *Rome* died HONORIVS the ſecond, hauing beene pope fiue yeeres, and him ſucceeded INNOCENTIVS the ſecond, a Romane borne, who ſo ſoone as he was pope, determined to haue driuen ROGER Earle of *Sicilia* out of *Pulia*; where ROGER was called King of *Italy* (as I ſaid in the end of the life of the Emperor HENRY) hauing taken the ſame from WILLIAM, who was his Nephew, or (as ſome ſay) his coſine germane: and leuying a great armie for thoſe warres, he went thither in perſon. But foraſmuch as the authors differ in the recitall thereof (the Italians accounting it to be at this time, that the pope was taken priſoner therein: and the Germanes recount it to haue happened in the time of CONRADE the third who ſucceeded LOTHARY) we will therefore leaue it vntill that time; in which it ſeemed moſt likely to haue paſſed. But here we will ſpeake of another diſaſter, which befell pope INNOCENTIVS; which was, that with the fame of his impriſonment, or (as I rather beleeue) of his death; a mightie Romane, of great power, whoſe name was PETER LEO, came to *Rome*, publiſhing the newes thereof: and procuring fauour and aſſiſtance thereto, made himſelfe to be choſen pope, and was called ANACLETVS; who taking all the gold and ſiluer out of the temples and Churches, and giuing the ſame to his followers, grew to be of ſuch power, that pope INNOCENTIVS being returned to *Rome*, could not make his partie good therein againſt him, but was conſtrained in a manner by flight, to get him into *France*, and from thence into *Germany*, to the Emperor LOTHARY; who by reaſon of the peace and agreement betweene him and Duke CONRADE, was growne very rich and of great power; and giuing him very good intertainment, offered to goe in perſon to reſtore him to his eſtate: and although that the affaires of *Germany* were not yet throughly ſetled, yet he in ſhorte ſpace made readie a faire armie, and they both together departed towards *Italy*, but by ſeuerall waies, diuiding their armie to the end to march the more commodiouſly: and againe meeting neere to *Rome*, were therein receiued; without that pope ANACLETVS durſt to make any reſiſtance; whom his friends had hidden ſo ſecretly, that at that time, he could not be found; which was in the ſixth yeere of the Emperors raigne: and ſo with great ſolemnitie pope INNOCENT was reſtored to his chaire; and with the like or greater, the Emperor LOTHARY was by him crowned; and within few daies after, returned with his people into *Germany*, without finding in the way any contradiction or reſiſtance. *The Emperor Lothary in Italy.*

The Emperor LOTHARY being arriued in *Germany*, and hauing by the conſent of the princes thereof ſummoned a Councell to be held therein: by the authoritie of the Empire, he reſolued to goe in perſon againſt the Duke of *Polonia*, becauſe he refuſed to pay the tribute, in acknowledgment of ſuperioritie which he ought for the ſpace of twelue yeeres behinde hand vnpaied: But the Polacres not daring ſtand to the hazard of warre; the Duke accompanied with men of peace, came foorth of his countrie to receiue the Emperour; whom the Emperor would not ſee, neither admit into his preſence, before that he had paied him all the arrerages due for ſo many yeeres paſt; and the Duke accompliſhing the ſame, came to ſee the Emperor in the Duchie of *Saxony*; whether being come, and ha-

uing promiſed to performe the premiſſes, returned to his home in peace. At the ſame time the King of *Hungary* ſent his Ambaſſadors and preſents, in acknowledgment of ſuperioritie. Pope INNOCENT in the meane time had ill ſucceſſe; for within few daies after the Emperours departure out of *Italy*, and that he had called a Councell to be held in the citie of *Spire*; Pope ANACLETVS aforeſaid (through the fauour and aſſiſtance of his friends and parents, and of ROGER which was called King of the two *Siciliæ*) returned againe to *Rome*, and tooke vpon him as Pope, being alreadie Lord of the citie, and of ſome other fortreſſes: whereupon Pope INNOCENT ſent to the Emperour, imploring his aide and ſuccour, and to reſtore him to his dignitie. The Emperour ſetting the affaires of *Germany* apart, and raiſing a greater armie then at the firſt; within ſhort ſpace came into *Italy*; with whom (beſides thoſe which the Abbot WESPERGENSIS ſetteth downe) came his ſonne in law HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, with great and very good troupes of men of warre: OTHO FRISINGENSIS ſaith, that CONRADE Duke of *Suevia*, which in former time had been his enemie, came with him alſo: and being come into *Italy*, entring *Lombardy*, he found therein great warre and diſſenſion betweene the cities of *Cremona*, and of *Milan*, and he as ſoueraigne Lord, tooke vpon him to decide the cauſe of their difference; and finding thoſe of *Cremonia* to bee faultie, he proceeded againſt them; and they rebelling were by him ſubdued by force of armes. From thence he went to the citie of *Pauia*, and thence to *Bolonia*, viſiting and pacifying the other cities of *Lombardy*; which through ciuill contention, and the long abſence of the Emperours, were in a manner at libertie, and tyrannized, all which he ſubdued and brought to ſubiection: and from thence (ſending his ſonne in law with the one halfe of his armie into *Tuſcane*, to receiue the pope, which lay in *Piſa*) he himſelfe by another way went with the reſt into the *Marca di Ancona*, wherein he aſſaulted and tooke many townes which rebelled; aſwell againſt him as againſt the Church of *Rome*; which he recouered and reſtored. And afterwards ioyning with the pope and with his ſonne in law HENRY, he tooke his way towards *Rome*, where he reſtored the pope to his ſeate and Pallace; and thence marched forwards, to warre againſt ROGER, who with the helpe of his friends and ſubiects, had raiſed a great armie, vaunting in braue termes, that he would fight with the Emperor. But ROGER ſhamefully retiring without daring to meete him, put his men into garriſons, to defend his countries; and the Emperour followed the warres with ſuch expedition and courage, that within ſhort ſpace he became Lord of *Pulia*, and *Calabria*, and of all the reſt that ROGER held; and conſtrained him to flie out of *Italy*, and to get him into *Sicily*. And to the Emperour at his being there came Ambaſſadors from CALOIOANNES Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, to congratulate his victories obtained againſt ROGER, whom he much hated, and againſt whom he had afterwards great warres. At this time died the Antipope ANACLETVS. And ſo the Emperor finding no reſiſtance in *Italy* (hauing ſubdued the rebellious, and rewarded and honored thoſe which had faithfully and valiantly ſerued him, in ſuch manner that they write of him, that ſince the time of CHARLES the Great, not any Emperor had euer liued there in ſo great power and authoritie) he returned into *Germany*: but before his departure, he beſtowed vpon a great Germane prince, who was his neere kinſman and fauorite, whoſe name was RAYNOLD, the ſtate of *Pulia*, with the title of Duke thereof, which he tooke from ROGER. About which gift, notwithſtanding that the pope was well content therewith, OTHO FRISINGENSIS (who was an eye witnes and an author of thoſe times) writeth,

Roger King of Sicilia driuen out of Italy.

writeth, that there was ſome difference betweene the Emperor and the pope for the ſame; the pope alleaging the countries of *Pulia* and *Calabria* to be ſubiect and feudatory to the Church of *Rome*; and that, that fauour and title which was giuen to RAYNOLD, was to haue been giuen by him, and not by the Emperor: but in the end, a meane was found, that it was done in both their names; and the armes and enſignes of Duke, were giuen to RAYNOLD by them both; and ſo RAYNOLD remained a Duke; and the Emperor departing, left many good men of warre with him, whereof he afterwards ſtoode in neede, as you ſhall heare: and ſo leauing the pope in *Rome*, he returned towards his countrie, triumphing of his victories: and vpon the way comming to the Mountaines of *Trent*, he fell ſo grieuouſly ſicke, that vnable to trauell any further, hee died in a little village, in the thirteenth yeere after that hee was choſen Emperour, and in the ſeauenth after his coronation in *Rome*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred thirtie and eight: his body was carried into *Saxony*, and there moſt ſumptuouſly entombed, and by his death grew great alterations in all matters, both in *Italy* and in *Germany*, as ſhall be recounted. He left no more children behind him when he died, but his onely daughter GERTRVDE, who (I ſaid) was married to HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*; for his onely ſonne called LOTHARY died a childe before him. In time of this Emperor (as he was a great Iuſticer) the lawes and inſtitutions collected by the Emperor IVSTINIAN, were againe reuiued and tooke effect; which through the diuiſion and declining of the Empire, were growne out of vſe, and in a manner quite forgotten; and VERNERIVS whom ACVRSIVS (a gloſer vpon the ciuill law) calleth YRNERIVS, ſought, and tooke out of the auncient Libraries, the bookes of the lawes which IVSTINIAN had compiled, and abbreuiated out of the inſtitutions of the Pretors, Ediles, and auncient Emperors; which lay forgotten, and euen loſt: and he corrected and reduced the ſame into the beſt forme that he was able; which the Emperor LOTHARY commaunded to be read in ſchooles, and that all pleas ſhould be determined by them; and ſo they are kept vntill this day. And within a while after this, theſe lawes began to be gloſed vpon by AZO a famous Doctor; and afterwards ſucceeded ACVRSIVS, and they haue ſtill ſo encreaſed, that ſince that time there haue been many great and famous men in that facultie; which hold the greateſt authoritie and degree in the eſtate and gouernment of all Common-wealths. In *Conſtantinople* yet raigned CALOIOANNES, warring againſt the Infidels, and againſt ROGER King of *Sicily*.

The death of the Emperor Lothary.

Anno Dom. 1138.

A reformation in the ciuill law.

The beginning of the Ciuill Lawyers.

THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE THIRD OF THAT NAME,

AND FOVRESCORE AND SIXTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And therein is treated of CALOIOANNES, and of his sonne EMANVEL, Emperours of *Constantinople.*

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Lothary succeeded Conrade, Nephew of the Emperour Henry the fifth; who was chosen by the Electors, and confirmed by the Popes Legate. He was in the beginning of his raigne disturbed by the sonne in law of Lotharius, which withheld from him the imperiall ensignes; and not onely refused to deliuer them, but also to yeelde him any obedience; whereupon the Emperor proclaimed him Rebell, and tooke from him by force of armes many estates: but this warre had so many variable fortunes, that the Emperor therein spent seauen yeeres, during which time, he tooke no great care how matters went in Italy. He went to the warres of the Holy land, and being come into his enemies countries, receiued so great an ouerthrow, that there scarcely remained the tenth man of those which went with him. After this rout, he prosecuted his attempt, in company of the French King, from whom he afterwards departed; holding his being with him for dishonorable. He returned thither the third time, and together with the Kings of France, and of Ierusalem, did nothing of any account. Afterwards,

sith

ſith it pleaſed not God to fauour the proceedings of the Chriſtians in this enterpriſe, each of the princes returned into his countrie: and the Emperor being returned into Germany; whileſt he was making preparation for his going into Italy, to be crowned, died (as many men thought) of poyſon, in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne.

I Haue alreadie told, how that the Emperour LOTHART maried his onely daughter to HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, (called the proud) which was a valiant and mightie prince; and that he gaue him the title of Duke of *Saxony*, which was his houſe and patrimonie: and that this HENRY did him great ſeruice in his iourney into *Italy*, and alſo againſt the two mightie brothers, CONRADE and FREDERICK, Dukes of *Sueuia* and of *Franconia*, which were his enemies a long time: for when LOTHARY was choſen Emperor; they thought to haue had it for one of themſelues, for that they were nephewes of the then deceaſed Emperour HENRY the fifth, and grand children of the Emperour HENRY the fourth. So ſoone as the Emperour LOTHARY was dead, his ſonne in law HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, which came with him, and was alreadie called Duke of *Saxony*, gat into his cuſtodie the imperiall enſignes; as the Scepter, the Croſſe, the Crowne, and the Globe, imagining that he ſhould haue had vſe for them, for that he thought to haue been himſelfe Emperour, but they auailed him nothing: for the two brethren, CONRADE and FREDERICK Dukes of *Sueuia* & *Franconia* (afore named) were of ſo great power and authoritie, that aſſembling the princes electors in *Confluence* (which is where the riuer *Moſella* ioyneth with the *Rhine*, THEODORICVS a Cardinall and the Popes Legate being there preſent) CONRADE was choſen Emperour, and all the princes ſware to him homage and obedience; which the Saxons and Bauarians onely withſtood, together with HENRY their Lord, and his brother GVELPHO, who was a great and valiant prince: whereupon the new Emperour called a generall Diet or Councel to be held in the citie of *Bambergh*, whither came the widow Empereſſe, late wife of LOTHARIVS, and the Proctors of *Saxony*, to acknowledge and yeeld obedience vnto him: but Duke HENRY would not appeare, neither would he ſend the Imperiall enſignes which he had in his power: and ſo by all the princes there aſſembled, with the Emperours authoritie, hee was enioyned to appeare and to ſend the enſignes aforeſaid, by the feaſt day of S. PETER and PAVL then next following; and he did ſo (for he durſt doe no other) but would not come himſelfe in perſon: whereupon the Emperour (deſiring to be at peace with him) after two or three ſummons, enioyned him, within a certaine prefixed time, to make his appearance in the citie of *Ausburgh*; for which purpoſe he preſently cauſed a Councell to be ſummoned, and made great preparation, meaning to haue proceeded againſt him with all rigour and ſeueritie. The Councell being aſſembled, HENRY accompanied with many men of warre, of *Saxony* and of *Bauiere*, came neere to that place where it was held, and lodged his campe, and began to treate of meanes to come to the Emperours obedience; which treatie continued three daies without any concluſion: for the Emperour required him to reſigne certaine lands which his father in law the Emperour LOTHARY had giuen him: but the Emperour holding himſelfe not in ſafetie in that citie, departed without any ſpeech of his remouing, vntill hee was gone, and went to the citie of *Herbipoli*, where many princes meeting, by the generall conſent of them

Conrade choſen Emperour.

them all, he pronounced ſentence againſt HENRY of *Bauiere*; whereby hee condemned him in the loſſe of all his eſtates: and many great matters happened, which wee will declare ſo ſoone as wee haue told you what befell in *Italy*, to the pope and to Duke RAINOLD, whom the Emperour LOTHARY made Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, with ROGER King of *Sicily*; which paſſed in this manner. So ſoone as the Emperour LOTHARY was dead, there were preſently ſo great alterations and troubles in *Italy*, that ROGER in great haſte raiſed his forces, and went into *Pulia*, with a determination to haue reconquered thoſe countries, whereof he was diſpoſſeſſed: But RAINOLD had ſo good men of warre with him, that he fought with him in battaile, and ouerthrew him; ſo as hee was driuen to returne with loſſe of part of his armie: and being buſied about making new preparation for the ſame enterpriſe, RAINOLD died in time of his good fortune; ſo as without any great difficultie, ROGER recouered all the countries of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, which he firſt tooke from his nephew, and which had been his grandfathers. Pope INNOCENT ſeeing what paſſed, ſent to the Emperour to deſire him to come into *Italy*, or to ſend thither an armie to driue ROGER out of that countrie: but for as much as the ſuccours came ſlowly (as writeth GOTHIFREDVS VITERRIENSIS) the Pope leuied a great armie, and went againſt ROGER: but as he was no very expert man of warre, ſo by a deuice his armie was ouerthrowne, and himſelfe together with his Cardinals was taken priſoner. But ROGER making a conſcience of the matter, ſet both him and all his Cardinals at libertie: for which his liberalitie and curteſie the Pope confirmed him king of *Sicilia*; and ROGER as his liege man did homage to the Pope, calling his countries the Church patrimonie; and ſo remained ROGER and his ſucceſſors kings of *Sicilia*, and Lords of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, and was a very mightie prince. This being paſſed, ROGER fearing the Emperours comming into *Italy*, ſent to ſolicite HENRY the proud, and his brother GVELPHO, with letters and money to beare armes againſt the Emperor CONRADE, with whom they alreadie had great warres; for HENRY the proud being condemned by the Emperour, in the loſſe of all his eſtates of *Bauiere* and *Saxony*; and the Emperour hauing giuen the Duchie of *Saxony* to ALBERT coſine germane to the Duke; and *Bauiere* to LEOPOLD ſonne to the Marqueſſe of *Auſtrich* (which was the Emperours mothers brother) ſo as all was turned topſie turuie, and the warre was proſecuted with great crueltie, the one partie ſeeking to hold and to defend their eſtates, and the other to get the ſame; and hee which chiefly followed this war was GVELPHO, brother to HENRY the proud, for HENRY now by reaſon of his old age could not well beare armes; and hauing prouided a very good armie, the Emperour went againſt GVELPHO, and fought a battaile with him, which was very doubtfull, for GVELPHO was an excellent captaine and very valiant: but he being ouermatched, was ouerthrowne, and loſt many of his men, both Bauarians and Italians, which ROGER king of *Sicilie* had ſent to his aide, and he himſelfe eſcaped by flight. But he was a man of ſo haughtie a minde, and therewith vſed ſuch induſtrie and expedition, that within few daies he reinforced his armie; and ſought aide of the king of *Hungary*, who repined at the proſperitie of the empire, for that he would not acknowledge any ſuperiour: and ſo to his aide came many Calabrians and Sicilians, ſent by ROGER king of *Sicilie*, and the Emperour of neceſſitie was driuen to do the like, and made his eldeſt ſon called HENRY Generall of his armie, who afterwards died before his father: and he beſieged a towne called *Winſperg*, and lying before it, his ſon HENRIE, neere to a place called *Elnoſen*, fought a battaile with GVELPHO, in which,

VVarres betweene the Pope and Roger king of Sicilia, wherein the Pope was ouerthrowne, and taken priſoner with all his Cardinals.

VVarres betweene the Emperour and the Duke Bauiere and Saxony.

ſome

ſome of GVELPHO his partie (which were Italians) cried, GVELPHO, GVELPHO, after the name of their Generall; and the Imperialiſts cried, GIBELLIN, GIBELLIN, for that HENRIE their Generall was bred vp in a place ſo called. Some authors affirme, that vpon this occaſion it afterwards followed, that in the controuerſies betweene the Emperours and the Popes, the Imperialiſts tooke the name of Guelphs; and the Papiſts, Gibelins; and that herehence ſprang the cruell factions of Guelphs and Gibelins in *Italy*: hereof are other opinions, which import not much to be treated of in this place. The battaile was very cruell, but GVELPHO his troupes (being of diuers nations and conditions) did not ſo well ſecond and relieue one another, as HENRIES did; ſo as GVELPHO was likely to haue been ouerthrowne, and finding no other remedie, to auoide further euill, he abandoned the field, and HENRY apparantly had the victorie: who after that he left the purſuite, ioyned with his father the Emperour at the ſiege of *VVinſperg*; which being greatly diſtreſſed, yeelded to mercie. But all the grace that the Emperour would graunt to the inhabitants, was to permit all the women which were in the towne, freely to depart, and to haue to their owne vſe whatſoeuer they could beare on their backes: whereupon they vſed a commendable and memorable deceit, which was, that as they went foorth of the towne, each of them tooke her husband vpon her backe, and thoſe which had none, tooke their children or brothers, and ſo comming into the fields ſet them at libertie: and notwithſtanding that FREDERICK the Emperours brother alleaged that it was deceit and coſonage, and therefore not to be permitted; neuertheleſſe the Emperour held it for well done, and commended them for the ſame. And truly I hold it for one of the moſt memorable acts done by women that euer I read in my life. Through theſe two ouerthrowes, the partie of GVELPHO, and of his brother HENRY the proud, was ſo broken and weakened, that ALBERT, to whom the Emperour had giuen the title of Duke of *Saxony*, had time and oportunitie to make himſelfe Lord thereof: and LEOPOLD to whom hee had giuen the Duchie of *Bauiere*, made daily conqueſt of more and more of that countrey. Duke HENRY ſeeing this, came diſguiſed to ſuch places as held for him in *Saxony*, where he vſed ſuch effectuall ſpeeches, and wrote ſo pitifull letters to his friends and ſubiects, that they being moued therewith, repaired vnto him in ſuch order, that ALBERT was driuen to flie to the Emperour for helpe; and HENRY the proud hauing this good ſucceſſe, and being in hope to haue preuailed, died: after whoſe deceaſe, the Saxons in deſpite of the Emperor, tooke a ſonne of his, called as he was HENRY, for their Lord; and they recouered great part of that eſtate: But LEOPOLD was ſeiſed of the greateſt part of the Duchie of *Bauiere*, who (as I ſaid) was the Emperours mothers brother: And GVELPHO ſo ſoone as his brother HENRY the proud was dead, was called Duke of *Bauiere*, alleaging that it did belong vnto him by inheritance: and many friends repairing vnto him, cruell warres began betweene him and LEOPOLD, and GVELPHO ouerthrew LEOPOLD in a battaile: And the Emperour ſeeking redreſſe (to the end that he would not at one time haue ſo many irons in the fire together) agreed, and made peace with the Saxons, marrying the widow Ducheſſe of *Saxony*, daughter of the Emperor LOTHARIE, with whom HENRY the proud had that Dukedome, of the greateſt part whereof his ſonne HENRY was then in poſſeſſion: and this being effected, he determined to aide LEOPOLD againſt GVELPHO: But in the meane time LEOPOLD died, and with the ſame trouble his ſonne called HENRY had the Duchie of *Bauiere*, againſt whom (with no leſſe ſtomacke and diligence) GVELPHO

The originall of the Guelphs and Gibelins.

A commendable deceit vſed by women in Germany.

proſecuted

prosecuted the war: but CONRADE assisting his cosine germane the new Duke; neither GVELPHO, neither his nephew HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, could preuaile against him; notwithstanding that GVELPHO was so warlike, and so valiant a captaine.

The Emperour Conrade his attempt for the conqueſt of Ieruſalem.

CONRADE hauing spent sixe or seuen yeeres of his raigne in these ciuill wars, a voyage was pretended to *Ieruſalem*; which although it had no great good successe, yet it was good and commendable. And to the end that you may the better vnderstand the same, it shall be requisite briefly to set downe the most important causes thereof, and the estate wherein the affaires of *Græcia* then stood, and of *Italy* also: which was in this manner. The Christians hauing possessed *Ieruſalem*, and many other cities in *Syria* and in *Meſopotamia*, now aboue fiue and fortie yeeres; and hauing perfourmed wonderfull matters in armes in their continuall warres against the Infidels, which they waged at what time as CONRADE was busie about this matter: and FVLCO sonne in law to BALDVVIN, being then the fourth King of *Ieruſalem*, and hauing done great exploites against the Sarazins, there arose some controuersies betweene some princes, Dukes of certaine places in the East; and so betweene them, and CALOIOANNES Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, which gaue occasion to the king of *Perſia* his captaines, to doe much harme in the countries which the Christians possessed: against which, FVLCO king of *Ieruſalem* made the greatest resistance that he was able, and did many worthy feates of armes. Then ensued the death of the Greeke Emperour, who had raigned sixe and twentie yeeres: And although he had troubled the state of the East, yet neuertheleſſe by reason of his great power he was much feared of the Infidels; and died of a small wound giuen him in the left hand with an enuenomed arrow: and by his last will and testament, he ordained his youngest sonne for his successor, for that his eldest sonne was incapable of the gouernment. The state of *Syria* being thus troubled, FVLCO king of *Ieruſalem* went to encounter a great armie of Turkes and Persians, which came against the citie of *Antioch*; and ioyning in battaile, ouerthrew and slew three thousand of them: whereupon the Soldan king of *Perſia*, whose name was ALAPH, amassed all his whole power, and came before *Edeſſa*, a very mightie citie in *Meſopotamia*, which the Christians had held the space of fiue and fortie yeeres; which citie by the Iewes is called *Aracha*, and is a very famous citie, through the fertilitie and greatnes thereof; and for that it was the place, whither TOBIAS sent his sonne TOBIAS to GABELVS for his money, and the same was conuerted to the Christian faith by THADEVS; and adorned with the bones of S. THOMAS the Apostle, and at this time was inhabited and frequented by excellent Christians: But the saide ALAPH comming in person against it, without that King FVLCO was any way able to relieue the citie, was taken and sacked; wherein the Infidels vsed indicible cruelties and vilanies, such as haue not been heard of: some writers reckon the losse of this citie to haue happened after the decease of King FVLCO: but PLATINA and BLONDVS recount is as I haue done. After the losse of this citie, another great misfortune ensued, which was the vnhappie death of FVLCO King of *Ieruſalem* in this manner;

The death of Fulco king of Ieruſalem.

as hee was busie, applying himselfe to recouer this lost citie, and to leuie new troupes of men of warre, being one day in the fields hunting an Hare, his horse fel with him, and his head fell vnder the arson of the saddle, wherwith he was bruised, and so sore hurt, that losing both his speech and senses, he died within three daies after it, leauing behind him two young sonnes, the eldest of which called BALDVVIN, had the title and kingdom of *Ieruſalem*: but through the want of FVLCO,

and

through other occasious, the Infidels daily took townes, and did much hurt to the Christians. Pope INNOCENT and the Christian Princes vnderstanding how matters went in the East, and being sorie to heare thereof (as in deede they had reason, especially of the losse of the great citie of *Edissa*) began to consult of some redresse and reliefe for the same; and as S. BERNARD was then in great credit and very famous, he tooke vpon him to perswade the Christian Princes, to goe in person to this warre, Pope INNOCENT giuing him in charge to performe that action; which Pope hauing held that seate the space of fourteene yeeres, died (as saith PLATINA) in the yeer of our Lord 1144. and him succeeded CELESTIN the second, who was Pope but fiue moneths; and he being dead, LVCIVS the second was made Pope, in whose time (as saith PLATINA and BLONDVS) S. BERNARD vndertooke this enterprise; and as others say, in the time of INNOCENTIVS: this difference doth not discredit the authors, for the losse of the citie of *Edissa*, and the death of king FVLCO, and other matters which happened in the East, passed at seuerall times, and might attaine to the time of all these Popes, for the small time that they liued: for LVCIVS the second was not Pope fully one yeere, and this was in the time of his successor EVGENIVS. I say then that by meanes of the Popes letters, together with the perswasion of S. BERNARD, LEWES which then was king of *France*, taking for his deuice the signe of the Crosse, determined with many great Lords and Knights of his countries, to goe to this warre in the East, in the behalfe of the king of *Ierusalem*; and he leuying an armie, BERNARD went into *Germany* to the Emperour CONRADE (whose life we write) and obtained of him to doe the like, as the French King pretended to doe: whereto he willingly and speedily prepared himselfe; and it pleased God that this iourney was so well liked of by all men, that notwithstanding that there were very sharpe and hot warres betweene the Emperour, and GVELPHO and his adherents, yet the same GVELPHO notwithstanding offered to goe this iourney with him, and to do him seruice therein. And so the Emperor and the French King (by their letters) agreed to goe to that enterprise personally. But forasmuch as they both could not conueniently march together in companie, by reason of the great multitude of their people; it was concluded that the Emperour should first set forwards (and so he did) in the yeere of our Lord 1147, according to the most authors, yet some write one yeere lesse: and hee departed, accompanied by these princes, FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, sonne of his brother FREDERICK deceased, the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earle of *Flanders* and *Friseland*, the Marquesse of *Austrich*, and GVELPHO his former cruell enemie, and his then seruant and companion, and whom the Emperour in all that iourney called fellow souldier, and made great account of his person, with many other princes and Lords of great account. In this all authors agree, that of the Emperours owne forces, with the forces of these princes, together with the aduenturers, which came from all parts, vpon the report of so zealous an enterprise, his armie amounted to the number of threescore and tenne thousand horse, and (in a manner) to as many foote: with which, marching through *Austrich* and *Hungary*, he addressed his iourney towards *Constantinople*; where hee was ioyfully and honourably receiued by the Emperour ENANVEL, sonne of CALOIOANNES; and his troupes were lodged in townes and places neere at hand; and staying there some few daies, he crossed ouer the straight of *Constantinople* with his whole Armie; with lesse store of victuals then was needfull in such an action, through the Emperour of *Constantinople* his counsell and default, who promised to furnish him with all things necessarie; and so he marched

The Emperour Conrade and Lewes king of France went to Ierusalem.

Anno Dom. 1147.

through the Emperors countries, in *Asia* the lesse, and had Greekes for his guides, such as well knew the countrie. And passing through the prouince of *Licaonia*, which bordreth vpon *Galacia*, in the middest of *Asia* the lesse, being in his enemies countrie in great want of victualles, all his guides in one night forsooke him: which, as some write, was thought to haue been done by the direction of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who of malice or enuy repined at this war. Others imagine that they stoode in feare, and fled, for that they saw the armie so vnprouided of victualles, or for that they had missed of their way: but howsoeuer it was, the Emperor stayed neere to the citie of *Iconium*, which is in *Silicia*, and (as some say) besieged the same, for that it was rich, wel furnished, & of great importance, thinking in short time to haue taken it. But forasmuch as victualles came not according to the trust he reposed in the Greekes; his people within few daies space endured extreame hunger, & sickenes; and falling sick of the chaulke which (as some write) the Greekes did put into their meale, they died. The Emperor seeing himself thus distressed in his enemies countries, and his friends being doubtfull and variable in their opinions, whether they should goe forwards, or retire: (either of which was perillous) in the meane time, so great a multitude of Turkes, Persians, and other heathen nations (knowing the distresse wherein the Christians were) assaulted his campe, in such manner, that his person and armie were in danger to haue been wholy lost: (God in his secret iudgement, permitting it) and the Emperor knowing no better course to be taken, came to a battaile with them; some say two, and that the fight continued two daies together, one after another; and as the greatest part of his armie was sickly, and almost hungerstarued; so after that they had done what they possibly were able, they were broken and ouerthrowne; and so many of them were slaine and taken prisoners, that there remained little more then the tenth man of his armie; with which he escaped by flight, and therein endured extreame hunger and many daungers; and stayed not any where vntill he came to the citie of *Nicea*, in the prouince of *Bythinia*, in *Asia* the lesse, which was subiect to the Greeke Empire; where amassing the remainder of his armie (which from many parts, held by Christians, came thither to him) he determined to attend the comming of LEVVES the French King, who was alreadie vpon the way comming. This ouerthrow happened in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred fourtie and seuen.

The Emperor Conrade ouerthrowne by the Sarazins.

At what time as the Emperour CONRADE was thus ouerthrowne by the Infidels, the French King was come from *Constantinople* into *Bythinia*; where he had been well receiued and lodged by the Emperor EMANVEL: and within few daies after that the Emperour CONRADE was departed from *Germany*, pope EVGENIVS the third, which succeeded LVCIVS, flying from *Rome*, came to him in *France*, by reason of certaine Commotions raised against him in *Rome*, for the people would haue placed certaine citizens in the gouernment of the citie; and the pope finding the King readie to depart, encouraged him to proceede in his iourney, and gaue him his holy benediction; and the King in requitall gaue him men and money, wherewith he returned to *Rome*, and was with much obedience therein receiued. King LEVVES of *France* being arriued in *Asia*, and vnderstanding nothing of the Emperors misfortune; FREDERICKE Duke of *Suevia*, Nephew to the Emperor, came to him, and certified him of their ouerthrow: wherefore the King hastned his iourney, and finding the Emperour in *Nicea*, he recomforted and perswaded him to proceede in his attempt in his company; which he then willingly did, and so they marched together to the famous citie

citie of *Epheſus*, which is the moſt principall citie of all *Aſia* the leſſe, in the prouince of *Ionia*, where the Emperour conſidering that he went not according to his eſtate and honour, going with ſo ſmall forces, but rather as a ſubiect to the King of *France*, and for ſome other reſpects, giuing good words he tooke his leaue of the King, and departed; and drawing neere to the Sea, ſent his people by land, and he by Shippe went to ſtay for them at *Conſtantinople*, where diſſembling the iniurie that he had receiued (or peraduenture not ſuſpecting any ſuch matter) he remained the reſt of the winter; to the end that reinforcing his armie, he might from thence the next ſpring returne to his enterpriſe.

In the meane time the French King proſecuted his iourney, not without great trouble and loſſe of many of his men, in a battaile which he wanne; and in another, wherein part of his armie was ouerthrowne: how it paſſed I doe not ſet downe, for that it appertaineth not to my Hiſtorie. After this, enduring great trauaile and daungers, by long iourneies, he came to the citie of *Antioch*, in company of RAIMOND or REMON, Lord thereof, who came to meete him vpon the way, and to doe him honor, from whence he afterwards (as I will ſhew you) came to *Ieruſalem*. The ſpring being come, and the Emperour CONRADE hauing leuied new forces, which he ioyned with the remainder of his laſt armie; in a great fleete which he had prepared, with the helpe of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, he embarked, and came therein into *Soria*, and there diſembarking in a certaine harbour, came with his armie by land to *Ieruſalem*, where, by BALDVVIN the King thereof, he was very ioyfully receiued; and within few daies they had intelligence, that the French King was comming thither alſo: whom the Emperour, and King BALDVVIN receiued with great ioy; and then to auoyde loſſe of much time, they preſently tooke counſel about proſecuting the warre againſt the Infidels; concluding to beſiege the citie of *Damaſco*, from whence (for that it was very puiſſant and populous) they daily receiued loſſe, detriment, and ill neighbourhoode, and ſo taking that obſtacle, they determined to haue proceeded further, which plot was preſently put in execution; and the Emperor, and the two Kings departed, with a great and very well ordered armie, with a reſolution, and in hope to haue effected ſome great matters: but it pleaſed God otherwiſe to diſpoſe of their purpoſe, for being come to *Damaſco*, and hauing encamped themſelues on that ſide of the citie, towards Mount *Libanus*, they had many daungerous skirmiſhes, wherefore (through the aduice and counſell of certaine men of that countrie, which being corrupted with money by the beſieged, deſired to deceiue theſe princes) they remoued their campe to the other ſide of the citie, and abandoned the moſt fit place for their ſiege: whereof it enſued, that the Infidels taking the aduantage of an Hill (which they fortified) did thence greatly annoy them, and this Hill was ſo ſituate, that it ſtopt the comming of victuals to the campe: and the beſieged defended themſelues ſo valorouſly, and famine ſo much encreaſed in theſe princes armies, that it was impoſſible for them to liue, if they remained there any longer, ſo as they were perforce conſtrained to raiſe their ſiege, and returned to *Ieruſalem*, ſorrowfull and in ill plight, there to conſult of what courſe was beſt to be taken. In this ſiege (as ſaith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS) GVELPHO, the Emperors auncient enemie (yet then his good friend) fell ſicke, and fearing to die if he ſtaied there any longer, he with his followers tooke ſhipping and ſailed into *Sicilia*, where recouering his health, through the counſell and inſtigation of ROGER King thereof, hee from thence went into *Germany*, and there againe rebelling, made warres vpon the Emperors countries.

Damaſco beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The returne of the Emperor and the French King from the warres of the Holy land.

The Emperour and French King then reſolued to returne into their dominions, ſeeing it pleaſed not God to proſper their proceedings; and the rather to the end to auoyde innouations and troubles that might grow in the countries, by reaſon of their abſence; and they did ſo, leauing the affaires of the Eaſt in as ill eſtate as they found the ſame. The Emperour rigging vp his nauie, embarked himſelfe with his people, and againe tooke land in *Græcia* (as ſaith OTHO FRISINGENSIS, who accompanied him in all this iourney) and in the prouince of *Achaia*, met the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, where refreſhing himſelfe a while after his comming from Sea, he departed from the ſaid Emperor, and tooke his way into *Germany*, and ſo ended this religious enterpriſe, in the fourth yeere after the ſame began. And the French King, within few dayes after the Emperors departure from the Holy land, tooke ſhipping alſo; and after ſome aduentures which befell him in the way, arriued in his countrie, in health and peace; and the Emperour againe warred againſt GVELPHO, to the end to puniſh him for his rebellion in his abſence, but at the entreatie of his Nephew FREDERICKE, Duke of *Sueuia*, who was likewiſe Nephew to GVELPHO by his mothers ſide, he pardoned him, and graunted him peace, and allowed him certaine lands and reuenewes for his maintenance. At this time came Ambaſſadours to the Emperour from the Chriſtian Kings, and from the pope, to congratulate his returne; and hee commaunded a Diet or Councell to be aſſembled in the citie of *Confluence*; wherein, after many matters appertaining to the gouernment of the Common-wealth, he concluded to come into *Italy*, to be crowned (being thereto inuited by pope VRBANE before named) and making preparation for his iourney, he was entercepted by death; not without ſuſpition of poyſon, giuen him by an Italian Phiſition, through the procurement of ROGER King of *Sicilia*; he died in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred fiftie two, in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne (ſome reckon one thouſand, one hundred fiftie and foure) and left one onely ſonne called FREDERICKE, who afterwards being Duke of *Sueuia*, and died in *Italy*, which ſonne he had by his wife the Empereſſe, whoſe name was GERTRVDE, an Earles daughter which was a great Lord in *Germanie*; by whom he alſo had had another ſonne, called HENRY; of whom mention hath been alreadie made, who died before his father the Emperor.

Anno Dom. 1152. The death of the Emperor Conrade.

In *Conſtantinople* raigned EMANVEL, and held the Empire after this almoſt thirtie yeeres; this Emperor is reckoned amongſt the wicked and vicious Emperors, and is greatly condemned, as to haue been the occaſion of the loſſe of the two armies, *viz.* the Emperors, and the French Kings, as we haue alreadie recounted. For which cauſe (it is written that) ROGER King of *Sicily* warred againſt him, and hauing taken certaine Ilands from him; he came ſo neere to the citie of *Conſtantinople*, that the arrowes which he ſhot, fell within his pallace; and they affirme, that he gathered apples from the trees, growing in the Orchards and Gardens belonging thereto. This ROGER died within a yeere of two after the Emperor CONRADE; and his ſonne WILLIAM the firſt ſucceeded him.

Anno Dom. 1139. Iehan de temps is reported to haue liued three hundred ſixtie and one yeeres.

In the time of this Emperor, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred thirtie nine, died in *France*, a man called IOHN of time, who (as many authors affirme) had liued three hundred ſixtie and one yeeres, and had been an Halberdere of the Emperour CHARLES the Great his guard; it is a matter hardly to be beleeued, yet poſſible; and many authors write the ſame.

THE

THE LIFE OF FREDERICKE THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SVRNAMED BARBAROSSA, AND FOVRESCORE AND SEuenteenth Romane Emperor.

And of EMANVEL, Emperour of *Conſtantinople.*

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the deceaſe of Conrade, his Nephew Fredericke Duke of Suetia was choſen Emperor; a man endued with all excellencies, aſwell of body as of mind, ſauing that he was peraduenture more deſirous of glory then was conuenient. In the beginning of his raigne he ſhewed himſelfe very deſirous of peace, but afterwards in proceſſe of time, he waged very great warres; and hauing ſtirred vp many tumults of warres in Germany, he purpoſed to make a iourney into Italy, there to be crowned; and hauing leuied a great armie, and being paſt the Alpes, he greatly endomaged the Milanois, which made an inſurrection againſt him; but ſpending no long time about thoſe factions, he went to Rome, where he was crowned by the Pope. In time of his coronation many troubles aroſe in Rome, wherewith he was much diſpleaſed; which he leauing imperfect, returned into Germany, where he afterwards fell at variance with the Pope, by meanes of the King of Sicilia, which was his enemie: this controuerſie was pacified by Chriſtian princes, which perſwaded him rather to ſeeke to be reuenged on the Milanois, then to warre againſt the Pope. Whereupon he reſolued againe to come into Italy, by reaſon of Milan, and came thither and deſtroyed it, and made it to be ruinated by the Milanois themſelues, which were the citizens and inhabitants thereof; and beſides this, he did much more harme. He highly maintained a ſchiſme in the Church of Rome, and gaue great aide to the Antipope whoſe name was Victor: but all Italy being diſcontent, by reaſon of the terrible puniſhment inflicted vpon Milan;

ſo ſoone as he was gone out of Italy, all the cities of Lombardy vnited themſelues together, and made a league againſt him; wherein particularly was included the citie of Venice, which tooke the protection of Pope Alexander. Which the Emperor hearing, ſent the Antipope into Italy, who died in Luca; where, by the Emperours conſent, a ſucceſſor was choſen him, to maintaine the ſchiſme, and he in perſon came againſt the league; wherein all Italy was in a manner combined and bent againſt him; and comming to Rome, he conſtrained the Pope to flie to Gaeta, hauing firſt done much harme in Tuſcane, in the Marca, and particularly in the citie of Ancona: and after many aduentures, he departed out of Italy, without effecting ought againſt the Pope as he deſired. After ſome ſpace, he againe returned into Italy, but being abandoned by the greateſt part of his followers, (inſtigated thereto by Henry Duke of Saxony) the Emperor was in ſuch diſtreſſe, that he was conſtrained to goe ſometime diſguiſed, as another mans ſeruant: but he very ſeuerely puniſhed the ſaid Henry, for his mutining. He againe tooke his paſſage into Italy, and comming to a battaile with his enemies, was vanquiſhed, and held for dead; but recanting of his former proceedings, he ſued to the Pope to be in peace with him; which was concluded in the citie of Venice; with a truce, with the citie of Lombardy; which being done, all was in peace. Afterwards he went to make warre in the Holy land, and hauing done ſome matters worthie memorie, in the moſt floriſhing time of his victories, going to refreſh himſelfe in a riuer, he was carried downe by the currant, without that any of his people was able to helpe him, and therein was drowned, when he had raigned eight and twentie yeeres.

Fredericke Barbaroſſa choſen Emperor.

NOtwithſtanding that the Emperor CONRADE when he died, left a ſonne whoſe name was FREDERICKE, and was called Duke of *Sueuia*; neuertheleſſe, ſo great was the reputation of his Nephew FREDERICKE, who was his brother FREDERICKS ſonne, and Duke of *Sueuia*, that the Princes Electors being aſſembled in *Franckford*, made him Emperor; and he preſenly went to be crowned, with the firſt crowne, in the citie of *Aken*, whither concurred all the princes of *Germany* to ſee the new Emperor. For without doubt, FREDERICKE (as all authors write of him) was a perſonage of great valour, and worthie of the Imperiall dignitie, aſwell for the gifts of the body as of the minde. He was of more then of a meane ſtature, of great ſtrength and agilitie, very well proportioned in body, and of a faire and pleaſing countenance, accompanied with grauitie and maieſtie. His haire and beard were red, wherefore hee was called BARBAROSSA or ENEOBARBVS. With theſe corporall gifts, he was endued with a ſharpe and excellent wit, and ſpake wiſely and effectually: and was of ſo excellent a memorie, eſpecially concerning the geſture and countenance of a man, that whoſoeuer had once negociated with him, although in long time after he had not ſeene him, yet he would know him at the firſt ſight. He was alſo of a gentle and pleaſant conuerſation, very liberall and bountifull, and an enemie to couetouſnes, vertuous, without any noted vice: moſt valiant in armes, and a contemner of daungers, very actiue both on foote and horſebacke, and very expert, and vell aduiſed in the warres and militarie diſcipline. Theſe vertues were accompanied with a great deſire of glorie and renowne, for he was paſſing ambicious, coueting to rule and to commaund, which in my opinion was the cauſe of many euils, of great warres, and of the effuſion of much blood in his time: the warres he followed in his owne perſon, with great courage and valour, for the ſpace of thirtie yeeres, that he held the Empire: and imitating HENRY the fourth, he ſupported and maintained a ſchiſme in the Church of *Rome*, for the ſpace of twentie yeeres; and reuiued the emulation, and competencie betweene the Emperors and the Popes, which LOTHARY, and CONRADE had pacified: as we will briefly recite. The firſt thing that he did after he came to the Empire, was, to

The Emperor Frederickes qualities.

call

call a Parliament in the citie of *Mesburgh*, whither (amongſt other princes) came the King of *Denmarke*, newly come to his inheritance, who there was crowned by the Emperor FREDERICKE, and did him homage, as a King ſubiect to the Empire. And there hee alſo receiued the Ambaſſades of other Chriſtian princes, which ſent to congratulate his election, and he procured and concluded peace with them all. And ſo in his beginning, he made ſhew of a very peaceable prince, but he afterwards prooued to be one of the greateſt warriors in the world: and it appeared and was manifeſt, that in the beginning he ſought peace, thereby to be afterwards the better able to make warre. At that time was great contention betweene the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Bauiere* (both which weere called HENRY) which extended it ſelfe ouer all *Germany*; ſome fauoring the one partie, and ſome the other: HENRY Duke of *Saxony* made claime to the Duchie of *Bauiere*, which had been his fathers: whereof he was depriued by the Emperor CONRADE, and now HENRY Marqueſſe of *Auſtrich* held the ſame, and was called Duke of *Bauiere*, for that his brother LEOPOLD had left it him; for to him had the Emperour CONRADE giuen the ſame. The Emperor FREDERICKE, for that he was neere of kinne to both theſe competitors (for the one of them was his Vncle, and the other his coſine germane) agreed them after this manner; that to HENRY of *Saxony* ſhould be reſtored the Duchie of *Bauiere* (but yet he afterwards againe loſt the ſame) and he made HENRY Marqueſſe of *Auſtrich* (who was called Duke of *Bauiere*) Duke of *Auſtrich*, and gaue him ſome other places; and to GVELPHO, Vncle to the Duke of *Saxony*, hee gaue certaine lands, and eſtate in *Italy*, which he enherited from MAVVD, often before mentioned. This peace and agreement being concluded, and all other actions and debates in *Germany* ended, hee ſpent many daies in eſtabliſhing peace, and in doing iuſtice. After which HENRY Countie Palantine of *Rhine* (a prince of great poſſeſſions) died without iſſue or any of his linage, that might ſucceede him; but the Emperour found a meane to make his brother CONRADE his heire; who had that countrie, and he afterwards dying, left it to his onely daughter, which was married to HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, by which marriage he gat that eſtate. Theſe and ſuch like accidents and alterations which I finde in the Hiſtories of *Germany*, written by the Germanes themſelues, maketh me to doubt of theſe genealogies, and antiquities of linages, which they ſo much celebrate, to be of a thouſand, and of two thouſand yeeres continuance; deſcended in line maſculine from the father to the ſonne without baſturdie; and other matters whereof the Germanes vaunt; which are, in a manner impoſſible, or at the leaſt improbable: for we know that all thoſe great houſes and eſtates began ſince the time of CHARLES the Great; and I ſee that in thoſe principall houſes there haue bin notable alterations, & chaunges, from one linage to another; as heretofore hath bin ſeene in ſome of them; & now in this Countie Palantine, which in this place cleerely paſſeth from the auncient linage, to the houſe of *Sueuia*, in this Emperours brother which happened in the ſecond yeere of his raigne. This being paſt, the Emperour married the daughter of DIOPOLD Marqueſſe of *Boſpergh* called *Alda*, but foraſmuch as it was found that they were within prohibited degrees of conſanguinitie, a Synod was aſſembled in the citie of *Conſtance*, in which he was diuorced and ſeparated from her; and then he married with the onely daughter of RAINOLD Earle of *Burgundie*, by whom he afterwards had fiue ſonnes; HENRY, FREDERICKE, CONRADE, PHILLIP, and OTHO. Theſe peaceable matters being ended, the Empeperor determined to goe to *Rome*, to be crowned, by pope ADRIAN the third,

Pope Adrian the third an Engliſh man.

who was an Engliſh man; and leuying a great armie, and ſetting order in the affaires of *Germany*, he departed towards *Italy*: it behoued him to doe ſo, for the cities of *Lombardy* and others ſubiect to the empire, through the long abſence of the Emperours (for CONRADE had neuer viſited them) were accuſtomed to ſuch libertie, that any kind of ſubiection ſeemed to them intolerable, eſpecially *Milan*, which of them all was the richeſt, and moſt mightie. And ſo FREDERICK being arriued in *Italy*, Ambaſſadours came to him from *Milan*; which after their due reuerence, entreated him to be pleaſed, to make *Como* and *Lodi* ſubiect to their citie, promiſing to giue him therefore a great ſumme of money: which requeſt he held for vniuſt, and therefore would not graunt it them: which was the originall occaſion of the rebellion of *Milan*, and of the euils which afterwards enſued: and the Milanois preſently began to ſhew their diſcontentment, for the Emperours campe being lodged within a mile of the citie, they not onely refuſed to lodge or to entertaine him therein, but denied to giue him victuals for his people for his money: whereupon, taking this their contempt in very ill part (as hee afterwards manifeſted) he preſently battered certaine Caſtles within their iuriſdiction: but holding it no fit time preſently to beſiege the citie, his ſouldiers ouerranne their fields, euen to their citie gates; and he paſſing forwards, went to *Bercelli*, and to *Turin*, and paſſed ouer the riuer *Po*; and by the way burned *Aſte*, for that it ſtood at defence; and afterwards beſieged the citie of *Tortona*, for as much as it refuſed to receiue him, which was a very ſtrong hold. And the ſiege continuing certaine daies ſpace with great loſſe of men of both parts, in the end he tooke it, and made ſo great a ſpoile in it, that he left it (in a manner) deſolate and wholy deſtroyed: whereupon thoſe of *Pauia* (for feare) receiued him, making ſhew of great ioy; and there he receiued the ſecond Crown, and thence marched towards *Rome*, whither hee went to be crowned.

The Emperour Frederick in Italy.

Pope ADRIAN at that time was not well pleaſed with the Romane people, about certaine Conſuls which they had choſen, which was a kind of gouernment (which of a good ſpace they had ſought to introduce) greatly abridging the Popes power and authoritie: about which, great matters had paſſed between the citizens and ſome of his predeceſſors, as before hath been alreadie touched. Wherefore to the end to auoide this trouble, and to preuent certaine practiſes, which WILLIAM the new king of *Sicilia* attempted againſt the patrimonie of the Church of *Rome*, the Pope abſented himſelfe, and with his Cardinals attended the Emperours comming in *Sutrio*; from whence, with a ſhew of great loue and good will, they came together to *Rome*, and the Emperour lodging his armie in the fields neere vnto it, he, together with the Pope (hauing a competent guard) entred the Vaticane, and the next day was crowned in S. PETERS Church with great ſolemnitie. But the coronation was ſcarcely ended, when vpon the ſame day all the Romane people riſing in an vprore, without knowing any occaſion thereof, together with their Conſuls, put themſelues in armes, as men diſcontented with the friendſhip betweene the Emperour and the Pope; and comming into the Vaticane, they ſet vpon the Germanes which came with the Emperour: and he knowing what paſſed, made certaine companies of ſouldiers, of thoſe which were encamped neere to the citie, ſpeedily to enter, which fought with the Romaniſts, and many were ſlaine of either ſide: but in the end the Romanes were conſtrained to retire by their bridges into the citie (ſeuen hundred of them being firſt ſlaine and taken priſoners). The Emperour remaining commaunder of the Vaticane, was ſo wroth, that but for the Popes entreatie, hee would haue cauſed

The people of Rome roſe againſt the Pope.

the

the citie to haue been assaulted, and would haue giuen the inhabitants a terrible remembrance for their mutinying: but the Pope mitigated his displeasure, and the Romanes stood all that night and the next day in armes; wherewith the Pope being grieued, was little obeyed. The Emperour departed thence, and within few daies after his abode in that quarter, went into *Germany* (whereof the Pope complained for that hee left him at variance with the citizens) and by the way tooke some townes by assault; amongst which, *Spoleto* was sacked and burnt for resisting him: and so he afterwards passed through *Lombardy*, without any stay, with a determination to returne with greater power; where befell him some notable aduentures, which (to the end the better to expresse such as are of greater importance) I omit. Being returned into *Germany*, with great power and greater authoritie, for that hee was crowned by the hands of the Pope; the Duke of *Bohemia* whose name was VLADISLAVS, or LAVESLAVS, who came with him all this iourney, was (by reason of his great estate and the worthines of his person) made King: yet I finde it written, that the Emperour HENRY the fourth, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, eightie and sixe, gaue the title of King to BRATISLAVS Duke of *Bohemia*: but that title was then giuen to his person, and not to the countrie; and so his successors enioyed not the same, vntill the time of this VLADISLAVS, which continueth vntill this day. And the Emperour passing forwards, without discharging his armie, marched against the Duke of *Polana*; who for certaine yeeres space had refused to pay the tribute, which hee ought to pay to the empire: but he compelled him to pay the same.

Vladislaus Duke of Bohemia made king.

The Emperour being gone out of *Italy*, great controuersie arose betweene the pope and WILLIAM king of *Sicilia*; wherein the pope recouered certaine places which WILLIAM had taken from him; EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople* (and WILLIAMS enemie) furthering those discords, who sent to the pope, and made great offers and promises to aide and succour him: whereupon, after some conflicts which past betweene them, WILLIAM by all meanes possibly sought the popes grace and fauour, submitting himselfe to his obedience; and the pope confirmed to him the title of King of both the *Sicilies*: wherewith the Emperour FREDERICK was much displeased, and greatly complained, for he hated WILLIAM; and at his comming into *Italy*, he came of purpose to warre against him, although afterwards hee could not effect the same as he thought to haue done. For this cause and other which are not mentioned, in those daies great strife and contentions arose betweene the Emperour and the Pope; which PLATINA nor BLONDVS specifie not, neither the other Italian authors: but RVDEBICVS FRISINGENSIS, who prosecuted the historie which OTHO FRISINGENSIS left a little before this place, and other Historiographers, describe the same at large: the summe whereof is, that the Emperour began to doe as some of his predecessors had done before him, in giuing ecclesiastical dignities, and inuesting prelates without the popes authoritie, or confirmation; and would not endure the Popes Legates in his countries, but when, how, and in what manner it pleased him; taking occasion hereof, that the Pope without his consent had made peace with his enemie WILLIAM: whereto the Pope answered, that he could doe no otherwise, for that the Emperor abandoned him in his distresse, when *Rome* rebelled against him. And the matter came to this issue, that the Emperor would not permit any appeales to be made to the court of *Rome*; and about that matter hee apprehended certain Bishops, which NAVCLERVS, & HENRICVS MVCIVS, proue by certaine letters passing betweene the Emperour and the Pope: which letters they

VVilliam confirmed by the Pope king of both Sicilies.

they affirme to haue ſeene in a Monaſterie in *Germany*. They alſo recount certaine very ſharpe ambaſſades from the one to the other; and that in the end the Pope ſtanding in feare of the Emperors power (being aduiſed by certaine prelates) and alſo for that there was great diſcord betweene the cities of *Lombardy*, whither the Emperour meant ſhortly to come; they came to an agreement of peace, which was concluded by Ambaſſadours in a Parliament, which the Emperour cauſed to be held in *Ausburgh*: wherein, after that this was ended, he made relation to all the princes, of the iniurie which the Milanoies, and certaine other cities in *Lombardy* had done him: and therein it was determined, that he ſhould the ſecond time come into *Italy*, with farre greater power then at the firſt. And whileſt he was buſied about theſe matters, the Milanois (which at that time were of great power and very rich) being offended with what hee had done in their fields and territorie, thought not onely to haue freed themſelues from ſubiection, and to haue denied him their obedience, but they alſo reſolued to attend his comming in the plaine fields with an armie, and to make themſelues Lords of all that countrie, with the marches thereof, and to ſhake off the Imperiall yoke, preſuming vpon their great power, and the aide of their friends and confederates: and ſo they began to leuie men of warre, and to make leagues and confederacies with other cities, as with *Crema*, *Breſcia*, *Placencia*, and other townes: and they repaired and fortified *Tortona*, which the Emperour had ruinated and deſtroyed. And preſently after this, they made cruell warre againſt *Pauia*, *Cremona*, and other places which held for the Emperour; and deſtroyed the cities of *Lodi* and *Como*, which of long time they had hated, and were vnder the Emperours protection. The chiefe author hereof, was a man of great authoritie in *Milan*, whoſe name was GVALPHAGO, who (as a Lord or tyrant) was of ſuch power in the citie, that all was done at his pleaſure and by his direction; which made the Emperour the more to haſten his comming into *Italy*; two yeeres being not fully expired ſince his firſt comming thither: and with him came the King of *Bohemia*, LEOPOLD Marqueſſe of *Auſtrich*, his nephew FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, and other princes, beſides ſome which were ſent before to guard the citie of *Cremona*: and after that the Emperour was in *Italy*, thither came to doe him ſeruice, HENRY Duke of *Saxony* with a thouſand and three hundred men at armes, and GVELPHO with three hundred. The Emperours comming into *Italy* did put the countrie in ſuch feare, that *Breſcia* (whither hee ſent the king of *Bohemia*, and his nephew the Duke of *Sueuia*) yeelded without aſſault, promiſing to be at his deuotion. From thence he marched with his armie towards *Milan*, and by the way had ſome skirmiſhes, which I paſſe ouer: and being come into the marches thereof, he ſtaied, and tooke certaine caſtles, which hee did of ſet purpoſe, ſuppoſing that the Milanois would haue ſued to him for peace, or haue vſed ſome complements: but they were now growne ſo proud, that they applied themſelues to nothing elſe, but to fortifie themſelues: whereof when the Emperour was aduertiſed, he commaunded the cities which were vnder his obedience, to ſend him men of warre; and ſo from *Cremona* (as ſaith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS) came to him thirtie thouſand fighting men; ſo great was the enuie they bare againſt *Milan*: and from *Pauia* and *Noüarra*, there came alſo great numbers; with which, and with his own armie he went to *Milan*, whither when he came, they ſallied out of the citie into the field, in a very great number, both of foote and horſe; and a battaile began betweene them, one wounding and killing another in moſt cruell manner: but the Milanois being vnable long to endure the furie of the Imperialiſts, retired, flying

The Milanois tooke the field and fought with the Emperour.

ing to the walles of the citie; and those of *Cremona* were so greedie in pursuing them, that they (a great way) ouer went the battallions of the Germanes: which when the Milanois perceiued, turning head, they charged them in such manner that they made them retire, and in their retreit slew many of their people: And FREDERICK which saw all this, charged with his squadron with so great force and furie, that he made them of *Milan* to turne their backes; and wounding and killing many of them, compelled the rest to flie to the gates of their citie, and hee fireing the Suburbes, presently besieged the same; and so hee held it besieged for certaine daies space, in which were many great and notable skirmishes. But the Milanois seeing the Emperours resolution, and great power, and the engines which he addressed to batter their walles, were in so great feare, that they resolued to yeeld, vpon the best conditions that they could get, and to send their Ambassadours to the campe; which confessing their offences, and crauing pardon, with a long set speech, entreated the Emperor to admit them into his seruice; and afterwards in particular they treated thereof with the princes in the armie, and (as some authors say) gaue great gifts and presents: finally, they obtained mercie, yeelded the citie, and were pardoned. *Milan* being now brought to subiection (as it was the head of all the rebels) the rest of the townes in *Lombardy* presently yeelded obedience, and gaue securitie, promising to serue the Emperour, and to doe what they should be commaunded; and the Emperour in person visited many of them, and appointed *Roncalia* to be the place whither they should send their Proctors or Agents with their authoritie; where hee determined to hold a Parliament, to treate of the common estate of these prouinces. And hauing had in so short space so good successe in *Lombardy* (as is alreadie said) he abolished some of their lawes and customes, and prescribed other new, with greater rigour then (in trueth) hee ought to haue done: whereof many inconueniences ensued. The time appointed for their meeting being come, and they making their appearance accordingly; after many matters which therein were handled, by the aduice of some of his counsell, he caused an Instrument to be made, concerning an vniuersall peace; which he inioyned all the cities, and principall men, Marquises and Earles in all *Lombardy*, to obserue. This was done after the Germane manner, with penaulties therein accustomed; which being published and made knowne vnto them, they all murmured, and held themselues wronged, principally the Milanois; and this discontentment encreased in such manner, that it was the cause of greater euils then the former, by reason of the tolls and taxes which the Emperour imposed vpon all the countrie; reseruing to himselfe the election and prouision of all officers: and although he did it by the aduice and counsell of learned men and Princes, which alleaged that the Emperour might doe it in all those countries; yet the people being vnaccustomed thereto, tooke it very grieuously; which was the occasion of the euils which ensued, although in the beginning they durst not rebell. After this, the Emperor (for a trophæ of his victories) made the citie of *Lodi* to be new builded, and with all speed and diligence to be walled and fortified; and the Castles, which had bin aduersaries to *Milan*, to be repaired and victualled; wherein he placed gouernors and garrisons, and did other things, which my breuitie permitteth me not to recite. And setting all things in the best order that he could (notwithstanding that he knew that *Milan* had not obeyed his lawes and ordinances, concerning the impositions which hee had set (as saith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS, and IOHN CVSPINIAN and others) he tooke his way towards the countrie of *Burgundy*: which was an

Milan yeelded to the Emperour.

estate

eſtate which hee held by his wife: other authors recount not this departure, but recite what enſued, as though he had not gone out of *Italy*: but in my iudgment, *Milan*, *Crema*, and *Breſcia*, and the other cities, would not haue dared ſo peremptorily to haue rebelled, if the Emperour with his armie had continued in *Lombardy*: wherefore (holding with WESPERGENSIS, and ſuch others as are of his opinion) I ſay that ſo ſoone as the Emperour was gone out of *Lombardy*, theſe things inſued, which we will preſently relate.

The Pope made a league with William king of Sicilia againſt the Emperour.

The Milanois (which neuer yeelded to obey the Emperors lawes) ſeeing themſelues of great power, tooke the fielde with their forces, and went to a caſtle which the Emperour had builded neere to *Como*, and aſſaulting it, tooke it by force; and ſo they began the warre, and did as much harme as at the firſt, but with greater reſolution: and preſently the cities of *Crema*, *Breſcia*, and *Placentia* did the like, and all the reſt of their partakers. IOANNES CREMONENSIS in his fourth booke ſaith, that the Pope made a league with WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* againſt the Emperor, which was the cauſe of great enmitie betweene them. The Emperour being aduertiſed of the bold attempts of the Milanois, and their adherents; with great celeritie (before that his whole armie was in a readines) returned into *Lombardy*, and went directly to *Milan*; and finding no reſiſtance in the field, harried and ſpoiled the countrie, leauing nothing ſtanding vndeſtroyed: ſo great was the wrath and diſpleaſure which he had conceiued againſt it: and departing from thence he went to repoſe himſelfe in *Lodi* (to be cured of a lame legge which he had) whither to him came Ambaſſadours from *Cremona*, to complaine of thoſe of *Crema*, for the great hurt they did them, and to craue ſuccour: the harmes done were the greater, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place, together with the aide and reliefe which they had from *Breſcia*, and from *Milan*. As the Emperour was a man of a very haughtie minde, ſo he ſeeking a redreſſe for all diſorders, ſent his brother CONRADE, Countie Palantine of *Rhine*, and ſome other principall men, with part of his armie, to beſiege *Crema*; and they went thither: and the men of warre which were in *Crema* tooke the field, and gaue them battaile, which laſted a long ſpace, wherein many of both ſides were ſlaine: but in the end the Imperialiſts had the victorie, and compelled their enemies to returne running to their towne; and they durſt ſallie no more: and ſo the ſiege continued. At the ſame time new ſupplies came to the Emperour out of *Germany*; wherewith came his wife the Empereſſe, with many men at armes out of *Burgundie*, and with her came HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, and of *Bauiere*; of whom we haue much ſpoken: with which, and with the reſt which hee had before, he laid a plot for thoſe of *Milan*, whereby he tooke priſoners aboue three hundred of them, and ſlew fighting aboue ſixe hundred: but holding it his beſt courſe, firſt to make an end with *Crema* (which by his commaundement was alreadie beſieged) he remoued his campe thither; and the better to iuſtifie his quarrell, hee ſent to require them to receiue him into their citie, as their Emperour and liege Lord: which they not onely refuſed to doe, but gaue him many peremptorie proud ſpeeches: whereupon hee cauſed ſundrie great engines and inſtruments to be made, therewith to batter the towne; and the beſieged reſolutely defended themſelues, and all their priſoners daily taken of either ſide, were either hanged or ſlaine: but at length they were conſtrained of neceſſitie to yeeld, & held themſelues for happy, and charitably dealt withall, that the Emperour would vouchſafe to giue them their liues; and that leauing the citie, they might depart with their wiues and children, and ſuch luggage as they could carrie on their backes.

Crema beſieged and taken by the Emperour.

Whileſt

Whileſt the Emperour was at the ſiege of *Crema*, Pope ADRIAN died; after whoſe deceaſe, the Cardinals, being in number fiue and twentie, aſſembling together in *Rome*, choſe ALEXANDER the third (before called ROVVLAND) in a manner by generall conſent of them all, excepting only three which gainſaid it, which ſtood for the Cardinall of *S. Clement*, whoſe name was OCTAVIANVS, whom the Emperour much fauoured: and this OCTAVIANVS (notwithſtanding his few voices in the election) was ſo bold, as to proclaime himſelfe Pope, and was called VICTOR: and there wanted not ſome to take his part, and to ſupport him. The other Pope ALEXANDER, ſeeing himſelfe thus peſtered, ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Emperour, lying then at the camp before *Crema*, whereby he requeſted him (that vſing the authoritie of the Emperour) he would fauour the Church, by taking away the ſchiſme therein. The Emperor for anſwere willed the Pope to come to the citie of *Pauia*, whither he alſo appointed VICTOR to come, to the end that there he might heare both parties, and ſo determine of their controuerſie: herewith ALEXANDER was much diſcontent, and reſolued to ſeeke other redreſſe. And the Emperour hauing raiſed his ſiege from before *Crema*, leauing to make warre againſt *Milan* vntill the next ſpring (which was after the Abbots computation, in the yeere of our Lord 1161) came to the citie of *Pauia*, from whence he ſent two Biſhops in Ambaſſade to Pope ALEXANDER, warning him to come thither to him, where he ſaid, many Biſhops would meete in the name of a Councell, to the end that the ſchiſme might bee decided; which Ambaſſadors behaued themſelues towards him, as to a Cardinall, but not as to a Pope, for the Emperour (as he diſliked his election) deſired to ſupport Pope VICTOR. ALEXANDER taking this in ill part, diſpatching the Ambaſſadors, commaunded them to returne, and they went to VICTOR with the ſame meſſage, to whom they ſpake, and did reuerence as to a Pope; and he preſentlie departed, and went to *Pauia*, and was by the Emperour very well receiued and entertained, and there was pronounced and proclaimed for right Pope, and the Emperour kiſſing his foote, vſed other accuſtomed ceremonies, whereof when ALEXANDER was aduertiſed, holding himſelfe for intollerablie iniuried, he proceeded againſt the Emperour, and his Pope, which he excommunicated, and anathematized, and the Emperour ſending his Pope into *Germany*, returned to the warres of *Milan*, wherein what paſſed, I will tell you. Pope ALEXANDER after his going to *Rome*, holding himſelfe not there in ſafetie, through the aſſiſtance of WILLIAM king of *Sicilia*, went by galleys into *France*, where he was very well entertained by PHILIP the French king (I ſay PHILIP, for that BLONDVS, and all thoſe Italian authors call him ſo; but hereafter I will tell you that it could not be PHILIP, but his father LEVVES, comparing and agreeing the times) and there he called a Councell in *Cliermont*, wherein he againe proclaimed the Emperour and his Pope for excommunicate; what after enſued, you ſhall vnderſtand. The ſpring of the yeere being come, the Emperour very reſolutely returned againſt *Milan*, *Breſcia*, *Placentia*, and ſuch other rebellious cities as were in league with them: but firſt he ouer-ran and deſtroyed all the countrey round about *Milan*: before and after this time were many skirmiſhes and encounters, which for breuitie I ouerpaſſe, wherein for the moſt part the Emperour had the better, vntill that he hauing withdrawne his armie to take in a caſtle and fortreſſe at the paſſage ouer a riuer neere to *Placencia*, and the Milanois hauing a good armie, led by the tirant GVALPHAGO, with the aid of thoſe of *Placencia* and *Breſcia*, went to aſſault a ſtrong caſtle, called *Carcano*, or *Coracio*, whereof the Empe-

A ſchiſme in the papacie.

Anno Dom. 1161.

rour being aduertiſed, ſpeedily ſent for men to *Pauia*, *Noüarra*, and *Lodi*, with which, and with his ordinarie troupes, he put himſelfe betweene *Milan*, and the ſaid caſtle (before which the Milanois then were) in ſuch a place, and in ſuch manner, that of force they muſt fight, or not returne. The Milanois ſeeing themſelues in this extremitie, ſent ſome the moſt principall men amongſt them to the Emperours Camp, to intreate him to ſuffer them to paſſe, for they would not fight with him for the honor and dutie which they bare to his perſon: and the Emperour preſuming that he alreadie held the victorie in his hands, or that they durſt not fight, would not graunt their requeſt, by reaſon whereof, his aduerſaries drawing courage out of deſpaire, ſeeing themſelues loſt if their paſſage were ſtopt, and that they were vnable to relieue their houſes and friends, or to be relieued by them, reſolued either to make way, or to dye in the action, and ſo marched in good order againſt the Emperour, who likewiſe in moſt excellent order attended their comming, and there began betwixt them a moſt cruell battaile, as betweene very expert and valiant ſouldiers, and men in deſpaire. In the beginning the Emperour apparantlie had the better, and many of his enemies were ſlaine, and their ſtandard was taken: but the fight continuing vntill noone, there came certaine companies from the vnited cities to the aid of the Milanois, which charged with ſuch reſolution and fury, that the Imperialiſts retired, and their enemies (as maſters of the field) ſlew and tooke priſoners very many of them, and the Emperour ſhewing the greatnes of his mind, amaſſed together great part of his armie in the beſt order that he could, and ranging his troupes into a round Battallion, moſt valiantlie defended himſelfe againſt his enemies, but truly he had bin either ſlaine or taken if the fight had continued any longer: but it pleaſed God that he being in this danger, there fell ſo much raine, and therewith the aire was ſo darke, that they neither ſaw, nor knew the one the other; and ſo the Emperour held it for his beſt courſe to retire towards *Pauia*, and his enemies as conquerors, with ſpoiles and priſoners went ioyfullie to their houſes, which afterward coſt them very deere. This ſo notable an exploit, PLATINA, BLONDVS, and other Italian authors paſſe ouer in ſilence: but as they do not gainſay it, and the Abbot WESPERGENSIS and other Germane authors report the ſame, I haue thought good to make mention thereof. This aduenture being paſt and knowne in *Germany*, ſome Princes and great Prelates, with many very good men of warre, came to the Emperours aid, with which, and with all the reſt he left *Pauia*, and with a mightie armie beſieged *Milan*, purpoſing not to riſe from before it vntill he had taken it, and the beſieged being well fortified and victualled, were no leſſe reſolute to dye in their defence, by reaſon whereof, this was one of the moſt cruell and terrible ſieges that hath bin ſeene before any citie, aſwell for the long continuance thereof, as for the skirmiſhes, ſallyes, aſſaults, loſſe of men, and effuſion of bloud, with the famine and other calamities which the beſieged indured, and for the lamentable and pitifull end which it had. The ſiege continued inceſſantlie two whole yeeres and one day: ſome authors reckon fiue, and ſome more yeeres, accounting (as I thinke) from the time that the Emperour firſt made warre in the marches thereof. What skirmiſhes and affrayes were between the beſieged and the beſiegers, the reader may cõiecture, conſidering the power and wrath of the Emperour, and the obſtinacie and deſpaire ioyned with the great force and multitude of the Milanois. During the ſiege, there was ſo great want of victuals in the citie, that after they had eaten all the beaſts, and other food that might be eaten, they dyed of hunger, and being out of hope to haue any ſuccour,

A battaile betweene the Emperor and the Milanois.

Milan beſieged and deſtroyed.

ſuccour, or meanes to liue (the Emperour refuſing all other compoſitions) they were conſtrained to yeeld to his mercie; yet ſome affirme, that certaine Iewes gaue him entrance; and ſome there are which ſay, that he took the citie by force: but howſoeuer it was, the citie came into the Emperours power; who conceiuing in his minde, that enough of them were ſlaine, hee gaue the reſt their liues; but in the citie, and in all the reſt, he did the greateſt harme that he could poſſibly: for firſt he commaunded all the men and women to depart the citie, and his ſouldiers to ſacke it; and then the buildings and walles thereof to be throwne downe and laid waſte; and this to be done by the inhabitants themſelues, and by ſuch as were borne therein: and whereas they ſufficed not thereto, hee cauſed a great number of people to come thither from *Pauia*, and *Cremona*, which ſhould wholy ruinate it, and leaue it waſte and deſolate, like to miſerable *Ieruſalem*: which truly ſhould ſeeme to be one of the moſt lamentable ſpectacles that euer was ſeene in this world. Some writers affirme, that hee made the ground to be ploughed, and ſowen with ſalt. The inhabitants thereof (as GVALHAGO the tyrant, the Biſhop, and many of the moſt principall) hee commaunded to be ſent priſoners into *Germany*: the reſt of the people he permitted to dwell in certaine fields, which he appointed for them, farre from *Milan*, amongſt buſhes, in cabbins and cottages. The reliques and bodies of Saints which were in the citie, and held in great account, hee diuided amongſt the Biſhops and prelates which were there with him; of which, the three Kings, which came out of the Eaſt to adore CHRIST in *Bethlehem*, were giuen to the Archbiſhop and Cathedrall Church of *Colen*, where (it is ſaid) they are at this day. In this manner was the citie of *Milan* laid waſte, and left deſolate; which a little before was ſo mightie, that it was of power able to fight with the Emperor in the plaine field, and to ouerthrow him: it hauing three hundred, threeſcore and fiue yeeres (as reckoneth RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS, for ſo long was it after that the Lombards were expelled that Seigniorie) enioyed libertie, with good ſucceſſe, vnder the ſoueraignetie and name of the empire: which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred, ſixtie and two. Some ſay, ſomewhat more.

After this victorie and terrible reuenge, the Emperor came to *Pauia*, where his wife the Empereſſe then lay; from whence hee ſent to diſmantell and throw downe the walles of *Breſcia*, and *Placencia*; which (*Milan* being taken) yeelded themſelues. BLONDVS, PLATINA, PHILLIP BERGOMAS, and other Italian authors ſay, that he alſo deſtroyed the citie of *Cremona*, which in my opinion ſeemeth not to be likely; for *Cremona* had euer ſerued him, and been obedient. I beleeue it is taken for *Crema*, the error being the writers, or printers; and not theirs. And the Emperor hauing tamed and ſubdued all the other cities which rebelled againſt him, and made them to yeelde obedience to pope VICTOR, he reſolued to take his way towards *Germany*, for he well knew that in the ſame yeere many commotions and troubles began therein, and that there was great want of Iuſtice; which grew principally through diſcord and enmitie betweene a certaine Earle called GVIDO, Countie Palantine of *Tuigen*, and GVELPHO the famous Knight of the Dukes of *Bauiere* before named, by reaſon of ſome iniury done by the ſaid Countie Palantine, to the ſaid GVELPHO: whereupon young GVELPHO comming out of *Italy* (as a valiaut young man, deſirous to reuenge the iniurie done to his father) raiſed a power againſt him, and the other in his defence, and many great princes taking part with either ſide, a cruell battaile was fought betweene them, wherein GVELPHO was ouerthrowne; whereof enſued

Factions in Germany.

sued great hurt, and the slaughter of many men, too long to be related: so as if the Emperor had any longer deferred his comming, the matter was come to that issue, that *Germany* was likely to haue been lost and ruinated: but so soone as he came, he endeuored in all that he could, to set peace betweene them: wherein he found great difficultie, by reason that so many men were slaine and taken prisoners of either partie. And notwithstanding that he had once concluded a peace betweene them, yet within one yeere it was broken, and warres were againe renewed: but the great valour and respect of the Emperour, was a sufficient meane to make an entier and perfect peace, and to pacifie all: wherein he was the more earnest, for that hee knew what was daily practised in *Italy* against himselfe, whither he had a great desire to returne. For so soone as he was gone out of *Italy*, leauing *Milan* desolate; the people conceiued a great feare and hatred against him: (as is vsuall against princes which too excessiuely, and with crueltie punish the offences of their subiects) and their feare and hatred increased in such manner, that they made new leagues and confederacies against him; casting out the gouernours which he had placed, and taking his rents and customes into their hands. In which league, besides those which before were friends, which were *Brescia*, *Placentia*, *Crema*, and the Milanois, there now ioyned with them *Verona*, and the Venecians also, which greatly strengthened the league, theirs being a mightie commonwealth; together with *Padua* and other cities: all which took part with pope ALEXANDER, against pope VICTOR: and all these cities fortified and furnished themselues with men and munition. The Emperour seeing how resolutely those cities were bent against him, and knowing the doubtfull issue of the warre, and that the name and authoritie of Pope ALEXANDER was great; he determined therefore with himselfe to take another course, and by letters and ambassades dealt with PHILIP king of *France*, which supported ALEXANDER (yet in my opinion it could not be but LEWES, for this was in the yeere of our Lord 1175, at which time, as it appeareth by all the French histories, LEWES raigned) for a meeting between them two, whither he would bring with him VICTOR, whom he held to be Pope: for which purpose, a place was appointed in the frontiers of both *France* and *Germany*, and there a Councell to be held, wherein it should be determined whether of these two should be Pope: which (as some say) the Emperour procured, by that meanes thinking to haue depriued Pope ALEXANDER. The King of *France*, at the Emperours request, consented that this Councell should be assembled: but Pope ALEXANDER would not come thereto, alleaging that he held that for no Councell, which was not held by his authoritie. Finally, the French King and the Emperour grew iealous and suspitious the one of the other, which authors report diuersly: but the truth is that the Emperor came, and brought with him his pope VICTOR; and with him came the King of *Scots*, and of *Bohemia*, and many other great princes and prelates, with a very great armie: and the French King brought no lesse; with whom came HENRY King of *England* with very choise men of warre (from whom in my opinion he ought rather to haue feared warre, then expected or hoped peace) and these princes encamped the one neere to the other, a riuer being betweene them. The Emperor vnderstanding that Pope ALEXANDER came not, but had summoned a Councell to be held at *Turon* in *France*, was greatly displeased therewith, and determined to depart: and the French King (to hold his word) without aduertising the Emperour thereof, came to the place appointed: and some say that he washed his hands in the riuer, and so returned to his campe. To be short, howsoeuer it was,

Excessiue punishment is often the cause of greater offences.

A league made against the Emperor.

was, they both returned into their countries, without doing or treating of any thing; and not well pleased the one with the other.

The Emperor, with the greatest preparation that he could make, resolued to returne into *Italy*, whither he sent Pope VICTOR before him; who being come to the citie of *Luca* (which held for the Emperour and him) there died. And by letters and commandement from the Emperour (persisting in his determation) the prelates which accompanied VICTOR (hee being dead) chose him a successor, whose name was GVIDO, borne in *Crema*, and was called PASCVAL. Pope ALEXANDER in *France* assembled the Councell which hee had summoned; whither came many prelates and Bishops, out of *England, Spaine, France, Sicilia, Græcia*, and many other parts: where they ordained what they thought good. The Emperours preparation for his comming into *Italy* being published, the aforenamed cities, which were in a league and confederacie against him, sought new succours, and prouided an armie to make head against him. It happened at this time, that in *Rome* died a Bishop called IVLIVS, who was Vicar or gouernour thereof in the Popes absence; who being dead, the Pope sent thither a Cardinall called IOHN: who (notwithstanding a kind of gouerment by Consuls, wherby the Popes power and authoritie was much diminished) vsed such meanes, that *Rome* and many cities of *Italy* sent to entreat the Pope to returne; and he knowing with what affection he was called, resolued to depart thitherwards: and for that he would not go through *Lombardy* (which held for the Emperour) he tooke his passage by sea into *Sicilia*, and from thence went to *Rome*; with great companie and prouision, which WILLIAM King of *Sicilie* gaue him. Some write that he himselfe accompanied him, and that he was receiued into *Rome* with marueilous great ioy of all the people. With his comming, the cities which in *Italy* held for him, tooke such hart and were so much encouraged, that they (not contented to haue rebelled against the Emperour) began to warre against the Imperialists, and tooke some townes; wherein none were so forwards as the citie of *Verona*: which gaue the Emperour occasion to hasten his comming; which he had prolonged, to the end, to come with the greater power, seeing that his enemies forces daily encreased: and so he came into *Italy* with a greater armie then at any time before spoken of. What he did, and the effects which thereof ensued, I will recount as briefly as I may: for a raigne so long, and wherein happened so many and so great accidents, cannot be expressed in few words; neither reduced to a more breuitie. All this while raigned EMANVEL in *Constantinople*.

The Emperour FREDERICKS comming into *Italy* with so great power, made all the countrie greatly afraid of him; considering what harme he had done therein, in former times: but the hatred of those which were his aduersaries was so great, that they would rather hazard any daunger, then yeeld to his obedience. And he knowing by experience, that his rigour and seueritie had little auailed him, but had done him more harme then good, determined now to warre after another manner then theretofore; at the least in *Lombardy*, wherein he pardoned those which submitted themselues vnto him, and would not permit the countrie to be sacked or wasted; vsing all men honorably; dissembling and making shew, that he vnderstood nothing of any conspiracie, or league made against him; and so drew neere to *Brescia* with his forces, where he gaue good entertainment to all such as from *Crema, Verona*, and *Brescia*, came to visit him (notwithstanding that those cities were his greatest enemies, and which had most practised against him) and so passed by, without comming into any of them, or doing them any violence;

lence; and went to *Ferrara*, where he was receiued; and from thence passed peaceably through the territorie of *Bologna*: so as (at this time) he passed through *Lombaray* without doing any harme; and there he diuided his armie; part whereof he sent to make warres in *Tuscane*, and the marches thereof, for that it fauoured pope ALEXANDER, and reiected Pope PASCVAL, which lay in *Luca*: and with the rest of his armie he marched towards the citie of *Ancona*; for that it held for his enemie EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople*: which he besieged, and began to batter with great furie: but it was so wel defended, that the siege continued longer then he expected. The Captaines and men of warre, which he sent into the marches of *Florence*, *Luca*, and *Pisa*, after they had taken certaine townes, marched through the territorie of *Rome*, and made terrible warre against all such places as held for Pope ALEXANDER; and in *Rome* wanted not some which fauoured the Emperors proceedings: yet the Pope left no meanes vnsought, aswell by gifts, as promises, to assure himselfe, and to haue all at his deuotion: wherein (it is written that) he issued much treasure.

Ancona besieged by the Emperour.

Whilest the warre was prosecuted in this manner, the Emperour lying before *Ancona*; the Milanois which after the destruction of *Milan*, had for the space of fiue or sixe yeere liued as banished men, in cottages, cabbins, and villages; gathering themselues together, being wonderfully aided and relieued with all manner of materials, instruments, officers and labourers, from the cities of *Verona*, *Placencia*, *Crema*, and other their neighbours and friends, began to reedefie their old destroyed citie; repairing what might be repaired, and the rest they new builded, and wrought with so good a will, that within two or three yeeres the Emperour could not let them: and they reedefied it in such manner, that therein seemed nothing to be wanting. To all which (as writeth HENRICVS MVCIVS) the presence of GVALPHAGO (called Earle of *Angleria*) was a great helpe; who escaping out of prison in *Germany* came thither. Whilest that the Emperour lay before *Ancona*, and cruell warre was made against *Rome*, WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* died; and his sonne of the same name succeeded him, who was an excellent man of warre, and a great friend to the Church of *Rome*. At that time EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople* sent a solemne Ambassade to Pope ALEXANDER; whereby he promised in person with great power to come to his aide, and to driue FREDERICK BARBAROSSA out of *Italy*, and to conforme the Greeke Church, and to make the same subiect to the Latine; conditionally, that he would reduce the whole empire into one head, by taking it from the Germanes and depriuing FREDERICK, seeing that hee had alreadie excommunicated him, and that hee was a schismatike and a rebell. But Pope ALEXANDER (notwithstanding that hee was much oppressed by the Emperour, reposing small confidence in the promises or power of EMANVEL) gaue a pleasing equiuocall answere, and sent Ambassadors to temporize with him, but not to conclude any thing at all. It happened at this time, that the flower of all the men of warre in *Rome* went to besiege the towne and castle of *Tusculano*, which is neere to *Rome*, and from whence they were annoyed; that towne holding for the Emperour, whereof a Germane prince was gouernour; and the besieged seeing themselues distressed, sent to the Emperour (lying before *Ancona*) for relieue: to be briefe, from the Emperours armie came for Generall, CHRISTERNE Archbishop of *Mentz*; who with such troupes as he brought from the campe, and such others as hee could get by the way, came to fight with the Romanists which besieged that towne, being in number aboue thirtie thousand men; which fought with the Germanes (but not with order and

valour

valour like Romanes)and as they were fighting, the beſieged gouernour with his garriſon ſallied out of the towne, and aſſailed his enemies at their backes,in ſuch manner that the Romaniſts were broken and ouerthrowne, and ſo many of them were ſlaine in the battaile and in the purſuite; that ſome Hiſtoriographers haue compared this ouerthrow to the battaile of *Cannas*, wherein they were ouerthrowne by HANNIBAL. Although the compariſon be great, yet it is certaine that in a long time after *Rome* could hardly recouer it ſelfe: and Pope ALEXANDER tooke it very grieuouſly,and ſought by all meanes poſſible to encourage and to animate the remainder of the citizens. The Imperialiſts,as Maſters of the field, daily tooke townes belonging to the Church of *Rome*; and the Emperour(which ſtill lay before *Ancona*)ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood of this victorie, knowing the time to be fit for his purpoſe,departed preſently thence towards *Rome*, and made no ſtay vntill he came before the ſame; wherein the Pope and his friends had alreadie ſet all things in the beſt order that they could for their defence; and the Emperor preſently made the Vaticane to be aſſaulted; and notwithſtanding that the aſſault was terrible,yet the place was ſo well defended that it ſufficed to keepe him from entring it: wherewith he was ſo much enraged, that the next day hee commanded a more terrible aſſault to be giuen,cauſing fireworks to be throwne vpon S.PETERS Church; in ſuch manner, that the Pope out of hope to defend the place, abandoned the Vaticane, and fled into the citie, to lodge himſelfe amongſt the Frangipanes, which were his truſtie friends, and ſet great guards to defend the citie,and made many bridges ouer the riuer *Tiber*: the which the Emperour(being maſter of the field, and hauing the Vaticane) greatly annoyed and oppreſſed; with a determination not to haue riſen from before it,vntil it had yeelded,or that he had entred the ſame by force of armes: and during the ſiege, hee ſpoiled all the countrie round about *Rome*. WILLIAM king of *Sicilie* vnderſtanding how greatly Pope ALEXANDER was diſtreſſed, and being willing to imitate his father WILLIAM,ſent to the Pope vp the riuer *Tiber* to *Rome* two galleys,with a great ſumme of money, men,and ſuch other neceſſaries as they could beare,to the end that the Pope might in them flie thence,if he pleaſed. The Pope made great account of this reliefe,and preſently diuided this money amongſt his friends and ſeruants, wherewith they were greatly encouraged to defend the citie,and he ſent backe the galleys to the king of *Sicilia*,and in them two Cardinals, to conferre with him,and to aske his counſell what was beſt to be done concerning his perſon. In the meane time,the Emperour ſeeing that the citie defended it ſelfe,and could not in ſhort ſpace be taken by force, went about to perſwade the Romanes both by ſecret and publike meſſages, to giue vp the citie, and that then he would reſtore whatſoeuer hee held appertaining to the Romanes; and that by them all, in peace and quietnes it ſhould be determined, whether of the two ought to be held for Pope; to the end that he,generally by himſelfe and by all others,might be reſpected and obeyed. With theſe practiſes which bare ſo great an apparance of a certaine peace, great part of the Romane people were much moued,and were of opinion that theſe conditions ought to bee accepted, whether the Pope would or not. The Pope vnderſtanding hereof, held it for a great diſgrace to his Holines,that hee being Chriſts Vicar, ſhould be iudged by his enemies: and holding himſelfe to be in no ſafetie in *Rome*, he for his more ſafeguard in a night departed the citie downe the *Tiber* to the citie of *Gaieta*, and from thence to *Beneuent*: from whence hee wrote his letters to the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*,and to the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*,and to the cities of *Lombardy*,

Rome aſſailed by the Emperour.

VVillam king of Sicilia reliued Pope Alexander againſt the Emperour.

which held for him, imploring their aide and succour. And hauing in this manner abandoned *Rome*, within few daies after it the Emperour was forced to doe the like; for it pleased God to send so great a plague of pestilence, both in his campe and in the citie, that there died daily thousands of the one and the other partie: principally there died many Germane prelates, and some princes, which came with the Emperor: wherefore he hastely departed, leauing Pope PASCVAL with a good guard of souldiers in S. PETERS in *Rome*: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1168, and he with his armie came into *Tuscane*, and the marches of *Florence*, where hee tooke some strong holds which held for the Pope; in which, and in many other he placed garrisons of his owne souldiers: and in the marches of *Ancona* and in *Tuscane*, hee gaue some places to certaine principall men of *Germany*, with titles of Dukes and Earles, to the end to annoy and oppresse *Rome*. Whilest the Emperour was busied about these matters, Pope ALEXANDER procured aide and succour from all parts, and sought to support such as were his friends: and EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople* sent him an Ambassade, offering him a very great summe of money, desiring the same which we haue before specified, which was, that he taking and transporting the title of the empire from *Germany*, by depriuing FREDERICK, should giue the same to him and to his house: But the Pope for many considerations would not yeeld thereto, notwithstanding that he very pleasingly answered him. Within few daies after this, Pope PASCVAL died in *Rome*, where the Emperour left him: and the Emperour (persisting in his determination) in his place chose one IOHN borne in *Hungary*, and was called CALIXTVS, whom Pope ALEXANDER presently excommunicated. The Emperor hauing remained some space in *Italy*, desiring to returne into *Germany* (for there was need of his presence) sent a Bishop to Pope ALEXANDER with certaine articles of peace and agreement, which what they were, the authors write not, but they all say, that the Pope would not accept of them; and so they tooke no effect. And the Pope practised with the Romanists for his returne to *Rome*; but as then the citie was gouerned by Consuls, which were odious vnto him, hee could not effect the same according to his desire: and so went to other places in *Romagna*, and in the marches of *Pulia*, where he was fauoured and sustained by WILLIAM king of *Sicilia*. The Emperour came to *Pauia* which held for him, where he fortified certaine townes, and forasmuch as great part of his armie was sicke and many dead, hee could not make warre to any purpose against *Milan*, and the rest of the cities which rebelled: but within certaine daies hee tooke his way towards *Germany*, hauing done in *Italy* such harme as herein is expressed; without effecting what he principally desired.

A great pestilence in Rome, and in the Emperors campe.

And being returned into *Germany*, he tooke no such paines in any thing, as to make peace betweene all men, and to purchase the good will of the people, and to make himselfe rich; heaping money together, to the end to returne into *Italy*, which he determined to tame and wholy to subdue. At this time he inherited all the Castles, lands and goods, which belonged to his cosine germane FREDERICK, sonne of the Emperour CONRADE, who died of the plague at the siege of *Rome*: and hee inherited also the lands and goods of some other princes, which died without heires, and he also rewarded some, giuing them titles, and castles, and to some others he gaue new armes and dignities. To the king of *Bohemia* he gaue for his deuice, a red Lion in a siluer shield; and to others he gaue many such like honours. But in the meane time, GVALPHAGO tyrant of *Milan*, and the Milanois, were not careless, but continually fortified the citie which they had new builded:

builded: beſides which, with the other cities in *Lombardy* of their confederacie, in honour of Pope ALEXANDER (vnder whoſe title and name they oppoſed themſelues againſt the Emperour) by a common conſent and contribution they began to build another citie, which they called *Alexandria*, after the name of the Pope, vpon the ſide of the riuer *Tanaro*, in ſuch a place as it ſhould ſerue for a frontier garriſon againſt *Pauia*, *Tortona*, and the Marquiſate of *Monferrato*, which were loyall to the Emperour. And in this his abſence they made ſuch haſte (but chiefly thoſe of *Milan*, *Placencia* and *Cremona*) that they walled & peopled the ſame, in ſuch manner, that it became a principall ſtrong fortreſſe; & many of thoſe which liued in the borders thereof in villages, and vnfortified places, came thither to dwell, in ſuch number, that the firſt yeer that it began to be inhabited, therein were fifteene thouſand men fit to beare armes, which therein continued; ſo as at this day it is a good and a famous citie, and is called *Alexandria* of Straw, which name the enemies thereof gaue it in the beginning in contempt. This noueltie (added vnto the reſt) made the Emperour to haſten his comming into *Italy*, when as he now had remained ſome time in *Germany*: And hauing ſet all things in good order, hee ſet forwards and came with a mightie armie by ſundrie waies, addreſſing his iourney directly towards the eſtate of *Monferrato*, and thoſe places which held for him: but he firſt tooke a towne at the foote of the Alpes, called *Secuſa*, which he made to be throwne down and deſtroyed, for that it rebelled: and from thence he marched (not without trouble) towards *Aſte*, which yeelded vnto him, more for feare of the like fortune, as happened to *Secuſa*, then for ought it wanted wherewith it might haue defended it ſelfe. And hauing ſuch good ſucceſſe in the beginning, he went to beſiege the new citie of *Alexandria*, againſt which he came greatly incenſed, purpoſing to haue vtterly deſtroyed and raſed the ſame. In *Lombardy* and in *Piemont*, the Marquis of *Monferrato* held for the Emperour, together with the cities of *Pauia*, *Noüarra*, *Turin* and their territories, ſubiects and friends, and ſome other townes. He beſieged *Alexandria*, and lay before it foure moneths, in which time were done many notable feates of armes; at the end whereof, the Emperor was conſtrained to riſe from before it, for that it was relieued by the riuer with great ſtore of proüiſion; and all the cities which were friends to it, ſent thither ſouldiers to defend it. But the principall cauſe was, that the great Duke of *Saxony* of *Bauiere*, and of many other eſtates, called (as was his father) HENRY the proud, being at this ſiege before *Alexandria*, went from the Emperor with all his forces; alleaging that he would not be excommunicate, and a rebell to the Pope: it was ſuſpected that he was bribed, and did this for money: or (which I rather beleeue) that he had ſome practiſe or conceit to haue made himſelfe Emperour, vnder pretext that FREDERICK was a rebell to the Church of *Rome*: for which cauſe the Emperor raiſed his ſiege, & went to ouertake him, & ſought by al meanes to haue ſtaied him; in ſo much that (as ſome write) he would haue caſt himſelfe at his feet, if the other had not letted him; and a priuate ſeruant of the Dukes called IORDAN ſtanding by, ſaid to the Duke, My Lord, ſuffer the imperiall crowne to come to your feete, ſeeing that ſhortly you ſhall weare it vpon your head: Finally, Duke HENRY would not ſtay; and the Emperour had ſo few ſouldiers left, and was ſo voide of all reliefe, that within few daies he was conſtrained to leaue the warres, for that time; and ſo departed *Italy*, without effecting ought more then I haue ſaid. And although that BLONDVS, & PLATINA conceale this his departure, let the reader neuertheleſſe vnderſtand, that I draw the webbe of my hiſtorie from all the beſt authors; and ſo I ſay, that hee departed in great daunger of his perſon.

Alexandria in Lombardy builded in honour of Pope Alexander the third, and ſo called after his name.

Alexandria beſieged by the Emperour.

WESPER-

WESPERGENSIS, NAVCLERVS, and HENRICVS MVCIVS write, that hee was aided and succoured by those of *Noüarra*, and of *Turin*, in the passages ouer the mountaines, through which he tooke his way towards *Burgundy*, which was his wiues patrimonie; and that vpon the way he was in some places in such danger, that he was driuen to goe disguised as another mans seruant. After all these extremities, arriuing in *Burgundy*, he gathered together his people, and raised some new companies, and so went into *Germany*; where the said HENRY had alreadie practised some innouations against him, some Earles conspiring with him; for he was the greatest Lord in all *Germany*: but the Emperour brought him to be one of the least thereof; for as he was much feared and very valiant, the Duke could doe little against him. But the Emperour so soone as he came into *Germany*, assembled a Diet or Councel of all the princes, whither he summoned HENRY to come: but hee not daring to make his appearance, the Emperour proceeded against him (although not without contradiction and many difficulties) and in the end confisked his estate, and all his lands: which hee might easily doe, by bestowing the same vpon men of great power, all which making warre against him at once, tooke the same from him: yet some write, that this sentence and confiscation was afterwards, in the yeere of our Lord 1180, when the peace was made betweene the Emperour and the Pope: It may peraduenture be, that at this time the processe began, and iudgement was then giuen, but afterwards put in execution; which was in this manner. The Dukedome of *Saxony* he bestowed vpon a valiant Knight, called BERNARD, Earle of *Anhald*, whom the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Colen*, and the Lantzgraue of *Turingia* holpe to take the same. The best and greatest part of the Duchie of *Bauiere* he gaue to one OTHO, Countie Palantine, not of the Counties Palantines of *Rhine*, but of *Wittilispach*; which he tooke by the helpe of two of his brothers, which were men of great power: that of this state, which lay on the other side of *Danubia*, he added to the house of *Austrich*: other his lands and Earldomes he diuided betweene HENRY Lantzgraue of *Alsacia*, LEVVES Marquis of *Turingia*, BERTOLD of *Carinthia*, and some others; all which together made warres against him; so as to him, to his offspring and descendents remained onely the Countie of *Bruinswicke*, which afterwards in the time of FREDERICK the second was erected to a Duchy; and that estate encreasing, great enmitie continued betweene the Dukes thereof, and the successors of BERNARD, to whom was giuen the Duchie of *Saxony*. The Emperour did not onely applie himselfe to suppresse this HENRY in *Germany*, but from the very first day of his comming thither, was carefull for the amassing of money, and the raising of forces for his returne into *Italy*: and so, being assisted by all those princes, to which he had giuen and promised to giue those estates, and by his owne house and kindred of *Suenia*, and his seruants and subiects; hee in short space raised so good an armie, that he went very mightie into *Italy*, and with him carried his wife the Empereresse. And being come to the citie of *Como*, in the moneth of Iune, notwithstanding that he wanted neither courage, discretion, power, or forces; yet matters prospered not with him as he expected, but rather cleane contrarie: for the Milanois and their confederates had now taken so much heart, and were in such readines, that they resolued to giue him battaile, after they had spoyled the fields about *Pauia*, and such other townes as held for him: and so they tooke the plaine field iust in the way which leadeth from *Como* to *Milan*, by which the Emperor was to passe; who had no lesse desire to fight then they: but was very glad, after that hee knew their resolution. The two armies being vpon a cleere day

The Emperour deprined Duke Henry of Saxony of his estate.

come

come within ſight the one of the other, and the ſquadrons and battalions of either ſide being rainged in very good order; the Emperor drew neere to the place which his enemies held; and (in a manner) with equall wrath, hatred, and power both parties began to fight; firſt the horſemen brake; and then all the reſt; and ſo there was fought a very fierce and bloudy battaile; the one wounding and killing the other moſt cruelly. It happened, that in this ſo great furie, he which bare the Standard and Imperial Eagle (through his raſh hardines, and deſire of victorie) aduaunced himſelfe ſo farre forwards amongſt his enemies, that he was ſlaine, and the Standard taken: which when the Emperour ſaw, who (as it ſeemeth) was not farre from thence, he was therewith ſo much enraged, that encouraging his ſouldiers with a new furie and vehemencie, hee ſo oppreſſed and brake his enemies, that he ſlew and wounded many of them with his owne hands: but as this could not be done without great daunger to his perſon; ſo in the thickeſt of the preaſe, and greateſt throng, his horſe fell with him; being as it is thought, firſt wounded: and the charge on euery ſide was ſo hot, that the Emperor was held for dead; which gaue the Italians cauſe to gather courage, and the Germanes to loſe the ſame; for both parties crying, certified the death of the Emperour, which ſo much diſcouraged the Imperialiſts, that the victory apparantly ſhewed it ſelfe for their enemies: and the Imperialiſts fled and abandoned the field, where a very great and cruell ſlaughter was made of them, beſides thoſe which thinking to eſcape by ſwimming, were drowned in the riuer *Teſino*, neere to the place where this battaile was fought. This battaile being loſt, and all the Imperiall armie broken and put to rout; all men holding the Emperour for dead; and his wife the Empereſſe, remaining in the citie of *Como*, clad in mourning attire, ſuing to haue her husbands body, to burie the ſame, which ſhe requeſted the Milanois to grant by her Ambaſſadors: the fifth day after the battaile, the Emperour appeared aliue, and in health, in his Imperiall robes, in the citie of *Pauia*: whither vpon the brute of his there being, came all thoſe which were diſperſed and eſcaped from the battaile; and thoſe which moſt deſired to aide him, and to doe him ſeruice. In what manner the Emperor eſcaped aliue, it is not written; but it may be coniectured, that being falne, he remained in the field, although without hurt, and the night being come, eſcaped by ſecret and vnknowne waies. His enemies by reaſon of this victorie recouered ſo great credit and reputation, that many townes and principall men in *Italy* forſooke the Emperor, and went ouer to pope ALEXANDER. The Empereſſe with ſome princes and prelates of the Empire, being come to *Pauia*, boldly and directly told the Emperor to his face, that for the ſchiſme which he had made, and maintained in the Church of *Rome*, this calamitie was befalne him; for God would neuer giue him any entire victorie: and except he would reduce himſelfe to the obedience of the Church, they could not well doe him ſeruice: whereupon he being mooued with theſe admonitions, and knowing the time; (notwithſtanding that his ſeruants and ſubiects daylie repaired vnto him with many warlike troupes) yet he ſent his Ambaſſadors to the pope; vnfainedly ſuing to him for peace: and ſo they began to treate thereof by Ambaſſadors. In the matters which did proceede, and by what meanes this peace was made, there is great difference betweene the authors; ſome recounting it after one manner, and ſome after another, which I recite not, auoyding the loſſe of time and labour: but they all agree, that after many daies ſpent in this treatie, the pope went to *Venice*, whither came the Emperor, and that there with great ſolemnitie the peace was concluded, and that the Emperor kiſt the popes

A battaile betweene the Emperor and the Milanois wherein he was thought to haue been ſlaine.

Note the pride of Pope Alexander the third.

A peace concluded betweene the Emperor and the Pope in the citie of Venice, where the Emperor proſtrated himſelfe at the Popes feete and the Pope in

insulting manner setting his foote on the Emperors necke, vsed these words: Super aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabo, & conculcabo leonem & draconem.

popes foote, and yeelded him obedience: and a truce was graunted by the Emperour to the King of *Sicily*, for fifteene yeeres; and to the cities of the league, for sixe: which (according to most writers) passed in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred seuentie and seuen; and afterwards in the yeere, one thousand, one hundred eightie and three, the peace with *Lombardy* was concluded in the citie of *Constance*; but all in such manner as it pleased the pope; and such townes as were withheld from him, were commaunded to be rendred: and so the Emperour continuing there some few daies space, returned into *Germany*, and the pope to *Rome*, but he first graunted to the citie of *Venice*, and the Dukes thereof, great priuileges, immunities, and exemptions. And the pope being come neere to *Rome*, before he entred the citie, some speeches were vsed concerning the deposing of the Consuls, and that no more should be chosen: but as it was a custome of fiftie yeeres continuance, so it could not then be abolished, but order was taken, that none should be chosen, but such as pleased the pope, and that before that they executed their offices, they should sweare to be in all things seruiceable, and obedient to his Holines. This being concluded, the pope came to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great solemnitie, and the other pope CALIXTVS, acknowledging himselfe to haue erred, cast himselfe at the popes feete, craning mercie (hauing first laide aside his pontificall habit) and renounced all the right and interest that hee had to the papacie: and so ALEXANDER remained sole pope in peace all the rest of his life; and so this schisme (which had continued twentie yeeres) ceased. The Emperour FREDERICK being come into *Germany* (now old and tired with fiue and twentie yeeres warres, and troubles) spent his time in preseruing the peace which he had graunted, and in establishing his fiue sonnes in estates, which he did in such manner as you shall heare.

This peace being concluded, in such manner as I told you, pope ALEXANDER died, after that he had been pope the space of one and twentie yeeres, the most of them, in troubles and contention, and LVCIVS the third succeeded him: in the yeere before his death, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eightie died EMANVEL Emperor of *Constantinople*, who raigned seuen and thirtie yeeres, and left a sonne who was a child and called ALEXIVS for his successor; appointing a kinsman of his, whose name was ANDRONICVS (a man of high parentage) to be his gouernor and protector; who was so very a villaine and so arrant a traytor, that after that he had gouerned certaine yeeres, and committed many insolencies he killed the young Emperor, and made himselfe tyrant of the Empire; putting many great men (such as he feared) to death: against whom for his detestable treason, WILLIAM King of *Sicily* made sharpe warre, and tooke many townes from him; which brought him to such end as he deserued, for the Constantinopolitanes seeing themselues thus oppressed, rose against ANDRONICVS, and against him, made one ISACVS or ISACIVS, descended of Imperiall linage, Emperor, and ISACIVS preuailing, ANDRONICVS was apprehended, and hauing one of his hands cut off, and one of his eyes put out, was carried through the streetes vpon a Cammell; and by the generall good will of all men had such a death as he deserued, and as such deserue, as through ambition and desire to rule, are traytors and disloyall to their Lords. And so ISACIVS remained Emperor, and was an excellent prince: what end he made you shall know hereafter. The Emperour FREDERICK enioying peacefull times in his Empire, summoned a Councell to be held in the citie of *Mentz*, where he settled his sonnes in such estates, as you shall heare: his eldest sonne he caused to be chosen King

The young Emperor of Constantinople murthered by his protector.

of

of the Romanes, and his ſucceſſor: his ſecond ſonne FREDERICK he made Duke of *Sueuia*, which was his owne inheritance: to OTHO his third ſonne, he gaue the title of Duke of *Burgundie*, appointing him to ſucceede his wife the Empereſſe, to whom that eſtate appertained: to his fourth ſonne CONRADE, and to his fifth ſonne PHILLIP, he gaue other rents, and ſome townes wherein they might liue: but it afterwards enſued otherwiſe, for CONRADE ſucceeded FREDERICK in the Duchie of *Sueuia*, for that he died without iſſue; and PHILLIP after the death of his elder brother HENRY, came to bee Emperor. Pope LVCIVS knowing that there was great contention and diſcord betweene the princes of the Holy land, and the ſtates of *Soria*, and fearing the daunger that thereof might enſue, endeuored by his letters and Ambaſſadours to reconcile them, and to make them friends: and procured WILLIAM King of *Sicilia*, which then warred vpon ANDRONICVS, Emperour of *Conſtantinople* (who as I ſaid made away the young Emperour ALEXIVS) to giue ouer his warres, and to relieue that countrie, which was oppreſſed by the Infidels; and ſo the King of *Sicilia* ſent thither fortie armed galleies; wherein went ſome principall men and ſouldiers to that ſeruice.

The Emperour FREDERICK before that the time of the truce by him graunted in *Venice* to the cities which had rebelled in *Lombardy*, was expired; (deſiring by faire and gentle meanes without rigour or force of armes, to reduce them to his ſeruice) ſummoned a Councell, or Parliament, to be held in the citie of *Conſtance*; whither he willed them to ſend their Ambaſſadors, with ſufficient power and authoritie to conclude a peace, making them ſignes of great loue and good will. The cities being wearie of the warres, imagining that this meeting would be for their profit, held it in a manner all for good, ſo as beſides *Pauia*, *Cremona*, *Aſte*, *Alua*, *Tortona*, and ſome others which had ſtill perſeuered loyall & in the Emperors ſeruice; the cities of *Milan*, *Bercelli*, *Lodi*, *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Mantoa*, *Verona*, *Nouarra*, *Vicencia*, *Padoa*, *Treuiſo*, *Bolonia*, *Fauentia*, *Modeno*, *Rezzo*, *Parma*, *Placencia*, and others ſent thither their Ambaſſadors: with which the Emperor came to an agreement; graunting them perpetuall peace and pardon for all offences paſt; leauing to them, their lawes, cuſtomes, iuriſdictions, ciuill and criminall, with authoritie to chuſe Conſuls and Gouernors, and commaunded to bee reſtored all whatſoeuer had been taken from them in time of the warres; and they acknowledging him and his ſucceſſors for their ſoueraigne Lords, ſware to him fealtie, and homage: and it was ſet downe, how, and in what manner they were to doe him ſeruice; greatly to their aduauntage and eaſe. And beſides this, that whereas certaine appeales for certaine ſummes ſhould come to the Emperor; he ordained therefore to haue his agents in *Lombardy*, to the end that the people ſhould not be conſtrained to come to him into *Germanie*: and that the Conſuls and officers to be choſen, before they did execute their offices, ſhould doe their homage and be ſworne to the Emperor: ſetting downe likewiſe what ſeruices they ſhould doe, at ſuch time as the Emperor in perſon ſhould be in *Lombardy*. Finally, there were new couenants and agreements made, which were ſworne, and confirmed by the Emperor, and the Ambaſſadors. The inſtrument of all which, as it paſſed, appeareth at large, and in particular, in the Ciuill law, in the end of the volume intituled (*de pace conſtancie.*) This peace being concluded in this manner, the Ambaſſadors with great ioy returned; and all the townes approued and ſware to obſerue and keepe the ſame. Within few yeeres after this, in *Verona* died pope LVCIVS the third, whither he came to the end to haue aſſembled a

Exemptions graunted by the Emperor to ſundrie cities in Lombardy.

generall Councell, for the relieuing of the King of *Ieruſalem*, and the Chriſtian princes of thoſe prouinces in the Eaſt, betweene which was great controuerſie. And the mightie King SALADINE did much oppreſſe them, who by ſtratagems, and wonderfull battailes, made himſelfe Soldan, and Calipha of *Egypt*, King of *Damaſco*, and *Areppo*, and held great part of *Almenia*, *Licia*, and the moſt part of *Meſopotamia*; ſo as on euery ſide he warred vpon BALDVVIN the fourth, then King of *Ieruſalem*, who valiantly carried himſelfe; and againſt the princes of *Antioch*, *Tripoli*, and others which held, and defended thoſe parts. And he ſo much oppreſſed BALDVVIN (who in former time had been of ſuch power, that *Egypt* was tributarie vnto him, and he held certaine cities therein, which his father and predeceſſor ALMERICVS had gotten, and had in perſon conquered *Paleſtina*, and other lands) that he now employed all his forces in no other thing, but to defend himſelfe, and in the end what befell him, we will declare; for that it appertaineth to our hiſtorie, to ſhew the reaſon, mouing the Emperour FREDERICK to goe to the warres of the Eaſt, wherein he died.

Saladine Soldan of Egypt.

Pope LVCIVS (as I ſaid) dying in *Verona*, was buried therein; and in his place was choſen VRBANVS the third, borne in *Milan*. At this time, which was in the beginning of the yeere, one thouſand, one hundred, foureſcore and ſixe, the Emperor FREDERICK came peaceably into *Italy*, and with the good will of the Milanois, and of all *Lombardy*, and at their eſpeciall requeſt and entreatie went to *Milan*, and was therein receiued, with the greateſt ioy and ſolemnitie, that could be deuiſed; and there a marriage was ſolemnized, betweene his ſonne HENRY, King of the Romanes, and the ſiſter of WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* (yet ſome ſay that ſhe was his Aunt, ſiſter to his father King WILLIAM of *Sicilia*, and daughter of his grandfather ROGER) ſhe was a woman of the age of thirtie yeeres, but very faire, and he of one and twentie, as GODFREY VITERBINSIS; and OTHO in the addition to OTHO FRISINGENSIS his Chronicle, and the Abbot WESPERGENSIS alſo write, which in my opinion is true; notwithſtanding that PLATINA and BLONDVS ſay, that this marriage was made after that the Emperor FREDERICK was dead, by the procurement of pope CELESTINE the third, and that ſhe was threeſcore yeeres old, and that WILLIAM King of *Sicily* dying without heyres, the pope by this marriage made him King of *Sicily*. But in my opinion, the firſt authors are to be beleeued, for that they might be eye witneſſes; and the others deceiued; for as he was afterwards (through this marriage) King of both the *Sicilia*, they imagined it to haue been done then. This wedding feaſt being ended, the Emperor leauing his ſonne HENRY for his Lieutenant and Gouernor of *Lombardy*, returned into *Germanie*. Pope VRBANE knowing what paſſed in the Eaſt with the King of *Ieruſalem*, and the other princes; ſo ſoone as he was confirmed pope, endeuored himſelfe to perſwade and to encourage the Chriſtian Kings and princes, to goe to ſuccour and relieue thoſe places: but they making long delaies (notwithſtanding that they ſent thither ſome ſupplies) it came ſo to paſſe, that *Ieruſalem*, and many other cities held by the Chriſtians were loſt, the cauſe whereof (as well for that it was ſo great a matter, as alſo for that it appertaineth to our hiſtorie, I will ſet downe, although it will be ſomewhat long; for I preſume that the reader will not be diſcontented therewith, which ſo briefly as I can expreſſe the ſame, paſſed in this manner.

BALDVVIN the fourth (as I ſaid) raigning King in *Ieruſalem*; and BOHEMVND who was a mightie prince being Duke of *Antioch*: and RAYNOND, or REMON, Earle of *Tripoly*, who was alſo Lord of other cities, and of the prouinces of *Gali-*

lea,

ea, and *Tiberiades*, which he had by the marriage of his wife, which was a great princes daughter, and Lord thereof; and so other princes and Captaines: which although they banded, and had quarrels with the Knights Templars, and of Saint IOHNS, yet they ioyntly together defended what the Christians held in the East (which was no small matter) against the forenamed mightie SALADINE. Matters standing in this estate, BALDVVIN who was a man of great spirit and valour, being in the citie of *Nazareth* (wherein he then lay) was taken with such a leprosie, that he was not able to goe, nor to stand on his legges; whereupon he was carried to *Ierusalem*, and his disease held him in such manner, that he daily expected his end. Which being published, so much encouraged the Infidels, that they made continuall rodes and incursions into the countries of the Christians. And he seeing himselfe in this plight (hauing neuer a sonne to succeede him or to goue[illegible]e the land for him) made a man of great sort, called GVIDO LESIGNAN, gouernor thereof; who was the second husband of his sister SIBILLA, who by her first husband, called WILLIAM LONGSVVORD, Marquesse of *Monferrato*, had a sonne called BALDVVIN; and a daughter called SIBILLA. With this gouernment some of the princes were much discontented, and SALADINE with a mightie armie inuading their countries, the Christians disagreeing amongst themselues, GVIDO the Kings brother in law, and Captaine Generall of all his forces, daring not to fight with him, the Christians daily lost townes and Castles: whereupon the sicke King BALDVVIN determined to take another course; which was before his death, to make his Nephew BALDVVIN, who was his sisters sonne, King, notwithstanding that he was but a childe, and RAYMOND of *Tripoly*, his Gouernor and protector; and to put his brother in law GVIDO from the gouernment, by reason whereof, ensued new factions, which redowned to the losse of those countries, through conflicts, besiegings, assaults, and taking of townes, by SALADINE in fiue or sixe yeeres, that this warre lasted vntill the greatest losse of all; which was the death of King BALDVVIN; which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eightie fiue. And RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, comming to gouerne the kingdome, in the behalfe of the young King, GVIDO LESIGNAN and SIBILLA mother of the said King, were so inuested therein, that he could not execute his office: whereof ensued new troubles, the one for priuate and particular passions and quarrels (forgetting the publike good) seeking the destruction of the other. In this confusion died the young King BALDVVIN, eight moneths after the death of his Vncle. His father in law GVIDO, and his mother SIBIL, concealing his death; for feare that RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, by meanes of his great power, would by the generall consent of the people, haue made himselfe King: and the matter was carried so cunningly, that by meanes of gifts and faire words, the Patriarch, and other principall men of *Ierusalem*, chose him for their King; which was the occasion of the euils which afterwards ensued: for RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, was so highly offended herewith, that (to the perdition of himselfe, and of all the rest) hee made a league and confederacie with SALADINE; promising and assuring him, that he would neither aide, nor relieue the King of *Ierusalem*. This friendship being made, such courses were held, that after certaine truces and treaties of peace and breaches of the same, SALADINE began to war against the King, and kingdome of *Ierusalem* with greater furie then at any time before: and as GVIDO wanted the aide of the Earle of *Tripoly*, and BOHEMVND Duke of *Antioch* could hardly helpe him, by reason of the farre distance;

Anno Dom. 1185. *The death of Baldwin King of Ierusalem.*

Guido Iesignan brother in law to King Baldwin deceased, was chosen King of Ierusalem.

and for that he alſo had enough to doe, to defend himſelfe againſt the Captaines of the ſaid SALADINE, he was much diſtreſſed and daily loſt townes and Caſtles; neuer ceaſing by Ambaſſadors and letters, to ſolicite the Emperor, the pope, and other Weſterne princes for aide; and they determining to yeeld the ſame, and making preparation for the voyage, it happened, that RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly* (either made a double league, as ſome write, or knowing that if the kingdome of *Ieruſalem* were loſt, he ſhould be aſſured to haue an euill neighbour of SALADINE) agreed, and made peace with the King of *Ieruſalem*, and came with his power to his aide; whereupon SALADINE raiſed his ſiege from before *Ptolomaide*, and encamped himſelfe before *Tiberiades*, which belonged to the Earle of *Tripoly*, ſtrictly beſieging the ſame. And the King of *Ieruſalem* hauing amaſſed all the power that he was able to make, came with a great armie, the Duke of *Antioch*, being with him; whither came with all their power, the ſaid Earle of *Tripoly* the maſters of the orders of the Knights and Templars, and of Saint IOHN, with other great men; Knights and Captaines; the Patriarches of *Ieruſalem*, and of *Alexandria*, and certaine Biſhops; ſo that (as it is affirmed) there were 30000. horſemen, and 40000. foote: which was the vttermoſt of the Chriſtians power in the Eaſt. After many Councels and opinions, the King at the inſtance of the Earle of *Tripoly*, reſoluing to vnſet *Tiberiades*, and to fight with SALADINE, which lay before it; preſently began to march, and the troupes and men of warre which he had with him, which were ſuch, that no man ſeeing them doubted of victorie; but it pleaſed God to permit it to follow after another manner: for SALADINE, which knew their determination (as a man which wanted not courage, and had an armie containing double the number of the Chriſtians, of very well trained ſouldiers) reſolued to fight with them; (but not neere to the beſieged city) and to that purpoſe went to meete them vpon the way: and it happened that the two armies drawing neere together, and the King of *Ieruſalem* one day purpoſing to march with his people with great ſpeede, and to lodge them in a palace wherein was very great plentie of water (whereof in thoſe countries is great ſcarcitie) SALADINE by eſpeciall or ſome other misfortune being aduertiſed thereof, marched thither with ſo great celeritie, that before the comming of the Chriſtians, his people had taken the ſame place; and the Chriſtians comming extreamely wearie, and thirſtie, by reaſon of their long march, and the heate of the Sunne, found enemies in the palace where they thought to haue found water and eaſe; wherewith they were much troubled: neuertheleſſe the King ſeeing no other remedie, commaunded the place to be aſſaulted, preſuming to haue repelled the enemy, but the enemy miſſing of his purpoſe, he with his armie was driuen to lodge all that night in the day fields; wherein they endured intollerable thirſt, and by the breake of the dry, SALADINE (which the moſt part of the night had been buſie, in ordering his troupes) tooke the field with his ſquadrons, wherein the Chriſtians (with tired and weake bodies, through extreame thirſt, and their horſes being in the ſame perplexitie) ſtaied for them: and notwithſtanding that they began the fight with great courage and reſolution, yet their ſtrength failing they were ouerthrowne by the Infidels; and there was the greateſt and moſt cruell ſlaughter made of them, that in thoſe daies had been ſeene, either in *Aſia* or in *Europe*.

A battaile fought betweene Saladine the Soldaine of Egypt, and the Chriſtians.

The King was (fighting) taken priſoner; and the Earle of *Tripoly* eſcaped by flight, and ſome ſay that he made all the reſt to flie; and that he afterwards died miſerably. The Duke of *Antioch* was ſlaine after that he was taken, with all the

Knights

Knights Templars, and of S. IOHNS that could be found. SALADINE hauing obtained ſo notable a victorie, in execution thereof went to *Ptolomaida*, which hee eaſily tooke, and did the like by *Berito*, and other cities too long to relate. Finally, in his owne perſon, after the taking of many townes, which (out of hope of any ſuccours or to be relieued) rendred; and the ſooner, for that hee was a very iuſt prince in perfourming his promiſe, and courteous, entreating thoſe very friendly which yeelded, he marched forwards and ſate him downe with his armie before *Ieruſalem*; and hauing fiercely beſieged and aſſaulted the ſame, the ſpace of thirtie daies continually, they yeelded, vpon the ſecond day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1187. And ſo was this citie loſt, and fell; and at this day is in the hands of the Infidels; foureſcore and eight and almoſt eightie nine yeeres, after that it was taken by GODFREY of *Buillon*, and the other princes before mentioned: in which time therein had raigned nine Kings, with him which then was: To wit, GODFREY of *Buillon*, the firſt and onely King of that name; and then after him the two BALDVVINES, and FVLCO, and BALDVVIN the third; then ALMERICVS, and BALDVVIN the fourth, and BALDVVIN the Child, and GVIDO which then raigned: and notwithſtanding that the name and title of King of *Ieruſalem* continued a long time, and that the Chriſtians held many townes and cities in *Soria*, for the ſpace of one hundred and odde yeeres afterwards, and many princes went thither to the end to haue made a conqueſt thereof; yet in the citie of *Ieruſalem* they raigned no more, neither poſſeſſed the ſame, but a ſmal time that the Emperor FREDERICK the ſecond was therein. The Eaſt parts being brought to this eſtate, and *Ieruſalem* loſt; *Antioch*, and the princes thereto belonging, together with *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Tripoli*, were in the like daunger.

Ieruſalem yeelded to Saladine. Anno Dom. 1187.

The Emperor FREDERICK in *Germany* vnderſtanding theſe vnhappie newes, (although now old and tired) reſolued to aduenture his whole power with his perſon, for the recouerie of what was loſt, and to defend the remainder: and God did put the like minde into the hearts of the kings of *England* and of *France*, and of many other princes. The fame of SALADINES acts daily encreaſing (it is written and affirmed) that beſides the eſtate of *Antioch*, he took one hundred and fiue and twentie walled cities, and that he made cruel warre ouer all the land: through ſorow and griefe for ſo great loſſe, the greateſt prouiſion and preparation was made to goe to the reliefe thereof, that hath been ſeene in Chriſtendome, at any time before or ſince: For firſt, the Emperour (leauing his ſonne HENRY, which alreadie was king of the Romanes, for his Lieutenant, and with him his two brothers, CONRADE and PHILIP) prepared a very great and excellent armie, both of foote and horſe, and began to march through *Hungary*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, towards *Conſtantinople*, thence to paſſe ouer into *Aſia*; and with him went his ſonne FREDERICK Duke of *Suenia*, and BERTOLD Duke of *Morauia*, and his brother the Marquis of *Banda*, or *Baden*, and many other Dukes, Earles, Archbiſhops and Biſhops. A little before this died HENRY King of *England*, who purpoſed to haue gone the ſame iourney: for it was inioyned him for his penance, about the matter concerning THOMAS BECKET, called S. THOMAS of *Canterburie*, which I had no time vntill now to ſpeake of. But his ſonne RICHARD King of *England*, and PHILIP King of *France*, concluding a peace (for they were at wars about the Duchie of *Normandy*) either of them with the beſt armie that he could make, went to this warre in the Eaſt. The like did OTHO Duke of *Burgundy* the Emperours ſonne: and the Venecians ſent thither a great fleete, and ſo did the Piſans, which then were mightie by ſea. To this ſeruice alſo went CONRADS Mar-

quis of *Monferrato*, and HENRY Earle of *Campania*, and many other great Lords and captaines of *Italy*, *France* and *England*, whose names for breuitie I leaue to set downe. That which maketh me most to wonder in this zealous voyage of the Christians at this time, is, that from *Denmarke* and *Friseland* came fiftie galleys, it being so long a voyage from thence into *Soria*: and the Earle of *Flanders* sent twelue: and WILLIAM king of *Sicilia* did very well set his helping hand: for (besides the fortie galleys which he sent before) he furnished and relieued all such as went, and came by him, and wanted; with shipping, victuals, armes, and other necessaries, and maintained (for a long time) a great Nauie, to assure all passengers that would goe this voyage, from rouers and pirats by sea. The successe which all these men had, and what befell them, aswell by the way, as in that warre, is too long to be written (for they did great matters) and I should too much digresse from the historie of the Emperours (which is my taske) wherefore it shall suffice that the reader vnderstand by me the issue of these proceedings; the rest let him reade in the authors which wrote thereof, which I will name: and I will conclude in the historie of the Emperour, who comming with his forces and companies to *Constantinople*, made a league and friendship with the Emperour ISACIVS: and being there, was giuen to vnderstand, that GVIDO LESIGNAN king of *Ierusalem*, was gotten out of prison, together with the Master of S. IOHNS: and that with such men of warre, as repaired vnto him, he had renewed the warre, and determined to take the field, in hope to haue recouered certaine places lost: whereupon the Emperour in great haste passed his armie ouer the streight at *Constantinople*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eightie nine, and began to march through *Asia* the lesse: where passing in peace through the countries of the Christians, he entred the countrie of the Soldan of *Iconium*, who was a mightie prince in those parts, with whom hee made peace; vpon condition, that hee should giue him victuals, and free passage; which if he performed, then he would not warre vpon his countrie. But the Heathen king not onely brake his promise, but gathering together a great number of Turkes, stopt his passage, and did him the greatest hurt that hee was able: wherewith the Emperour being very much moued, made cruell warre in his countries: and comming to the mountaines at the entrie into *Cilicia*, he made his passage with great difficulty and danger; for the Soldan had drawne head of a great multitude of Turkes, and other heathen nations, thinking to haue ouerthrowne the Emperor in those streights: but it pleased God that he passed, although with great daunger and some losse: and comming downe into the plaines, he fought with the Infidels and ouerthrew them, and slew a very great number of them; and so taking and sacking cities & townes, he marched forwards, and entred *Armenia* the lesse, and by force of armes tooke the greatest part of all that prouince. The newes of his comming and victories, strake so great feare into his enemies, and so much encouraged the Christians; that GVIDO king of *Ierusalem*, and his brother EMERICVS, and other great men before named, which were there assembled; leauing the cities of *Tyre* and *Tripoli*, whither they had reduced themselues; with a well ordred armie tooke the field, and assailed *Ptolomaida* or *Acon*; purposing to haue the same, for that it was a Hauon of the sea, and of great importance; whither came the fleetes from *Denmarke* and *Flanders*, and from other parts; and the siege was reinforced: and the Christians armie daily encreased; and all men knowing the Emperor to be neere at hand, SALADINE thought himselfe vnable to defend what he had gotten: and King GVIDO, and those which were with him, recouered force and courage: But it pleased

A voyage to Ierusalem.

Anno 1189.

The Emperor Frederick his victory against the Soldane of Iconium.

pleaſed God in his ſecret iudgement, that in time of this hope & of good ſucceſſe, there happened ſo great a diſaſter, that all was changed and turned vpſide downe; which was, the death of the Emperour; which happened by great miſfortune, in this manner. The Emperour being very neere vnto *Soria*, vpon a very hot day in the ſummer time, deſiring to waſh and refreſh himſelfe in a riuer (as they write that other times he had done in others) the ſwiftnes and depth whereof, was greater then he thought or miſtruſted; and ſo in the preſence of his people going into the water, without that any of them was any way able to ſaue or helpe him, hee was carried downe the ſtreame, and therein drowned; and ſo in a little water died he, for feare of whom all *Aſia* trembled: which happened vpon the tenth day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred and ninetie, in the eight and thirtith yeere of his raigne: through whoſe death the enterpriſe was extremely hindred. *The Emperour Fredericke drowned.*

At the ſame time befell another miſfortune, which was a controuerſie and diſcord betwene the Princes of thoſe parts, which happened by reaſon of the death of SIBILLA, wife of GVIDO King of *Ieruſalem*, and ſiſter to King BALDVVIN deceaſed. Whereupon, HERFRAND, who was married to ISABEL, ſiſter to this Ladie, with the aide of ſome his friends, would haue bin King, by the right of his wife; which the widower GVIDO withſtood; alleaging that he was the ſworne and obeyed King, & therefore ought not be depoſed. And it followed, that CONRADE Marquis of *Monferrato*, tooke this Lady from him perforce, alleaging that ſhe was not lawfully married to HERFRAND; and ſo he married her, and in like manner challenged to be King of *Ieruſalem*; which (beſides that it was a vile deed) cauſed great trouble; for this prince held the citie of *Tyre*; by which meanes the widower King GVIDO loſt much of his authoritie, for that he would not fall at variance with them; yet he ſtill held the name and title of King. The matter remaining in this great confuſion, enſuing the ſudden and infortunate death of the Emperour; a man may eaſily imagine and conceiue the great griefe and ſorow of the whole armie: neuertheleſſe, his ſonne FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, as a valiant and couragious Knight (being preſently vpon the death of his father (as reaſon was) made Generall, and their head) encouraged his people, and taking the dead bodie of his father, marched directly towards *Soria*; and ſent certaine meſſengers to GVIDO King of *Ieruſalem*, who lay before *Ptolomaida*, to aduertiſe him of the death of his father, and deſiring him to ſend him ſome ſuch men as might guide and direct him in what was to be done. Which although it was not to be compaſſed without great daunger and trauaile (for the moſt part of their way lay through their enemies countries) king GVIDO ſent him two Knights well experienced in the warres, which guided him and his people to the citie of *Antioch*, which lay neereſt to his way: where after that hee had (for ſome daies ſpace) refreſhed his armie, he thought to haue made great warres, and to haue recouered the cities loſt in that eſtate; and ſo to haue proceeded forwards. But his armie of Germanes, which came wearied and tired of their long iourney, finding there great abundance of victuals and delicates, by meanes of their forepaſſed hunger, and their preſent diſordred repletion and ſurfetting; or that it was Gods will that it ſhould be ſo; there fell ſo great a plague of peſtilence amongſt them, that within few daies ſpace the moſt of them died: in ſuch ſort, that FREDERICK (with ſuch as eſcaped the plague) departed from *Antioch*, and drawing neere to the ſea, imbarked himſelfe and ſailed to the citie of *Tyre*, which (as I ſaid before) was held by the Chriſtians: and leauing there the dead bodie of his father, hee went from

The ſiege of Acon or Ptolomaida.

thence with his people (but not without great daunger of the enemie) to ioyne with GVIDO LESIGNAN king of *Ieruſalem*, which lay before *Ptolomaida*; which SALADINE had ſo fortified and garriſoned, that the Chriſtians were much troubled in the ſiege thereof; and preuailed little, vntill the comming of the Kings of *England* and of *France*, after many accidents befalne them in the way which was in the ſame yeere: but they continued the ſiege, accompanied with other princes, although notwithſtanding that there was euer little conformitie amongſt them, where wee will now leaue them, to the end to make relation of the ſucceſſion in the empire, for this their hiſtorie appertaineth not to my charge: and how HENRY the ſixth, the Emperour FREDERICK his eldeſt ſonne was choſen Emperour, who held his fathers place in *Germany*, being alreadie made king of the Romanes, and what he did in *Germany* and in *Italy*. Yet foraſmuch as this enterpriſe of *Ieruſalem* was ſo notable a matter, and ſo great Kings came to the ſeruice, we will briefly tell you what end it had, although not the ſucceſſe.

In *Conſtantinople* all this while raigned ISACIVS: In *Italy* a little before this, died without iſſue, WILLIAM King of both the *Sicilie*, wherefore Pope CLEMENT the third challenged thoſe kingdomes to appertaine to the Church of *Rome*, and HENRY King of the Romanes, and future Emperour, pretended them to be his, by reaſon of his marriage with *Conſtance* ſiſter to King WILLIAM. But the Sicilians and Neapolitanes, againſt the Popes wil, choſe one TANCREDE, which was Vncle to King WILLIAM, a baſtard ſonne of ROGER King of *Sicilie*: who ſeiſed on the kingdome. In writing this Emperours life, I haue ſpent longer time then I ordinarily vſe to doe, for that many great matters happened in his time, and for that ſo much is written of him, I haue bin in a manner conſtrained thereto; and alſo as at other times I haue ſaid, in matters which draw neere to our times, it ſhall not be amiſſe to make longer and more ample relation.

The authors out of which I haue written, and in whoſe bookes the ſame may be ſeene more at large, are theſe which follow: OTHO FRISINGENSIS in the hiſtorie which he particularly wrote in two bookes, of the beginning of the Emperour FREDERICKS raigne, and RAVDAVICVS in that which he added thereto, and GODFREY VITERBIENSIS, all eye witneſſes, and the Abbot WESPERGENSIS in his Chronicle, an author of the ſame time, wherein hee writeth his life; Abbot ROBERT in the addition which he made to SIGIBERTS Chronicle, OTHO of S. *Blaſe*, BLONDVS in his declination of the Romane Empire, PLATINA in the liues of the Popes, IOHN COLVMNA in his Sea of Hiſtories, IOHN BAPTISTA IGNACIVS, IOHN EVTICHIVS, BENEVENT DE ROMBALDIS, IOHN CARION, IOHN CVSPINIAN, RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS, in their particular writings of the Emperors, HENRY MVCIVS, GASPAR CHVRRERVS in his booke of the affaires of *Germany*, in that part wherein he treateth of FREDERICK the firſt, FRANCISCVS IRENICVS, PAVLVS CONSTANTINVS PHRIGIO, CHRISTIANVS MASEVS, MATHEVV PALMERIVS, and the reſt of the general Hiſtoriographers, treating of theſe times, as S. ANTHONY, ANTHONIVS SABELLICVS, IOHN NAVCLERVS, which beſt of all handleth the matters of *Germany*, PHILIPPVS BERGOMAS; and beſides theſe, PAVLVS EMILIVS, ROBERT GAGVIN, and other French writers, POLIDORE VIRGIL in his Engliſh Hiſtorie, Pope PIVS in his Hiſtorie of *Bohemia*, IACOB MEIER in his abridgement of the Hiſtorie of *Flanders*, ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in the Hiſtorie which he particularly wrote of the Venecians, ALBERT CRANTZ in his Hiſtorie of *Saxony*, GEORGE MERVLA in the Hiſtorie of the Dukes of *Milan*,

AVGV-

AVGVSTIN IVSTINIAN in his Annales of *Genoa*, MICHAEL RICIVS in his booke of the Kings, and ſome others which I now remember not.

THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE SIXTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND EIGHTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Fredericke, ſucceeded his eldeſt ſonne Henry, who ſo ſoone as he had the gouernment of the Empire, went into Italy to be crowned, and to get the kingdome of Sicilia, which came vnto him, by the right of his wife; and was crowned by Pope Celeſtine. He would haue made a conqueſt of the kingdome of Naples, but the plague made him returne into Germany. He againe came into Italy, vpon the ſame occaſion of Sicilia, wherein finding Tancrede dead, he eaſily obtained the kingdome, notwithſtanding that he committed ſome cruelties therein worthy of blame. Being returned into Germany, he ſent many men to the warres of Ieruſalem. And liuing in peace and quiet, he came in progreſſe to viſit his new kingdome of Sicilia, where, for his pleaſure riding on hunting (as his cuſtome was) he fell ſicke and died, when he had raigned eight yeeres.

THE accidents which happened in the time of the Emperor FREDERICK, were ſo many and ſo great, that I imagine to haue in ſome manner ſatisfied the deſire, which men commonly haue to reade of great aduentures: and if they yet remaine with an appetite, from this time forwards they ſhall haue ſuch and ſo many, that I preſume they ſhall not want. I ſay then, that as euill newes are commonly more ſwift of foote, then the good: ſo the death of the worthie Emperour FREDERICK was ſoone knowne in *Italy* and in *Germany*, for which all Chriſtendome generally was ſorie; as well for that it was ſo infortunate, as for that it brake off and interrupted the enterpriſe which he had begun, and followed with ſuch courage and good ſucceſſe. His eldeſt ſonne HENRY, who (as wee ſaid)

Henry the eldeſt ſonne of Frederick Barbaroſſa choſen Emperor. Anno Dom. 1191.

ſaid) in his fathers life time was alreadie King of the Romanes, and future Emperour; ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood of the death of his father, wrote to the electors, and to the other princes of the Empire, and they yeelding him the obedience which they had promiſed in his fathers time, hee tooke vpon him the ſtate and maieſtie of Emperour: which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred, nintie and one, and was called HENRY the ſixth; yet the Italians call him the fifth, for that they reckon not the firſt HENRY. This man was a wiſe prince, of a ſharpe and quicke wit, well ſpoken, of a pleaſing countenance, but ſomwhat pale faced, of a meane ſtature, and tender and delicate of body; but of a fierce and cruell minde, and very valiant, wherefore he was greatly feared of his enemies, and was more addicted to hunting, then was fit for the good gouernment of his eſtate. In the beginning of his raigne, thoſe of *Colen* rebelled, and with them certaine Earles and other principall men, but it was a matter of no great importance and ſo was it ſoone pacified. Being freed from this care, ſeeking the aide and fauour of his friends, he made preparation to goe into *Italy* (which was in the next yeere) with a deſire to be crowned in *Rome*, and to get the kingdome of *Sicilia*; which fell to him by the right of his wife the Empereſſe CONSTANCE, whereto he was inuited and called by pope CELESTINE the third, who was newly choſen pope (yet ſome authors ſay, that at this time, this CONSTANCE was giuen to him in marriage by this pope CELESTINE, who gaue her a diſpenſation for that ſhe was a profeſſed Nunne, to the end, that they ſhould haue the kingdome) for the baſtard TANCREDE, King of *Sicilia* and of *Maples*, who poſſeſſed the ſame, was odious and an enemie to the pope.

The Emperor Heury the ſixth crowned in Rome by Pope Celeſtine the third.

The Emperor HENRY being then come into *Italy*, paſſing peaceably through the States of *Lombardy* (according to the agreement made betweene his father and them) went towards *Rome* to be crowned; but before the pope gaue him the crowne, he went againſt the citie of *Tuſculano*, which was ſituate in the Mountaines neere to *Rome*, which rebelled, and did, and had done the Romanes much harme; and he taking the ſame (for it yeelded without any reſiſtance) gaue it to the Romanes (for ſo was he enioyned to doe, before the crowne ſhould be giuen to him) and they preſently deſtroyed the citie, and vſed the citizens with great crueltie; whereof the Emperor was much noted, and blamed for permitting ſo cruell a fact. This crueltie being executed, and the Emperor being with great ſolemnitie crowned in *Rome* by pope CELESTINE; and other couenants and agreements being made betweene them concerning the kingdomes of *Sicilia*, and of *Naples*, as feodatorie kingdomes to the Church of *Rome*, and the fee and tribute ſet downe to be paied for the ſame: the Emperor marching forwards, found all thoſe countries in armes againſt him, holding for TANCREDE, whom they had choſen, and held for King, and their ſoueraigne Lord; yet he tooke ſome townes by force of armes, and went ſo farre as *Naples*, and beſieged the ſame, as the head of that kingdome; and the Neapolitanes valiantly defending their citie, the ſiege continued the ſpace of three monethes; in which time there fell in the campe ſo great a mortalitie, and ſo many of the Emperors ſouldiers died, that without effecting what he had purpoſed, he raiſed his ſiege and returned into *Germany*: and as he aroſe from before the citie, his wife the Empereſſe (ſome ſay going into *Germany*, which ſeemeth moſt certaine, and others ſay that ſhe comming to her husband, to goe with him to the warres) was taken by certaine Captaines vpon the way; but ſo great diligence was vſed, and ſuch a courſe was taken, that ſhe within few daies was ſet at libertie; and they which tooke her,

The Emperor beſieged Naples, but could not take it.

were

were ſeuerely puniſhed: and ſo at this time, he returned crowned, but not victorious, into his country. Two yeeres of his raigne being expired, and he fruſtrate of his purpoſe, and deſire to recouer the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, but yet he ſtill had a determination to returne thither againe (as he afterwards did) where let vs leaue him; and I will tell you what happened vnto his brother FREDERICK, and the other princes which had continued in the Eaſt euer ſithence the death of his father the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA: wherein if all the skirmiſhes, encounters, battailes, and feates of armes done by theſe three Kings, of *Ieruſalem*, *France*, and *England*, in thoſe two yeeres warres ſhould be written, I ſhould haue much to ſay; but the ſucceſſe thereof was this, that the ſiege of *Ptolomaida* continued two yeeres, reckoning from the time that GVIDO King of *Ieruſalem* firſt beſieged it, vntill it was taken; during which time, many great matters paſſed betweene them and the beſieged, and SALADINES other forces. At this time, died there the ſaid FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, ſonne of the Emperour FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, and brother to the Emperour HENRY, and other great perſonages. At the end of this time, the citie was yeelded to the Chriſtians; and the Kings were growne ſo mightie and ſo much feared, and the mightie SALADINE had loſt ſo many men, that thinking himſelfe vnable to defend his countries, he cauſed the walles of *Ceſaria* in *Paleſtina*, with *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, *Porſiria*, and of other cities vpon the Sea coaſt, to be throwne downe: and the power of the Chriſtians ſo much encreaſed, that SALADINE began to parle of the giuing vp of *Ieruſalem*, vpon condition that he might liue in peace. But God otherwiſe diſpoſed thereof, for the Kings of *France*, and *England*, were ſo ill met, that they could neuer agree vpon any thing: wherefore the King of *France* reſolued to leaue the warres, and to returne into his countrie, and did ſo, and left the greateſt part of his people with the Duke of *Burgundy*; and ſo the oportunitie of the taking of *Ieruſalem* was loſt; for by reaſon of his departure, SALADINES mind altered: neuertheleſſe, RICHARD King of *England* was a prince of ſo high courage, and carried himſelfe ſo valiantly in thoſe warres, that beſides, that he new builded and fortified *Iapha* (whilom called *Ioppa*) and ſome other townes; he reduced the warres to ſo good order and eſtate, as they were in before the French Kings departure. It followed in this time, that CONRADE Marqueſſe of *Monferrato*, which was poſſeſſed of the great citie of *Tyre*, and the marches thereof, and was called King of *Ieruſalem*, for that (as I told you) hee married with ISABEL ſiſter to SIBIL, which was King GVIDO his wife, was in the ſame citie ſlaine by certaine fugatiues, Turkes; and the widow ISABEL hauing one daughter by her husband, was married to HENRY, called Earle of *Campania*, Nephew to the French king; and he marrying her, had with her that citie, and the title to the kingdome of *Ieruſalem*, againſt GVIDO, which held that name and title. Whereupon king RICHARD dealt with GVIDO, to renounce the right which he pretended to the kingdome of *Ieruſalem*, and he would giue him the dominion of the Ile of *Cyprus*, with the name of king thereof; which Iland the king of *England* tooke in his way as he came to this warre. GVIDO accepted this bargaine, and prouiding men and ſhipping neceſſarie, ſailed into *Cyprus*, as king of that Iland, and raigned therein all his life time; and that kingdome remained in him, in his heyres and ſucceſſors, vntill the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, foure hundred and ſixtie, that the Venecians (I know not by what title) made themſelues Lords thereof: and the houſe of *England* hath euer ſince pretended right to the kingdome of *Ieruſalem*, as ſaith PLATINA, and other authors. This being

Ptolomaida yeelded to the Chriſtians.

The French King left the warres in the Holy land.

Richard Cueur de Lion King of England his warres in Paleſtina.

being paſt, and many other matters in this warre, amongſt which was a great battaile which continued from noone vntill night; wherein the valiant SALADINE was ouerthrowne, and the King of *England*, and the princes with him, had the victorie; which reſolued to goe and beſiege the citie of *Ieruſalem*, knowing for certaine that SALADINE durſt not abide them, for he ſued to him for peace, or truce, promiſing to render *Ieruſalem*, and other places in thoſe marches, to the end that he might obtaine the ſame for ſome long time: but the Chriſtians were of ſuch power that they were not therewith ſatisfied. And vpon a ſodaine the King of *England* (very vnaduiſedly) gaue out in ſpeeches, that he would returne into his countrie, for that he was certified that the French King had entred and taken his Duchie of *Normandy*: which if he had concealed, he might haue had what compoſition he would haue required: but SALADINE knowing his determination, and that the fleetes of *Piſa* and of *Venice* were alreadie departed, by reaſon of diſcord and diſſention betweene them, would not reſigne *Ieruſalem*. In the end the king of *England* concluded a peace with him for fiue yeeres; and leauing garriſons and gouernors in the cities which the Chriſtians had recouered; (OTHO Duke of *Burgundy*, and HENRY the husband of ISABEL, which chalenged the kingdome of *Ieruſalem*, remayning commaunders thereof, with the Knights of Saint IOHNS and the Templars) he departed homewards, in the yeere, one thouſand, one hundred nintie three, and by the way was taken priſoner by the Duke of *Auſtrich*, and was ranſomed, and other accidents afterwards befell him: and ſo he left the affaires of the Eaſt, and more townes, and better fortified then he found therein: yet not ſo many as a man would haue thought that ſo great Kings, and ſuch mightie armies, might haue gotten: what enſued, you ſhall vnderſtand hereafter. The Emperor HENRY (as ſome men write) was well relieued and furniſhed with the money which the King of *England* payed for his ranſome, towards his iourney into *Italy*, for which he then made preparation, but he firſt made his brother CONRADE Duke of *Sueuia*, for that his other brother FREDERICK was dead in the Eaſt without iſſue. He then marching towards *Italy*, to conquer the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, which fell to him by his wife, and the popes graunt; and hauing ſent certaine Captaines before with an armie, by which the warres were alreadie begun; King TANCREDE which poſſeſſed thoſe kingdomes died; and a little before him his eldeſt ſonne called ROGER, who was married to YRENE the Emperors daughter of *Conſtantinople*, and he left another ſonne called WILLIAM (whom they preſently made their King) and two or three daughters: by reaſon whereof the Emperor haſtened his iourney, leading with him his brother PHILIP, and other great princes: but for all this, the great men, and cities of thoſe kingdomes left not to rebell, and to withſtand the Emperor HENRY, who with his men of warre entred the countrie, beſieging and battering cities with ſuch rage and fury, that whatſoeuer citie reſiſted him, he cauſed to be deſtroyed and burnt: vſing greater crueltie then befitted a vertuous or Chriſtian prince; and ſo perforce, and for feare, all the cities in the kingdome of *Naples*, and the moſt of thoſe in *Campania*, and *Pulia*, yeelded; and thence marching into *Calabria*, did there the like: and ſeeing himſelfe Lord of the eſtates in the maine land, he paſſed ouer into *Sicilia*, wherein, as there was not any King, or head, to rule and commaund (for TANCREDES ſonne was a childe, and his father had been wicked, and a tyrant) in ſhort ſpace he became Lord of great part of that Iland. Neuertheleſſe, after this the prelates and great Lords of thoſe kingdomes, with the greateſt power that they poſſibly could leuie, gathered head neere

The cauſe why Ieruſalem was not taken by the Chriſtians.

King Richard Cueuer de Lion taken priſoner comming from the warres in the Holy land by the Duke of Auſtrich. Anno Dom. 1193.

neere to the citie of *Catanea*, with a full determination to try their fortune: and they fought with the Emperour(yet ſome ſay that the Emperour was not in the battaile) and the Sicilians were ouerthrowne, and the citie taken; and of them was made great ſlaughter, and in it was executed extreme crueltie, putting to ſword both men and women, ſo many as were found therein; not ſparing thoſe which had retired themſelues to the Churches for ſanctuary: and ſome Noble men and Biſhops were taken priſoners. After this, many of the moſt principall men conſpired by any meanes howſoeuer to kill the Emperour; which being reuealed vnto him, he made extreme iuſtice to be inflicted vpon all thoſe which he could get, and had been accuſed to haue been of that conſpiracie, with ſuch crueltie and rigour, that he could not auoide blame for it: for ſome he made to bee fleyed aliue, others to be burnt, and of ſome he cauſed ſharpe nailes to be driuen into their heads: finally, he executed ſo horrible crueltie vpon thoſe which had yeelded, that hee made himſelfe the moſt feared man in the world: by meanes whereof within ſhort ſpace he became Lord of the whole Iland; and comming with his forces to the citie of *Palermo* (which was the richeſt and moſt populous citie therein) he was receiued without battaile or reſiſtance, and made his entrie moſt ſolemnely, with all the repreſentation, triumph and ſhew of victorie that could be imagined: in that citie (it is affirmed) that he found many precious iewels, and great riches, which had been the Kings of *Sicilia*, and there were kept. He gat alſo into his power YRENE the Emperours daughter of *Conſtantinople*, who was betrothed to the deceaſed King TANCREDES ſon, ROGER; which YRENE he married to his brother PHILIP, although againſt her will. And the child whom the Sicilians had made their King, hee made his eyes to be put out, thereby to make him incapable of the kingdome; and made him to be carried priſoner into *Germany*, where he afterwards died miſerably: and his mother the widow with her two daughters, hee commaunded to be put into a Monaſterie in *Germany*, ſo that he left nothing forgotten that might aſſure him of thoſe kingdomes. This being done, he went into *Calabria*, carrying with him for hoſtages, ſuch men as he held to be of greateſt account in both the kingdomes: and for his better aſſurance, both in the maine land, and in the Iland, he placed Germane gouernours and captaines; to ſome of which he gaue certaine eſtates and titles. Before this, his wife the Empereſſe which was there with him, bare him a ſonne called FREDERICK; at whoſe birth, by reaſon that ſome doubted whether that a woman of her yeeres might be with child or no, he permitted all that would to be preſent at the birth, commaunding it firſt to be publiſhed, at ſuch time as it was thought ſhe ſhould be deliuered. In this manner did the Emperour HENRY leaue the two *Sicilies* in peace and ſubiection: and with the hoſtages before mentioned, which were great Lords and prelates, departed towards *Germany* (*Milan* and all *Lombardie* peaceably obeying him, both at his comming and going) which was in the fifth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord 1195. *Anno Dom.* 1195.

It is true, that although the Emperour obtained his deſire in the conqueſt of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, yet all writers affirme that he therewith acquired the name of a very cruell, and vindicatife Prince, for the great cruelties which he therein committed. And PHILIP BERGOMAS affirmeth, that through theſe cruelties, he fell at ſuch oddes with Pope CELESTINE, that he excommunicated him, by certain Biſhops and other men of orders, which the Emperour apprehended, and put to death: and that he afterwards ſuing to the Pope for pardon, was abſolued. He was

alſo noted and taxed of exceſſiue couetouſnes, for the great loanes and impreſts, which he exacted from the people in thoſe kingdomes: which gaue occaſion that it was not long before that in *Pulia*, ſome townes and great men, began to ſtirre and to rebell againſt him: whereupon he put out the eies of all the hoſtages, which hee had ſent into *Germany*; and ſent Captaines and ſouldiers to ſuppreſſe the Inſurrections; and they by his commandement, inflicted cruell puniſhment vpon the offenders. And being in this proſperitie, ſo as no man rebelled, or held vp his hand againſt him, his brother CONRADE Duke of *Sueuia* died, at ſuch time as he began to warre againſt BERTOLD Duke of *Zeringe*, which then, and before that time was, and had bin, a great houſe in *Germany*: and his brother CONRADE being dead without iſſue, the Emperour gaue the Duchie of *Sueuia* to his brother PHILIP, who (as I ſaid) married the Emperours daughter of *Conſtantinople*.

Frederick the Emperours ſon being a child was choſen king of the Romanes.

After all theſe things, he ſought by all meanes poſſible, that the princes Electors ſhould chuſe his ſonne FREDERICK (a child of little more then two yeeres old) for King of the Romanes: and foraſmuch as he was of great power, and much feared, they did ſo: notwithſtanding that it ſeemed to them, to be a matter very vniuſt and vnreaſonable. At this time Pope CELESTINE very earneſtly ſolicited the Princes of Chriſtendome. And eſpecially the Emperour (ſeeing that the time of the truce, made in the Eaſt by the King of *England* was expired; and that the great SALADINE was dead, but a little before, on whome depended the chiefeſt force of the Infidels) that they ſhould not now forget the conqueſt of *Ieruſalem*, ſeeing they had ſo fit an oportunitie thereto. The Emperour (with the zeale of a Chriſtian Prince (though a cruell one) ſeeing that hee could not goe himſelfe in perſon, by reaſon of his ſmall aſſurance in his kingdomes of *Sicilia*, and the tranquillitie of *Germany*: many Princes offring themſelues to goe that iourney voluntarily, and many ſouldiers and men of warre, which he ſent in his pay, at his own charges) prouided a very great and good army: wherewith went the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Biſhop of *Ratisbone*, BERNARD Duke of *Saxony*, CONRADE Chauncellor of the empire, LEOPOLD Duke of *Auſtrich*, HARMAN Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Duke of *Brabant*, and ſome other Marquiſes, Earles, and men of eſtate; all which leauing their houſes and countries, of meere deuotion, with valiant mindes, after long trauaile by land and ſea (wherein they were much aided and relieued by ISACIVS Emperour of *Conſtantinople*) came to the coaſt of *Paleſtina*, to the citie of *Tyre* and *Ptolomaida*, which they called *Acon*; where they preſently applied themſelues to the warres; the truce graunted by the king of *England* being expired. In which time, GVIDO king of *Cyprus*, which before had been king of *Ieruſalem*, deceaſed; and foraſmuch as hee had no ſonne, his brother ALMERICVS had that kingdome: and it alſo happened, that at that ſame ſeaſon, HENRY, which was called king of *Ieruſalem*, by the marriage (as I ſaid) of ISABEL ſiſter to SIBIL, in his citie of *Ptolomaida* fell out of a very high terreſſe or gallerie in his palace, and ſo died infortunately: and ALMERICVS king of *Cyprus*, ſought to marrie with his wife, wherewith ſhe was content; and ſo for a time hee was called king of *Cyprus* and *Ieruſalem*. But for as much as he was negligent, and of ſmall experience in the warres, and in matters of gouernment, he afterwards loſt the title of *Ieruſalem*, which was giuen to IOHN DE BREGNA, a Frenchman, being a man of great fortune and valour, who married the daughter of this ISABEL, which ſhe had by her ſecond husband CONRADE. The Germanes ſent by the

Another voyage to Ieruſalem.

Emperour

Emperour ioyning with ALMERICVS his forces, became maſters of the field; and marching forwards, beſieged and aſſaulted ſome cities, tooke *Berito*, and reedified *Ioppa*, now called *Iapha*. While the armie did theſe things in the Eaſt, the Emperour HENRY ſetting all things in order in *Germany*, came with his wife and his young ſonne into *Italy*, to viſite his eſtate of *Milan*; and from thence went into *Sicilia*, the better to confirme himſelfe in his new dominion; and the better alſo to prouide for the warres and conqueſt of the Holy land, which was generally deſired. He came then into *Sicilia*, to the citie of *Meſsina*, with his wife and his ſon, (who was alreadie called king of the Romanes) and gouerned the empire, and thoſe kingdomes in peace, enlarging the ſame more then the Pope would hee ſhould haue done, for he held from him the *Marca de Ancona*, and ſome places in *Tuſcane*. But it pleaſed God to fruſtrate all his thoughts by his death: for being much delighted in hunting, it happened that hunting vpon an extreame hot day, in the moneth of Auguſt, he laid him downe one night to ſleepe in a greene field, neere to certaine freſh ſprings of water; and awaking, with the cold and the dew of the night, he felt himſelfe very ill, and was carried to *Meſsina*, where his infirmitie increaſing, hee died; when hee had raigned eight yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 1198. hauing firſt recommended the protection and gouernment of his yong ſonne FREDERICK, which was called king of the Romanes, and of the two *Sicilies*, to his brother PHILIP Duke of *Sueuia*, vntill that he ſhould come to age fit to rule: and wrote his letters concerning the ſame to Pope INNOCENT the third, who ſucceeded CELESTINE the third, which died a little before him in the ſame yeere. This Emperour was a wiſe, a valorous, and a mightie prince, but his ouer much fiercenes and crueltie obſcured and blemiſhed thoſe vertues. All this while raigned ISACIVS in *Conſtantinople*, which he gouerned very wel for the ſpace of eleuen or twelue yeeres in peace; after the death of the tyrant ANDRONICVS, as we recounted in the life of the Emperour FREDERICK.

Anno Dom. 1195. The death of the Emperour Henry the ſixth.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND NINETEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

And of ISACIVS and ALEXVS Emperors of *Constantinople.*

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Emperour Henry being dead, the Empire was diuided betwixt two competitors, which were Philip and Otho, and either of them marshalling the forces of his abbettors and assistants, many sore battailes were fought betweene them. They both were crowned: but Otho his coronation was ratified by the Pope, and Philips reproued, and himselfe excommunicate: but he making slight accompt of the excommunication persisted in his attempt; and hauing in a bickering ouerthrowne the Luntzgraue, became very mightie; and Otho his power did daily debilitate; and he himselfe in the end was driuen to flye, and to goe into England. Philip afterwards sought to pacifie the Pope, and to be in peace with him: and the reconciliation being made, a peace was procured with Otho: which was concluded by making him his sonne in law, and his successor in the Empire: but this ioy lasted not long: for Otho being come to the Court, the Countie Palatine of Witilispach, who was Philips secret enemie, vpon a day (with a resolution to kill him) came to his chamber, desiring to speake with him, and being let in, he tooke his sword from his Page, and therewith slew the Emperor, when he had raigned tenne yeeres.

The death of great princes cause great alterations.

IT is a common and vsuall thing through all the world, that vpon the death of great Kings and princes, ensue great chaunges and alterations, which is verified and experimented by the death of HENRY the sixth, whose

whoſe hiſtorie wee now ended to write: for by reaſon thereof, enſued great innouations, and vnexpected accidents. Firſt in the army which he ſent into the Eaſt, to the conqueſt of *Ieruſalem*, and which had begun the warre with good ſucceſſe, his death being publiſhed, the princes and prelates which went thither, agreed together in all haſte to returne home to their houſes, and did ſo; nothing preuailing with them the counſell and entreatie of SIMON of *Monſerrato*, a moſt excellent warriour, who came thither with certaine troupes of Frenchmen to their aide: and ſo they left the countrey ſo throughly abandoned, and in ſuch neceſſitie, that the Infidels taking the citie of *Iapha*, deſtroyed the ſame, and laid it euen with the ground; and king ALMERICVS and the Chriſtians were brought to ſuch extremitie, that they were driuen to ſue to the Infidels for peace: ſo as it appeareth, that it was not Gods will that the warres and conqueſt of the Holy land ſhould euer haue any good ſucceſſe. Here in *Germany* enſued the greateſt tumults, warres and battailes, about who ſhould be Emperour, that euer had been ſeene for the like cauſe. Pope INNOCENT attempted, and began to recouer ſome lands, which the Emperour HENRY held from his Church. The Empereſſe preſently ſued to the Pope, for the confirmation of *Sicilia* to her and her ſonne, which ſhe hardly obtained, with ſufficient loſſe of lands and dignities. So great effect worketh oftentimes the abſence, or preſence, of one man onely: for PHILIP Duke of *Sueuia*, whoſe hiſtorie I now begin to write, was interrupted by his brothers death in *Italy*, he going to viſit him; from whence, ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood thereof (for as ſome authors ſay he was not preſent when he died) he returned into *Germany*, and by the way encurred many daungers: with an intent (notwithſtanding that he had the title of his Nephewes Protector) to get (if he might) the Empire for himſelfe: whereto, being come into *Germany*, as well by meanes of his eſtate and authoritie, as alſo for that hee was the brother and the ſonne of an Emperour, hee found great fauour, and great contradiction and reſiſtance alſo, by many princes which were enemies to his houſe and family: and for ſome other reſpects. Principally, the Electors voyces being diuided into two opinions, the one part named the ſame PHILIP for Emperour; for of his nephew, by reaſon of his infancie, and alſo for that he was king of *Sicilia* (notwithſtanding their promiſe made to his father) they made ſmall account: and the other partie choſe OTHO, Earle or Duke of *Bruinſwike*, ſonne of HENRY the proud, which had been Duke of *Saxony*, and was diſpoſſeſſed (as we ſaid) by the Emperor FREDERICK, wherefore ſome authors call him Duke of *Saxony*: this OTHO his mother was ſiſter to the King of *England*, by whoſe meanes (as ſome ſay) hee was called to the Empire. Betweene theſe two was the cruell ſharpe warre, and competencie, hauing recourſe to their armes: yet the Abbot WESPERGENSIS ſaith, that BERTOLD Duke of *Zeringe*, before, or at the ſame time, was a third competitor, and was called Emperour: but Duke BERTOLDS challenge continued not long, for he ſoone agreed with PHILIP; and for that moſt authors write it not, I will paſſe it ouer, with the only remembrance thereof. PHILIP and OTHO being in armes, each of them with his partakers and friends, began to warre, killing, robbing, and impriſoning one another. OTHO was holpen and ſupported by the King of *England*, as his vncle and friend, and by the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, the Duke of *Liconia*, the Earle of *Limburgh*, the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and his prelates and Suffragane, the Earle of *Flanders* and his friends, and ſome other princes and prelates: Pope INNOCENT alſo fauoured his cauſe, calling to minde that the anceſtors of this OTHO, Dukes of *Saxony*, had

Philip choſen Emperour.

Otho choſen Emperour.

Bertold called Emperour.

greatly holpen and defended the Church of *Rome*: and to the contrarie, PHILIPS predeceſſors Dukes of *Sueuia*, had perſecuted the ſame, cauſing ſchiſmes and diuiſions; as HENRY the fourth, FREDERICK the firſt, and his brother FREDERICK had alſo held many places in *Tuſcane*, and *Ancona*, belonging to the Church of *Rome*. Thoſe which tooke part with PHILIP, were the king of *France*, the Archbiſhop of *Menitz*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Auſtrich* (which then came from the warres in the Eaſt) the king of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bauiere*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of *Brabant*; and all the reſt of the princes which tooke not part with OTHO (but yet the ſucceſſe chaunged theſe fauours) and PHILIP for his perſon was better beloued and more eſteemed then OTHO, for he was gentle, of a noble condition, diſcreete, and liberall (whereby good will is principally gotten) very valiant, although of but a weake bodie, and of a meane ſtature; of a good countenance, and faire, white and red. OTHO had not ſo good parts of a man in him; for he was held to be, not very wiſe, raſh, and without meaſure audacious. PHILIP hauing aſſembled his friends together in the citie of *Mentz*, was there annoynted and crowned Emperour by the Biſhop of *Tarantaſia*; the Biſhop of *Sutrino*, who was the Popes Ambaſſadour and Legate, being there preſent, who came thither for another purpoſe; wherewith the Pope was extremely angrie. OTHO and his friends perceiuing that PHILIP was crowned, went to *Aken*, which PHILIP had alreadie taken; and beſieging and ſcaling it, tooke the ſame vpon compoſition: and there ADOLPH Archbiſhop of *Colen* prepoſterouſly crowned him, and he therefore was held for right Emperour: which coronation was afterwards confirmed by Pope INNOCENT, who ſent GVIDO Cardinall of *Preneſte*, for his Legate, to the citie of *Colen*, for the ſame purpoſe, and to excommunicate PHILIP, and all his followers and abbetters. And PHILIP (as a man of great ſpirit) ſought to fight with OTHO, and to that end entred his enemies countries, deſtroying the ſame with fire and ſword, and tooke ſome ſtrong Caſtles neere to *Argentine*, where betweene his and OTHO his troupes, were many skirmiſhes and encounters, and many men were ſlaine of either ſide: and the next yeere following hee came againſt the ſame citie of *Argentine*, which held for OTHO; which yeelded vpon compoſition, and he was therein receiued and obeyed. And OTHO in like manner with all his whole power came againſt PHILIP: and betweene the ſouldiers of the one and other, were ſome battailes and skirmiſhes, wherein PHILIP for the moſt part had the victorie, which made ſome to come ouer to his ſide: but yet the comming of the Popes Legate at this time, and the publiſhing of the excommunication, did greatly hinder PHILIPS proceedings, and was a great helpe to OTHO, with the prelates and eccleſiaſticall perſonages. PHILIP hauing the greateſt quarrell againſt the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, for that by his meanes principally OTHO was choſen; he therefore reſolued to enter his countrie, and to deſtroy it, and putting the ſame in execution, took one or two very ſtrong townes of his: the Lantzgraue raiſing his power, and ſending for help to the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and to OTHO CHARVS, king of *Bohemia* (who now ioyned with OTHO, by reaſon of the Popes excommunication) and to other his friends and kinſemen; leuied ſo great a number of good men of warre, that PHILIP not daring to fight with him, retired to a ſtrong towne, wherein they beſieged him: but he vſed ſuch meanes, that in the night he gat out of the town, & put himſelf in ſafety: and within few daies after came OTHO to the aid of the Lantzgraue with his whole power, in hope to haue taken PHILIP; for they had written to him, that he could not eſcape from the place wherein they held him beſieged. So as OTHO being then maſter

Philip crowned Emperour.

Otho crowned Emperour.

of

of the field, ſommoned a Diet or Councell to be held in the citie of *Mersburgh*, in the moneth of Auguſt, in the yeere of our Lord 1203; where, in the preſence of the before named Princes, and of his friends, he was the ſecond time crowned by the Popes Legat; and his firſt election was approued and confirmed, and many reuolted from PHILIP to him, vnder colour that they did ſo, by reaſon of the Popes cenſures. At this time, the Empreſſe CONSTANCE, tutreſſe of the young FREDERICK, King of *Sicilia*, dying, recommended the protection of the child to Pope INNOCENT, who ſent certaine Legates to gouerne thoſe countries in the behalfe of the young King; who afterwards was Emperour, as you ſhall heare. OTHO his fauourites and partakers being departed from this Diet or Councell, with victorie; the next yeere following their fortune altered: for PHILIP with the aide of *France*, *Saxony*, *Auſtrich*, *Mentz*, *Wittembergh*, *Suenia*, *Bauiere*, and the reſt of thoſe which held with him, came vpon the Lantzgraue and his confederates, and entring his countries (as he had done the yeere before) tooke certaine caſtles, and the King of *Bohemia* and the Countie Palatine came to ioyne with the Lantzgraue, and ſo to fight with PHILIP: but PHILIP met and fought with them before they could ioyne with the Lantzgraue, and obtained the victory, although bloody. The Bohemians running away and diſordering themſelues in the beginning, ſo as great ſlaughter was made of them in the chace. PHILIP thorough this victory wan ſo great reputation, that many of thoſe which vntill then had been ſilent and neutrall, came to ſerue him, and from his enemy came to him not a few. And the Lantzgraue ſeeing his ſuccours ouerthrowne and ſcattered, and his countrey ſpoyled, ſought meanes to come to ſome compoſition with PHILIP, and to ſerue him: and PHILIP (as he was a gentle and courteous Prince) admitted him into his fauour and friendſhip, and the Lantzgraue with great humilitie came and yeelded himſelfe into his power. And after him came ADOLPH, Archbiſhop of *Colen*, who nothing fearing the popes Excommunications, againſt ſuch as tooke part with PHILIP, or defended his quarrell, compounded with him alſo, promiſing to bring the Dukes of *Lorraine* and of *Brabant*, to his deuotion; a thing which PHILIP much deſired, and gaue him to effect the ſame a great ſumme of money: which was the cauſe that many others did the like. So as this partie growing now to be ſtrongeſt, a meeting was appointed to be had in *Aken*; and for as much as PHILIP had not been crowned therein by a generall aſſent, he was againe with great ſolemnitie crowned Emperour and King of the Romans, by the hands of the ſaid Archbiſhop ADOLPH, who deſpiſed and contemned his popes cenſures and commandements: whereupon pope INNOCENT depriued and depoſed him from his Archbiſhopricke; and ſent commandement to his Legate, which then lay in *Colen*, to cauſe another to be choſen: and the Chanons aſſembling, made choice of one BRVNVS, a man of great account: and OTHO tooke ſuch order, that he was preſently conſecrated by two Biſhops which came from *England*: wherewith PHILIP was ſo inraged, that he preſently went and ſet vpon the citie of *Colen*, and being vnable to take it by force, ſpoyled the fields, and put the depoſed Archbiſhop in poſſeſſion of ſome townes in the marches and territorie thereof; ſo as neither the one nor the other could gouerne that Church. The like happened afterwards in many Churches, ſome holding of the one faction, and others of the other: and miſerable *Germany* at this time indured grieuous calamities, for beſides the great warres and battailes, the Churches and Monaſteries were robbed. After all this, the next yeere following, which was the yeere 1205, PHILIP, with great power of Princes

Anno Dom. 1203.

The Bohemians ouerthrowne.

Anno Dom. 1205.

ces and marshall men, came to make warre vpon OTHO, who with his friends and allyes was in *Colen*; with whom, amongst such others as came thither, was GVIDO the popes Legate, and BRVNVS the Archbishop thereof. And with PHILIP came the deposed Bishop, and OTHO hauing no sufficient forces to fight with him in the field, held himselfe within the citie, not daring to keepe the field against him: which PHILIP perceiuing, sent for all the forces that he could leuie, and besieged OTHO and those which were with him in *Colen*: so as OTHO was in greater distresse than he thought of in the beginning; and the siege was so sharpe, that it was impossible for any man to get in or out, without the leaue of the besiegers. And OTHO knowing that if he staied any longer therein, besides the reputation which he lost, his person and life would be in great danger; resolued therefore to make way thorough his enemies, or to dye in the action; and making choyse of his best men, both of horse and foote, besides the principals, hee one day suddainly sallied and charged into his enemies campe, and in the beginning made great slaughter of them; but being oppressed with the multitude, he vsed the meanes and remedie prepensed, and so escaped by flight: yet in the chace, many of those which sallied with him, were taken prisoners and slaine: amongst which, BRVNVS the new Archbishop was taken prisoner, whom PHILIP held in irons aboue one whole yeere after: and in this flight, OTHO neuer stayed vntill he came into *Saxony*, where he was harboured, and protected by Duke BERNARD. And PHILIP preuailing, offered so honorable composition to those of *Colen*, that they rendred, and came all to his seruice; and restoring ADOLPH to his seat and Bishopricke, he wholy disanulled and made voyd the new election of BRVNVS, without any regard of the popes commaundements. OTHO perceiuing that PHILIPS power did daily more and more increase, and that he had not any forces wherewith he might defend himselfe, tooke shippe and sailed into *England*: and so for that time remained PHILIP peacefull Emperour, finding no man that in field made any resistance, but what the pope did with his Fulminations, whereof (as it seemeth) he made small reckoning. And the better to assure vnto himselfe the loue of the people, (he naturally desiring to end matters by clemencie) gaue his eldest daughter in marriage to the King of *Bohemia*, and another daughter to the Duke of *Brabants* eldest Sonne: and so vpon other Princes he bestowed fauours and benefits, wherein (as saith the Abbot WESPERGENSIS) he spent his whole patrimonie, giuing Townes and Castles, and euen Churches and their reuenues: for so much doe men desire to raigne, that to bring the same to effect, there is no lawe but they will breake and violate, yea, and they thinke they may lawfully doe it, which may well and sufficiently be proued by such matters as passed in these times in the Empire of *Constantinople*, which, for that they make to our purpose and historie, I will here briefely recite, although so great accidents require a long relation; and so for a while, we will leaue OTHO fled, and banished into *England*, and PHILIP to inioy his victorie.

In *Constantinople* then raigned ISAC, or ISACIVS (of whom we haue made mention) as a iust Prince and good gouernour; who with a great summe of money redeemed a Brother of his, a valiant and excellent captaine, called ALEXVS; who in the warres was taken prisoner by the Turkes, to whom after his comming to his court (besides the lands and estate allowed him for his maintenance) he gaue so great authoritie and commaund in the gouernment, that all matters of greatest importance were ordered by his direction: and he being in this fauour,

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the diuell, ambition, and desire to raigne, possessed him, so as to bring his purpose to effect, he resolued to breake all lawes, both diuine and humane, together with the bands, wherein he stood bound to his soueraigne Lord and brother: for in requitall of the benefits receiued, with the helpe and assistance of such as himselfe, he apprehended his brother, and did put out his eyes, and seised vpon the Empire to his owne behoofe: and a son of ISACIVS, called after his trecherous Vncles name ALEXVS, fled, and came into *Germany* to the Emperor PHILIP, whose wife YRENE was this young mans sister: but as PHILIP was not so firmely seated in his Empire, as to be able to succour and relieue another, by reason of his warres with OTHO, so he could not therefore doe as he would haue done. At that time by chaunce (or else it was Gods will it should be so) were in *Venice*, BALDVVIN Earle of *Flanders*, and his brother HENRY: and BONIFACE Marquesse of *Monferrato*; LEVVIS Earle of *Sauoy*; and other noble personages, with many souldiers and men of warre; induced to meete there, by pope INOCENT, for the conquest of *Ierusalem* and the Holy land: where they stayed for shipping to goe on their voyage, whither came recommended to them by the Emperour PHILIP and this young ALEXVS: whereupon these princes (by the consent of the Duke and Senate of *Venice* and of the pope) concluded to goe against the tyrant ALEXVS: whereto the Venecians gaue great ayde, sending an Admirall with a great fleete. The league and couenant being made with the Nephew ALEXVS; hee promised, that being restored, hee would reduce the Greeke Church, to the obedience of the Latine; and many other matters in recompence; and so they departed with good and faire weather. And omitting such accidents as befell them in their voyage (wherein they tooke the Ile of *Creta*, now called *Candia*, and other places:) it was so that they arriued neere to the citie of *Constantinople*, where the tyrant ALEXVS in a readines awaighted their comming, with a very great number of people; and they setting their men on land, had a battaile with THEODORE LASCARVS the tyrants sonne in law, who sallied with an armie to fight with them; and he being ouerthrowne, they pursued him to the gates of the citie, which they besieged both by Sea and land. And at the end of eight dayes, that they had been there (wherein were many braue skirmishes and fierce encounters) the tyrant ALEXVS seeing that he could not preuaile, fled out of the citie by night: and after him followed the most part of his complices; and the next day, the citizens opening the ports, tooke the blind Emperour ISACIVS out of prison, and with him went forth to the Campe, where very willingly they tooke the sonne to be Emperour, together with the father: and he was with great solemnitie receiued into the citie, and crowned in the Church of Saint SOPHIA, in the presence of all the Latine Captaines; wherewith the blind father was greatly recomforted; and it seemed that all went well, and to the contentment of all men: and the Knights, and commaunders of the Latines, to auoyde the scandales, which might arise betweene their people & the citizens, went to their tents in the campe. In the meane while, that the new Emperour and his father made payment to the Venecians, of what they had promised, and accomplishing the same, the Greekes greatly murmured, for the naturall hatred which they bare against the Latines, and the blind Emperour ISACIVS died, and presently began new scandales and tumults in the citie, they all exclaiming against the promises made by the young ALEXVS to the Latines, and alleaging that they ought not to be performed, put themselues in armes against them, but yet the new Emperor desired to haue throughly accomplished

Noble men in Venice.

pliſhed the ſame. Yet ſome authors lay to his charge, this inconuenience, ſaying, that he would not haue held his word. Finally, the matter fell ſo out, that the tumult infinitly encreaſing; one MIRTILLVS, which had been a fauorite of the Emperour ISACIVS (being the chiefe occaſion of this mutiny, and whom the Greekes choſe for their Generall, calling him Emperour) went to the palace, where the new Emperour ALEXVS was, and with his owne hand ſlew him; within one moneth after his coronation: and the new vpſtart traitor MIRTILLVS was ſet in his place, who preſently ſtudied how he might ſet the fleete of the Venecians and of the princes of the Latins on fire, and to cut off all victualles from them, and by aſſaulting them in their lodgings, to haue ouerthrowne and defeated them; but the effect enſued after another manner; for after many skirmiſhes, ſlaughters, and effuſion of much blood (which for breuitie ſake I omit) the Latines had the victorie; the tyrant fled, and they were Lords of the citie together withall the countrie round about it. And foraſmuch as the Empire was without any lawfull ſucceſſor, and that they had made a conqueſt thereof; by a generall conſent they reſolued to chuſe an Emperor; and making among themſelues fifteene electors; BALDVVIN Earle of *Flaunders* was choſen, and created Emperor; and for ſuch was ſworne, receiued and obeyed; and the Patriarch, THOMAS MOROSINI, a Venecian Gentleman, preſently went to *Rome*, where his prelacie, and the Emperors election, and all the reſt was approoued and confirmed by the pope; and he with his owne hands inueſted him, and gaue him for the Emperor the Imperiall enſignes. This great attempt being atchiued by theſe Captaines, according to their firſt agreement, they diuided what they had gotten, and the Iles of then *Creta*, now *Candia*, and *Euboea*, now *Negropente*, were giuen to the Venecians; which they haue held vntill this day; and foraſmuch as *Candia* was firſt giuen to BONIFACE Marqueſſe of *Monferrato*, the countrie of *Theſſalia*, which is a prouince of *Macedonia* was giuen him, with the title of King; with other rewards and ſhares made to other princes, aſwell in the Ilands, as in the maine; of which, remained eſtates, and houſes, which I omit: and ſo the Empire reſted in BALDVVIN and his ſucceſſors, for the ſpace of more then threeſcore yeeres; with ſuch aduentures, as you ſhall heare hereafter: but the citie of *Adrianople* rebelling, defended it ſelfe all this while; THEODORE LASCARVS the Emperor ALEXVS his ſonne in law, who (as we ſaid) ſallied out to fight with the Latins, being gotten into the ſame. And the new Emperor BALDVVIN beſieged that citie, and died before it, and his brother HENRY ſucceeded him in the Empire: the reſt you ſhall vnderſtand when the turne commeth. Now let vs returne to our ſtorie of PHILIP Emperor of *Germany*, whom we left victorious; and to OTHO fled into *England*: yet let the reader conſider, and abhorre the treaſons of ALEXVS and MIRTILLVS; whereof the one put out the eyes of his owne brother; and the other murthered his ſoueraigne Lord, and let him conſider what ends they had, and therewith, how little ſtabilitie and aſſurance there is in the Empiers and principallities of this world; and with how vniuſt titles they are oftentimes gotten and poſſeſſed; of all which, there hath been a ſufficient and apparant example, in that which hath now been ſpoken of the Greeke Empire.

The Emperor PHILIP hauing expelled OTHO out of *Germany*, he and his followers imagining that their aduerſaries ſhould now neuer be able any more to moleſt him: neuertheleſſe in regarde of peace, hee being in diſgrace with the Church of *Rome*, by the aduice and conſent of the princes which were aſſembled

for

for that purpose, sent his Ambassadours to the pope, excusing his doings, alleaging the equitie of his cause, entreating him to establish some peace in the Empire, to absolue him, and to confirme his election, and therewith yeelded himselfe to his obedience. The pope hearing the ambassade, gaue also eare to the treaties, and sent for his Ambassadours, Cardinals Legates of great account to the Emperour, to treate of a peace: which being come, and with much honour receiued; among other motions, one was, that the Emperour should marrie a daughter which he had to be married, to RICAARD the popes nephew; and should giue him therewith the estates of *Spoleto* in *Tuscane*, and the *Marca de Ancona*, which belonged to the Church of *Rome*, and were in the Emperours possession. This motion (as saith ABBAS WESPERGENSIS) was made by the Emperor, by that meane to winne the popes grace and fauour: yet some attribute it to the pope. These and many other matters were motioned, and there were many meetings of princes; whither his competitor OTHO also sent his Ambassadours; and afterwards came out of *England* into *Saxony* in person: and of the one side and of the other, many demaunds and offers were made (the Cardinals Legates being vmpieres and mediatours betweene them) in the end, in a generall meeting which was held in a towne in the borders of *Saxony*, OTHO being in a Castle neere vnto it, securitie being giuen by either partie, a generall peace was concluded, vpon condition that OTHO should marrie with the daughter of the Emperor PHILIP, and be held for king of the Romanes, and future Emperour after the decease of the said PHILIP: which agreement was confirmed and sworne, and a generall pardon was giuen by the one to the other, and the pope dispensed with their neerenes of bloud; and all such as were excommunicate, were absolued by the popes Legates: and so all was in peace and quiet, and OTHO remained the Emperours sonne in law, and heire apparant, and for such was presently sworne, and the Legates returned to *Rome*: all which passed in the yeere of our Lord 1207, wherewith all men were very glad and well contented, hoping that it would haue long continued: for PHILIP was an exceeding liberall and curteous prince, and deerely beloued generally of al men. But it otherwise happened, for the yeere following, the Emperour being in the towne of *Bambergh*, OTHO Countie Palatine *Witilspach*, who had been his deadly enemie (and was so still in secret) came to the Emperours court, shewing himselfe publikely to be his loyall seruant. His comming (as it afterwards appeared) was but to practise the Emperours death, and as a traytor to kill him, which PHILIP nothing suspected. The Emperour being one day after dinner in his chamber reposing himselfe vpon his bed, for that hee finding himselfe somewhat ill at ease, had been let bloud that day; the Countie Palatine called at his chamber doore, accompanied with some which were acquainted with his pretence: and the Emperour vnderstanding who he was, made the doore to be opened, notwithstanding that none were with him but his Chancellour, the Bishop of *Spire*, and a page which waighted on his Cup, called HENRIE of *VVilspurch*, without any weapons: and the Countie Palatine at his entrance, imagining the time now fit for him to execute his diuilish intent and treason, at the doore he tooke his sword from a page which carried the same, and suddenly drawing it, before that the Bishop or page could rescue him, wounded the Emperour in the throat: which wound, although it were not great, yet it was mortall, and he presently died thereof, the organe pipes being cut. The page making an outcrie, would haue shut the doore, to the end that the Countie Palatine should not haue gotten foorth; but he gaue him a sore wound ouer the face, and opening

Anno Dom. 1207.

The death of the Emperour Philip, anno Dom. 1208.

opening the doore departed, and ioyning with a Biſhop and a Marquis, which were his confederates in this treaſon, they all together fled from the court, vpon poaſt horſes wich they had laid for that purpoſe. This murther was committed vpon the 22. day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1208. in the tenth yeere of this Emperours raigne. Great was the tumult which grewe hereof, and the concourſe of the people which ranne to the Emperours chamber: which finding him dead, made great moane and lamentation for him: for he was a Prince well beloued, for the noblenes and liberalitie of his mind: al men abhoring the Countie Palatines treaſon, for which he eſcaped not vnpuniſhed; for he was ſlaine by the Emperours ſteward HENRY, in reuenge of his Lords death. The Emperour PHILIP had neuer any ſonne, but foure daughters then married, one with OTHO the King of the Romanes, when the peace was made betweene them, which OTHO ſucceeded him: and another with the King of *Bohemia*, another with the Duke of *Brabants* eldeſt ſonne, and the fourth with RICHARD Earle of *Tuſcane*; nephew to Pope INNOCENT. In *Conſtantinople* raigned HENRY brother of BALDVVIN, of whome we of late made mention.

THE LIFE OF OTHO THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the death of the Emperour Philip; Otho, without any contradiction was taken for Emperour: and notwithſtanding that he was choſen for his ſucceſſor in Philips time, it pleaſed the electors to chuſe him a new: & he being confirmed, was crowned by the Biſhop of Colen. After the ceremonies were ended, he applied himſelfe to perſecute the murtherers of Philip: and notwithſtanding that he was wel pleaſed with his death, neuertheleſſe he made this ſhew of reuenge. He came afterwards to be crowned in Rome, but a great tumult and affray driſing betweene his people and the citizens, he departed in choler with the Pope; and made warre vpon him; ſo as the Pope excommunicated him, and deprined him of the empire:

whereupon

whereupon many Princes of Germany denying him their obedience, chose another Emperour, which was Frederick King of Sicilia, and although that Otho assaied by many waies to recouer the Empire, yet he could neuer attaine thereto, and so died a priuate Lord in Saxony, when hee had raigned fiue yeeres.

BY how much PHILIP was a better Emperor then his competitor OTHO, it was not long before that the same OTHO made it apparant; notwithstanding that in the beginning he gaue some signes to the contrarie: so as we may hold the old common adage to be true, which saith, that authoritie will manifest a man. So soone as the violent death of PHILIP was published (the agreement being yet fresh in memorie, that OTHO should succeede him) by common consent he was held for Emperour: and notwithstanding that in the life time of PHILIP he had been twice crowned, neuertheless the princes electors (according to the ancient custome) met at *Franckford*; and he being there new chosen, went to *Aken*, and there was crowned by the Archbishop of *Colen*, although with some delay; for the Archbishop of *Spire*, which was Chauncellor to the late Emperour PHILIP, and was present (as we said) when he was slaine, had lodged himselfe in a very strong castle, and would not deliuer the Scepter, the Crosse, the Crowne, and the Imperiall ensignes, which remained in his custodie; except hee were first confirmed in his office of Chauncellor: whereupon the new Emperor confirmed him; and so was crowned peaceably with great solemnitie: which being ended, pope INNOCENTS Legates came to him (who had euer been his friend) to wish him ioy of his election, and to approoue and confirme the same: the comming of which Legates, the Emperour attended in the citie of *Hiperboli*; and they deliuered their ambassade, and treated of other matters concerning the generall peace and publike good: and offered the Emperour in the behalfe of the pope, that if he would come to *Rome*, the pope should crowne him with his own hands, as his predecessors had done by his. OTHO hauing dispatched these Legates, took his way towards *Suenia*, to take possessiō therof, in the right of his wife the Emperour PHILIPS daughter; with whom, at the establishment of the peace he was married; and to whom (he said) that state did appertaine: yet FREDERICK king of *Sicilia*, PHILIPS nephew, which afterwards was Emperour, was called Duke of *Suenia*; and was so afterwards. And OTHO comming into *Suenia* (protesting his comming thither to be, to quiet the troubles, by abolishing robberies and violences committed in that countrie; much whereof hee redressed) gaue so ill entertainment and countenance to the Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen of that great Duchie, that many of them abandoned the countrey; and he made himselfe to be generally ill beloued: yet there wanted not some, which to flatter him, commended his doings (a thing which maketh kings and princes most to erre, and to perseuere in their errors). And within few daies after hee went to *Augsburgh*, which is in the same prouince; whither he summoned the princes to come; and with their consent he proceeded against OTHO, Countie Palatine of *VVitilspach*, (who murthered the Emperour PHILIP) and against such as were his complices in the murther: all which were condemned, being absent as guiltie of high treason, and were depriued of all the dignities, goods and lands which they possessed; of which, some he bestowed vpon others, and part hee confisked to the chamber of the Empire. And notwithstanding that all men iudged that he was well pleased with the death of PHILIP, yet he inflicted this punishment; and outwardly made

According to the Germane Emperours this Otho should be the fourth, but holding the ordinary course he was the fifth of that name.

ſhew of much ſorrow for the ſame: and ſome were of opinion that the Countie Palatine killed the Emperour PHILIP, in hope that his ſucceſſor OTHO would haue rewarded him for it. But whatſoeuer any man thought, he did as I ſay, and well might hee be pleaſed with his death; and diſpleaſed with the treaſon. By meanes of this puniſhment, and for righting ſome other wrongs; hee began in many mens opinion to be reputed a good Emperour, and a great Iuſticer: yet a mongſt men of the better ſort he was blamed, for the oppreſſion which he vſed, both in *Sueuia* and in other places: but in the beginning hee was without contradiction obeyed of all men. Few daies after this, in the moneth of March, in the yeere 1209, he ſummoned a generall Parliament or Diet, to be held in the citie of *Haguena*; wherein the principall point that was handled, was but how to get aide and reliefe from the princes and eſtates of the empire, towards his iourney into *Italy*, to the end to be crowned in *Rome*; and it was concluded, that he ſhould doe ſo; and many offered him their ſeruice, and to accompanie him in that iourney: and ſo hee, and thoſe which were to goe with him, leuied their forces, and put themſelues in a readines, with ſuch expedition, that in the beginning of Iuly following, they all met in the citie of *Augsburgh*; from whence hee tooke his way towards *Italy*: firſt leauing his wife the Empereſſe in *Saxony*, in the citie of *Brunſchaiel*, which was his inheritance; which, with other townes, hee held and defended, being part of the eſtate of HENRY the proud, when hee was depoſed; and deſcending down through the valleys of *Trent*, he went directly to *Verona*; where he was receiued and obeyed as their Lord: and from thence went to *Milan*, and by other cities of *Lombardy*, to *Bologna*; whither he ſummoned the cities of *Lombardy*, and all the townes and cities ſubiect to the empire in *Italy*, to come to a Councel: wherein he was ſo fortunate, that all obeyed, and came at his ſummons peaceably, and furniſhed him with both men and money for his iourney; and many Earles and Barons accompanied him in perſon, in ſuch ſort, that hee departed thence very mightie towards *Rome*; where Pope INNOCENT attended his comming; and he and all his Nobles which came with him, were there receiued with great ioy, and he himſelfe was there crowned in S. PETERS Church by the Pope; who had much deſired to ſee that day, perſwading himſelfe that he ſhould haue had a great friend of him, ſeeing that hee had euer procured his greatnes againſt the Emperour PHILIP: and the Emperour, after the accuſtomed manner, ſware obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and to enlarge, and not to vſurpe the patrimonie thereof; which he afterwards hardly performed. And the ſame day, betweene his people, which remained in his campe neere to the walles of *Rome* (part whereof were come to ſee the citie) and the citizens; aroſe ſo great a tumult and affray, that aboue a thouſand of the Emperours men were ſlaine; wherewith he was very wroth; and ſo was the Pope alſo, who indeed was his friend: And ſeeing that greater inconueniences were likely to haue enſued, he departed, and came directly to *Milan* with his armie, accuſing and blaming the pope for what paſſed; and in *Milan* he was receiued and ſerued, and lay there all the winter, which was very tempeſtuous. And leauing there his Imperiall enſignes (wherewith the Milanois held themſelues greatly honoured) reinforcing his armie (for that he had diſcharged a great part thereof) he departed in the ſpring, to make a conqueſt of the Church lands: firſt in the prouince of *Tuſcane*, wherein he tooke many places: and thence he went into the *Marca de Ancona*, where hee did the like, and could not be reſiſted: and from thence it was thought that hee would haue warred in the territorie of *Rome*, and haue beſieged the citie. And the Pope ſent his Legates vnto

Anno Dom. 1209.

A Councell held by the Emperour in Bologna.

The Emperour made warres againſt the Pope.

vnto him, putting him in mind of the fauours and good turnes which he had done him; and to perſwade and admoniſh him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe: but the Emperour making no account thereof, leauing garriſons in thoſe townes, departed towards the kingdome of *Naples*, and began to warre againſt FREDERICK king of *Sicilia*: and tooke (the young king miſtruſting no ſuch matter) the citie of *Capua*, and many others in thoſe quarters: wherewith the Pope was no leſſe diſpleaſed then with the former, but rather more, for that he held thoſe kingdomes for feodatorie to the Church of *Rome*; and alſo for that the pope had the protection and gouernment of the young king: ſo that the pope ſeeing that all his ambaſſades and warnings preuailed not with him, reſolued to vſe a more violent courſe, proceeding againſt him by cenſures and excommunications, and by his letters and meſſengers excommunicated him through all *Italy* and *Germany*: and he alſo excommunicated all ſuch as followed him, or did him ſeruice: which excommunications ſome prelates obeyed; whereupon new troubles began. But this the Emperour not onely regarded not, but was rather therewith the more incenſed, and proſpered well in the warre, and tooke all *Pulia*, and *Calabria*; and placing garriſons in the Caſtles and fortreſſes therein, made account to haue bin king thereof. Whereupon the pope leuied ſouldiers, and fortified the citie of *Rome*, fearing to haue been beſieged; and againe ſent into *Germany*, to proclaime and publiſh the Emperour for depriued; and to releaſe his ſubiects from the homage and faith which they ought him. OTHO being aduertiſed hereof, and that the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, and ſome others, claue to the pope; and that there were both priuate and publike treaties and practiſes againſt him, with the king of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Auſtrich*, and other princes, he was therefore much afraid: and leauing garriſons in ſuch places as he had taken, he in great haſte left the kingdome of *Naples*; and marching by long iourneys, came into *Germany*, in the yeere of our Lord 1212, and called a Councell to be held in the citie of *Norimbergh*; in which Councell it was decreed, that hee ſhould warre againſt the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*: and ſo the war began, and was very cruel. At this time died his wife the Empreſſe, daughter of the Emperor PHILIP. Notwithſtanding al this, HARMAN Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, SIFRIDE Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Auſtrich*, the Archbiſhop of *Treuier*, and others which determined to take armes with them, and to obey the Popes cenſures, and to denie their obedience to the Emperour; taking the Popes aduice in the matter, who in all interpoſed his authoritie; choſe FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* for Emperour; who was but a youth, little more then eighteene yeeres old: and ſent their Ambaſſadours vnto him, with their authoritie, ſoliciting him to come into the Empire; alleaging that in right he was, and ought to be Emperour; for that he was choſen and ſworne King of the Romanes, in the time of his father HENRY the ſixth: the like reaſon they alleaged to the other Princes in *Germany*: whereat Pope INNOCENT greatly reioyced, and in word and deed approued the ſame. OTHO herewith was very much troubled, and ſeeking meanes to defend his eſtate, by force of armes made terrible warres againſt his aduerſaries. The Germane Ambaſſadors were well receiued by the King of *Sicilia*, who was in great doubt to vndertake ſo great an enterpriſe; but being perſwaded by them, and by the French Kings letters (who was OTHO his enemie, for his affinitie to the houſe of *England*) he conſented thereto, and was called Emperour.

Anno Dom. 1212.

Frederick king of Sicilia choſen Emperour.

FREDERICK hauing in this manner accepted the Empire; firſt applyed himſelfe

ſelfe to recouer ſuch townes as OTHO had taken from him in the Kingdome of *Naples*; which being done, with the greateſt power that he could raiſe, he tooke his way towards *Germany*: and in his iourney went to kiſſe the popes foote, and to intreate him that he might be crowned Emperour of the Romanes, ſeeing that he was called and choſen: but the pope reſolued him that his requeſt could not be graunted, for that thereby the auncient cuſtome in the election and coronation of Emperours ſhould be peruerted; and ſo incouraging him to proceede in his enterpriſe he ſent his Legat with him, to be preſent at his Coronation in *Germany*; and therein to vſe his authority, and to proceed againſt ſuch as were diſobedient, or rebelled againſt him. Herewith the Emperor elect continued his iourney; wherein, the cities of *Pauia* and *Cremone*, and ſome other, ayded and aſſiſted him; *Milan* and the reſt being againſt him. Finally, with much trouble and danger he arriued at the citie of *Conſtance* in *Germany*, whither many men of warre repaired to him, together with ſome princes which were of his faction: which OTHO vnderſtanding, as he was very valorous, ſo with the greateſt power that hee could leuie he went to that citie, thinking to haue been able to haue either ſlaine or ouerthrowne this new Emperour FREDERICK: but the men of warre which he brought with him, daily forſooke him and went ouer to FREDERICK; in ſuch ſort, that he ſeeing himſelfe abandoned, retired into his countrie: and FREDERICK, very mightie, and accompanied with a great armie, marched a long the riuers ſide of *Rhine*, to the citie of *Mentz*; where many prelates and princes were aſſembled; all forſaking OTHO, holding him for depriued, in perfourmance of the Pope and his Legates commaundement: amongſt which, thither came the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Treuier*, *Colen*, *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Spire*, *Hiperboli*, the king of *Bohemia*, the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, beſides thoſe which were alreadie come with him; from whence, after the handling and concluding of many matters, FREDERICK departed towards *Aken*, where he was crowned with the firſt crowne, in the preſence of the Popes Legate, who approoued and confirmed his election: and ſo he attained to the empire; and for his better aſſurance in that eſtate, hee procured peace and a league with PHILIP, then king of *France*. And the Emperour OTHO ſeeing himſelfe in *Saxony* thus forſaken, gat from *England*, and other parts, ſuch forces as he could, and came into the countrie of *Guelders*, wherein he made cruell warre, for that it held with FREDERICK; and from thence, together with the Earle of *Flanders*, who was ſo, for that hee married with IOANE daughter of BALDVVIN Earle of *Flanders*, which held the empire of *Conſtantinople*, and at that time held with *England* againſt *France*, and with the Earle of *Bologna* in *France*; they went to ioyne with the king of *Englands* forces, to fight with the French king (which OTHO did for the alliance betweene him and the houſe of *England*) thinking, by ouerthrowing the king of *France*, who was enemie to them both, hee ſhould be reſtored to his empire. But his conceits deceiued him: for the king of *France* came and fought a battaile with them, neere to the citie of *Tournay*; which is recorded to haue been very bloudie and cruell, wherein the French king was in great daunger to haue been ſlaine by the Emperour OTHO, who diſmounted him: but he being reſcued, encouraging his people, obtained the victorie; and OTHO eſcaped by flight, but the Earle of *Flanders* was taken priſoner, and ſome other principall men: and OTHO in the beſt manner that hee could gat into *Saxony*; voide of all hope to recouer the empire, when he had bin Emperour the ſpace of fiue yeeres, and they not fully expired; and there with ſorow and anguiſh of heart he ended his

Frederick crowned with the firſt crowne in Aken.

his daies. How long he liued after that he was depoſed, the authors write not: but true it is, that his raigne as Emperour, ended in the yeere of our Lord 1213.

Emperor Otho the fifth depoſed. Anno Dom. 1213.

In *Conſtantinople* (as writeth BLONDVS) the ſame day that OTHO was ouerthrown, HENRY (brother to the Greeke Emperour BALDVVIN) died; who being Earle of *Flanders* obtained that empire; and hauing warred with the Duke of *Walachia*, (which is part of the ancient *Dacia*) he made a peace with him, marrying himſelfe with his daughter, and married his owne daughter to PETER, Earle ALTISIODORENSIS: and he (as I ſaid) dying at this time without any heire, the ſaid Earle PETER had the empire, and came afterwards to *Rome*, and was crowned by the Pope. In time of the Emperor OTHO; by whoſe aide, and the aſſiſtance of HENRY Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, an excellent French captaine, called IOHN DE BREGNA, had the kingdome of the Eaſt, with the title of king of *Ieruſalem*; being called thereto, onely for the valour of his perſon; marrying him with the daughter of ISABEL, to whom that kingdome appertained, as is aforeſaid: the Captaines and maſters of thoſe parts denying their obedience to ALMERICVS king of *Cyprus*, of whom particular mention hath bin made. And ſo IOHN DE BREGNA had that kingdome, of whom wee muſt of neceſſitie ſpeake hereafter: for which cauſe I remember him in this place,

THE LIFE OF FREDERICK THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND CI. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

FRederick hauing obtained the Empire, made a publike ſolemne vow to goe to the warres of the Holy land; and comming to be crowned in Italy, was earneſtly perſwaded thereto by the Pope; wherupon he entred into the Croiſade; and he deferring his going, many Lords went into the Eaſt without him. In the meane time there grew diſcord betweene him and the Pope, for that he withheld certaine lands belonging to the Church of Rome; and for depoſing certaine Biſhops from their Biſhopricks in Sicilia; and placing others at his pleaſure; vpon which occaſions the Pope proceeded againſt him with his pontificall armes; and excommunicated him: But the King

of Ieruſalem comming afterwards into Italy, and gining the Emperour, his daughter to wife; he was abſolued, and againe promiſed to goe to the warres in the Eaſt; but delaying the time, and finding daily new occaſions to deferre his going; he was in the end againe excommunicate; by reaſon whereof he reſolued to goe: but being arriued in the Eaſt, he procured an agreement with the Soldan, and obtayned the citie of Ieruſalem, and therein was Crowned: but this ſatisfied not the Pope, neither the Chriſtian Princes; and then he returned into Europe with ſmall reputation, and went into Germany, wherein his ſonne (through his Fathers abſence) had taken vpon him very great authoritie, whereof grew ſome ſuſpitions betweene them which were ſoone ended; neuertheleſſe, the Emperour comming into Italy (by reaſon of Lombardy) and finding that his ſonne was his enemy, he therefore cauſing him to be apprehended, made him to die in priſon, and bending his forces againſt Lombardy, principally againſt Milan, he vſed ſuch rigour, that the Pope became his open enemy; and calling a Councell to be held in Lions in Fraunce, he excommunicated him, and induced the electors to chuſe a new Emperour: which was the Lantzgraue Henry, who liued but a while after, and then the Earle of Holland was choſen, againſt whom his ſonne Conrade continually warred, although with no great good ſucceſſe. But Frederick being in Italy, ſeeking to be reuenged of certaine cities which rebelled, and ſeeing that his enemies became daily more mighty, by reaſon of an ouerthrow giuen him, he reduced himſelfe with diſhonour into Pulia, where falling ſicke he dyed (as it was thought) through the practize of his baſtard ſonne Manfrede, when he had held the Empire, about fiue and thirtie yeares.

IN ſuch manner as I haue declared, had this ſecond FREDERICK the Empire, and therewith the Duchie of *Sueuia*, hauing firſt been King of *Naples*, *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, and held the ſame the ſpace of thirtie and odde yeeres, with great reuolutions, warres, battailes and troubles, as you ſhall heare: wherefore I muſt ſpend more time in writing the hiſtorie of his life then of ſome others. He was at no leſſe variance with the Church of *Rome*, than the other FREDERICK his Graundfather was before him; and it now ſeemed to be an hereditarie maladie, thorough which, the Emperours and the popes neuer failed to be at contention and diſcord; for the popes would vphold their ſupreme authoritie, their lands and patrimonie: and the Emperours after they had obtained the Empire, and were eſtabliſhed in their thrones, pretending that all the iuriſdiction and ſupreme power in both eccleſiaſticall and temporall cauſes, both in *Germany* and in *Italy* appertained to them, and therefore could endure no ſuperioritie; and there wanted not men of either ſide to perſwade them that they had reaſon: and ſometimes ambition and couetouſnes of either ſide were the occaſions of the controuerſies aforeſaid, and of ſuch as we will relate. FREDERICK ſeeing himſelfe freed from his aduerſarie OTHO: the better to iuſtifie his title and raigne, cauſed a new aſſembly and meeting to be held of the Princes of the Empire, and of the Proctors of the Imperiall Cities, and went to *Aken*, and there made himſelfe to be the ſecond time Crowned with great ſolemnitie; and then made a publike ſolemne vowe, within a certaine time to goe in perſon to the warres and conqueſt of the Citie of *Ieruſalem*, for the victorie which God had giuen him: and in requitall of the ayde and fauour receiued from pope INNOCENT, he gaue for euer to the Church of *Rome* the Citie and Countie of *Fundi*; with all which the pope was very glad. After this coronation, FREDERICK went thorough ſundry prouinces, and making himſelfe abſolute Lord thereof, brought them to his obedience as to their Emperour. And for as much as HENRY Duke of *Brabant* had not yet done him homage, he with all the ſpeede poſſible, with a great Armie, marched into

Diſcord betweene the Pope and the Emperour.

Frederick the ſecond time crowned.

into that prouince: and the Duke ſeeing himſelfe in danger, ſought his fauour, offering to obey, and to doe him ſeruice, and was admitted, he giuing his ſonne and other noble men of his houſe, for hoſtages and aſſurance thereof. Few daies after this (by the Emperours conſent) pope INNOCENT aſſembled a generall Councell in the Citie of *Rome*, whither came from all parts of Chriſtendome, Greeke and Latine, the Patriarches of *Ieruſalem* and *Conſtantinople*, threeſcore and ten Archbiſhops Metropolitanes, foure hundred and twelue Biſhops, eyght hundered and odde Priors and Abbots couentuall; and Ambaſſadours from the Emperour FREDERICK and King of *Sicilia*, and from the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and from the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Spayne*, *Arragon*, *Hungary*, *Cyprus* and *Ieruſalem*; and from other Kings and Princes: in which Councell were condemned certaine ſects newly riſen in *France*; but the chiefeſt matter that therein was handled, was for the warres and conqueſt of the Citie of *Ieruſalem*, whereto they all gaue their conſent, promiſing ayde and aſſiſtance. And the Pope ſent his letters into all parts of Chriſtendome, inciting and inſtigating all men to this war: graunting large Indulgences and Pardons to ſuch as dyed in that action: and all ſuch as gaue their names to goe to that warre, tooke for their deuice the ſigne of the Croſſe of *Ieruſalem*, which they ware vpon their apparell; and ſo were called Croiſats. And ſo an infinite number of men, and many Princes tooke the ſame: amongſt which, in *Germany* the Emperour FREDERICK tooke it, and HENRY Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Morauia*, the Duke of *Iuliers*, the Countie Palatine of *Tubingen*, the Marquis of *Baden*, the Earle of *Naſſao*, the Duke of *Limburgh* and other Princes, with the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and many other Biſhops: and in *France*, were many which prepared and armed themſelues for this expedition, which afterwards tooke no ſuch effect, as the preparation ſeemed to prognoſticate. Amongſt other matters, the great warres betweene the Piſans and the Genoayes (then two mightie common wealths by Sea) was a great let and hinderance; wherefore the Councell being ended (which was one of the moſt famous that euer had been) the pope went from *Rome* to *Perugia*, to the end, by his authoritie to haue eſtabliſhed ſome peace or truce betweene theſe two common wealths; where, within few dayes, without concluding ought, he dyed, hauing gouerned the Church of *Rome* eyghteene yeeres and an halfe: he being dead, HONORIVS the third was choſen, who in the beginning of his Papacie, crowned PETER and his wife, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*; who (as I told you) ſucceeded his Father in law HENRY. While theſe matters paſſed, the Emperour FREDERICK applyed himſelfe to ſettle and confirme his eſtate in the Empire; and to prouide for his comming into *Italy*, to be Crowned in *Rome*, deferring his iourney to *Ieruſalem* vntill this were done. But pope HONORIVS (hauing a prophecie reuealed vnto him, importing that in his time the Citie of *Ieruſalem* ſhould be recouered) vſed all meanes poſſible to cauſe thoſe which had vndertaken the ſame to depart into the Eaſt, and neuer ceaſed to require the Emperour FREDERICK to accompliſh the vow which he had made; threatning him with cenſures, if he perfourmed not the ſame: but the Emperour delaying his going, by the popes perſwaſion there went into the Eaſt, ANDREVV King of *Hungary*, the Dukes of *Bauiere*, and *Auſtrich*; and out of *France*, the Earle of *Niuerne*; WALTER the Kings chamberlaine, and other great men; and with them, went IOHN DE COLVMNA the Popes Legate, with ſo many good men of warre, that it was hoped that they would haue effected ſome great matter: which being arriued in *Paleſtina* in *Aſia*, in the harbour at *Ptolomaida*, otherwiſe called *Acon:* after certaine

A councell held by the Pope in the Citie of Rome.

A voyage into the Holy land.

consultations, ioyning themselues with IOHN DE BREGNA, King of *Ierusalem*, and with the Masters of the Knights Templars, of S. IOHNS, and the Dutch orders and all their forces, whose number was great; they departed thence with a prosperous winde to the Citie of *Damiata*, called in auncient time *Pelusium*, in the coast of *Egypt*, in one of the mouthes of the riuer *Nilus*, where it falleth into the Sea, which they besieged the space of eyghteene moneths: in which time many accidents befell, which the authors write and I ouerpasse, as nothing to my purpose. The Soldan of *Egypt* was herewith so much put to his shifts, that he offered to giue vp the Citie of *Ierusalem* and the marches thereof, vpon condition that they would raise their siege from before *Damiata*: and notwithstanding that there were sundry opinions betweene the Kings and Princes concerning the same; yet in the end it was concluded not to accept thereof, wherein they greatly erred, as by the sequell it appeared. In the meane time, the Soldans sonne CORDIRIVS, who was in *Ierusalem*, seeing what distresse *Damiata* was in, and that both he and his Father were out of hope to defend *Ierusalem*; threw downe and ruinated all the walls thereof. In the end, the Christians tooke the Citie of *Damiata*, and certaine other townes in that quarter, and in all things had then good successe, although afterwards the contrarie insued.

Ierusalem dismantelled by the Soldans sonne of Egypt.

The Citie of Damiata in Egypt, taken from the Soldan, by the Christians. Anno Dom. 1220.

At this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1220, the Emperour FREDERICK came into *Italy*; and by letters and Ambassades vnderstanding the Popes mind, came to *Rome*, and was therein receiued and crowned, with the ceremonies and solemnities accustomed, and there he againe vowed and bound himselfe, to make his voyage into the East, promising also great matters to the Pope: but being out of *Rome*, their frendship lasted not long, for he presently seised certaine townes into his hands, alleaging that they appertained vnto him; and then came into *Lombardy*, to settle that estate; and passing through *Tuscane*, there arose some controuersie betweene his people and the inhabitants of that countrie; the like happened afterwards in *Lombardy*; so as he began to grow odious, and ill beloued: and from thence he gaue a turne to visit his kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; wherein besides the taking of some townes and places from the Pope, he placed certaine Bishops, in some Churches displacing such as the Pope had enstalled therein; alleaging that the Kings of *Sicilia* had a priuilege to doe so. Whereupon the Pope and he fell at open variance, and the Pope proceeded against him by his fulminations, commanding him particularly to accomplish his vow, for the conquest of the Holy land, and pronounced him for excommunicate, if within a prefixed time he rendred and restored not what hee had taken; and performed not his vow: and so this contention continuing, hee seising many townes into his hands (which hee left garrisonned and fortified) returned into *Germany*. Whilest these matters passed in *Italy*, great discord and dissention arose in the armie in the East, betweene the Kings and Princes, and the Popes Legate about the superioritie: and about what time, and in what manner the war was to be made: but finally, the Christians agreed to take the field, and to besiege the great citie of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, called *Cair*, and other townes thereabouts, in the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere 1221, with an armie of threescore and tenne thousand excellent men of warre of foote and horse, besides groomes and horseboyes. And notwithstanding that the Soldan had an exceeding huge armie, yet he durst not, or would not fight with them, of purpose prolonging the warre, vntill that about two moneths after (the Christians hauing not encamped themselues in such place and order, as was conuenient, and as they ought to haue done) the riuer *Nilus* swelled and ouer-

Babylon besieged by the Christians. Anno Dom. 1221.

flowed

flowed, as it vſually doth in that countrie yeerely in Auguſt: beſides which, the Soldan cauſed the dikes and bancks thereof to be broken and cut, which in ancient time were made for a defence, and to keepe in the waters of that riuer: ſo as the Chriſtians campe was enuironed with water, in ſuch ſort that they could not forrage or get any victuals: finally, they were ſo diſtreſſed, that they ſent to the Soldan (who lay not farre from them) offring to come to a compoſition with him: In concluſion (to be briefe, and to returne to my hiſtorie) after many treaties betweene the Kings, the Legates, and the Soldan; a peace and truce was concluded for eight yeeres, and that hee ſhould ſuffer them freely to depart; and that therwith they ſhould preſently render the citie of *Damiata*, and ſuch other townes of leſſe importance, which they held in *Egypt*; and that all captiues of either ſide ſhould haue libertie; and that the Chriſtians ſhould depart with their troupes, to the cities of *Ptolomaida*, *Tyre*, and ſuch other places as they held in *Soria*. Theſe conditions being agreed vpon, the Soldan made prouiſion for them, and holpe them vpon their way, vntill they came to *Damiata*; where the Chriſtians againe fell at variance amongſt themſelues, about giuing vp of the citie: but in the end it was yeelded, and the Chriſtian armie returned into *Paleſtina*, part by land, and part by ſea. And from the port of *Ptolomaida* the king of *Ieruſalem* returned to his countrie; and the king of *Hungary*, and the other Dukes, into *Europe*, vnto theirs; with little contentment and leſſe ioy; extreme ſad and ſorowfull for their ill ſucceſſe; hauing done little or nothing to any purpoſe: by reaſon whereof, there was great ſorow and heauines through all Chriſtendome; and all men murmured againſt the Emperour FREDERICK, for that hee went not that iourney. In the next yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1222, the Emperour ſummoned a Councell to be held in the citie of *Hiperboli*, where hee procured the electors to make his young ſonne HENRY, of the age of eleuen yeeres, king of the Romanes; and for ſuch he cauſed him to be crowned in the citie of *Aken*. Preſently after this, IOHN DE BREGNA king of *Ieruſalem*, ſeeing the ſmall power of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, reſolued to come in perſon to ſeeke reliefe, leauing the beſt garriſons in the countrie that he could (notwithſtanding the truce) and came from *Soria* into *Italy* to *Rome*, where the Pope gaue him honourable entertainment, and hee preſently vndertooke to be a mediatour betweene the Pope and the Emperour, who then was a widower; and the peace was made in this manner: The king of *Ieruſalem* gaue his onely daughter in mariage to the Emperour FREDERICK, with the right of inheritance of the kingdome of *Ieruſalem*: and the Pope abſolued him of his excommunication: whereupon he promiſed preſently after the mariage to goe with his whole power to the warres in the Eaſt, and to reforme all matters whereof the Pope accuſed him; and to reſtore ſuch lands as hee held from his Church. Vpon this agreement he came from *Germany* to *Rome*, whither the kings daughter of *Ieruſalem* was brought; and the mariage was ſolemnized with great ioy and feaſting. By this title, and by the mariage of this Lady with the Emperour FREDERICK; CONRADE their ſonne, and thoſe which vntill this day haue ſucceeded in the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, haue been, and ſtill are, called Kings of *Ieruſalem*. This being ended, the king of *Ieruſalem* went into *France*, where he receiued a great ſumme of money, which king PHILIP left him by his laſt will and teſtament towards the warres: there hee ſtaied certaine daies for the Emperour, whom all men beleeued (for that the inheritance of that land belonged to him, and for the great power and fit oportunitie which he had thereto, being king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*) would now haue perfourmed his vow and promiſe.

A peace betweene the Chriſtians and the Soldan.

Anno Dom. 1222.

promiſe. But he departing from *Rome*, went with his ſpouſe into the prouinces of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, viſiting his kingdomes, without proceeding on his iourney, in more then two yeeres ſpace: for which cauſe, and foraſmuch as he had not thorowly accompliſhed the agreement with the Pope, they againe fell at variance. After this, his eldeſt ſonne HENRY (who was in *Germany*) held a Councell in *Franckford*; vnder pretext to procure certaine princes to goe with their power to the conqueſt of *Ieruſalem*; to which the Emperour ſent his letters, certifying his ſpeedie comming into *Germany*, to the end to goe that iourney: wherefore, many princes gaue in their names, promiſing to goe with him. At this aſſemblie was HENRY king of the Romanes, the Emperours ſonne, married to MARGARET, daughter to the Duke of *Auſtrich*. The yeere following, the moſt of the cities in *Lombardy* made a league, & rebelling againſt the Emperor, denied him their obedience, alleaging the principall reaſon thereof to be, for that he was diſpobedient to the Church: wherewith he was very much diſpleaſed; and many ambaſſades were ſent from the one to the other; and there were many tumults, and much leuying of men, which continued many daies; which the Emperour alleaged to be the cauſe why he deferred his iourney. At this time died Pope HONORIVS the third, hauing bin Pope tenne yeeres and halfe, in the end of the yeere 1226. This Pope is held for a very good Pope, the greateſt reaſon why he is ſo eſteemed, is, for that he ſolemnely confirmed the orders of the Franciſcane and Dominicane Friers. After HONORIVS ſucceeded GREGORY the ninth, an Italian borne, nephew to INNOCENT the third. The firſt matter that he tooke in hand, was to require the Emperour to reſtore what he detained from the Church of *Rome*, and to goe the iourney which he had vowed to *Ieruſalem*; publiſhing him for excommunicate, if within a certaine time limited, he did not put the ſame in execution; which he afterwards incurred: yet he preſently anſwered, that he was content to goe from *Sicilia*, where he then was, and ſent to his ſonne to call a Councell in the citie of *Aken* in *Germany*; where (through his perſwaſion and the Emperours letters) many princes offered to goe that iourney: And the Emperour ſent to them, that (with the greateſt expedition that might be) they ſhould repaire into *Italy*, to the port of *Brandizzo*, which is in the furthermoſt part thereof, whither hee promiſed preſently to come: and there met many men of warre, princes and prelates, attending the Emperours comming all the ſummer: but he came not, alleaging that he was ſicke and ill at eaſe. Which (as moſt authors affirme) was but fained: and as BLONDVS and others affirme, he treated vnder hand with the Soldan of *Egypt*, hoping to haue concluded ſome peace with him before his going out of *Sicilia* into *Italy*: ſo as by reaſon of the great heat of the ſummer, the moſt of the men of war at *Brandizzo*, and the countrie thereabouts, attending his comming, died, together with many principall perſonages, amongſt which was the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, a rich and mightie prince: which when the Emperour vnderſtood, he came to *Brandizzo*, where he ſeiſed into his hands all the gold, ſiluer, armes and other things which the Lantzgraue brought with him; and it was ſaid that the Emperour came thither for no other purpoſe. But the ſicknes increaſing in the hoaſt, and letters comming daily from the Pope; the Emperour to perfourme his promiſe, departed with all his armie towards the Eaſt: but within few daies ſailing hee returned, and arriued in *Italy*, alleaging that the contrarie winds had conſtrained him ſo to doe. But this was held but for fained, and he was therefore ill ſpoken of by all men: and Pope GREGORY holding himſelfe for diluded by the Emperours promiſe (other diſcord and diſagreement remaining betwixt

twixt them) ſent to declare him for excommunicate, & for ſuch proclaimed him through all *Germany* and *Italy*. At this time died the Empereſſe, wife to the Emperour FREDERICK, and daughter to the king of *Ieruſalem*; which left behind her one ſonne, whoſe name was CONRADE.

The Emperour Frederick the ſecond excommunicated by the Pope.

Theſe matters which we haue recounted being paſt, the Emperor ſeeing himſelfe in a ſtreight, by reaſon of the Popes cenſures on the one ſide, and the entreatie of many his friends on the other; with the greateſt power that he could make, and with a great number of ſhips, ſet his courſe towards *Soria*, and landed in the citie of *Ptolomaida*, otherwiſe called *Acon*; yet BLONDVS & ſome other ſay, that he firſt ſtayed in the Ile of *Cyprus*, and from thence ſent a captaine with the greateſt part of his armie to *Acon*; who by his commandement began a treatie of peace with the Soldan, before that he himſelfe came to the warre. And FREDERICK comming afterwards thither, the Maſters and Knights of the Orders, ill agreed with him; for they had intelligence, that he treated of a peace and agreement with the Soldan. And in *Italy* he was at as much oddes with the Pope: for RAINOLD, the Dukes ſonne of *Spoleto*, whom he had left for Captaine and Gouernor in the kingdome of *Naples*, began to make warre, and tooke certaine places from the Church of *Rome*, in the *Marca di Ancona*, and other parts. Whereupon, the Pope called to his aide, IOHN DE BRIENA King of *Ieruſalem*, who then was readie to haue taken ſhipping, to haue gon to defend his countries in the Eaſt; and to haue holpen FREDERICK in the warres; which (it was thought) he would haue made: and ſo open warre began betweene the Pope, and the Emperours captaines and countries. I haue not read in any author, in what manner hee began and continued the warre, during his abode in *Paleſtina*, onely they ſay, that proſecuting the treatie of peace begun with the Soldan, it was concluded, and that they came to an agreement, which was, that the Soldan ſhould deliuer vp the Cities of *Ieruſalem*, *Nazareth*, *Iapha*, and other places in that kingdome; and ſhould retaine to himſelfe certaine fortreſſes of greateſt importance, and that there ſhould be peace and truce betweene them for ten yeeres. Many dayes were ſpent about this matter, and vpon Eaſter day, in the yeere of our Lord 1229, the Emperour entred *Ieruſalem*, and made himſelfe to be crowned therein, and was called King of *Ieruſalem*; and he preſently ſent an ambaſſade to Pope GREGORY, giuing him to vnderſtand of all that had happened; therewith requeſting him, ſeeing that he had accompliſhed his vowe, to declare him for abſolued *à pœna & culpa*, for his long delaying the ſame, and for ſome other matters. But when his ambaſſadour came, the Pope adiudging the peace and agreement made by the Emperour diſhonourable (ſith the Soldan ſhould continew in poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes and ſtrong holds; preſuppoſing that ſo ſoone as the Emperour ſhould be departed from thoſe countries, the Soldan would preſently reſume them into his hands, as he afterwards did) proteſted that the Emperour had done this, but only to make a ſhew to haue performed his vowe: wherefore, and by reaſon of the warres which his captaines then, and before that time had made againſt him: he not only affirmed the Emperour to haue made no ſatisfaction, neither to be freed from the excommunication: and ſo practiſing with the Emperours ſubiects in *Pulia* to renounce their obedience to their Soueraigne, he recouered ſome townes which had been taken from him: which when the Emperour vnderſtood, with the greateſt ſpeede that he poſſibly could make, he imbarked himſelfe, leauing part of his armie in *Paleſtina*, and the townes fortified and garriſoned in the beſt manner that he could; and with a faire gale of winde landed

An agreement betweene the Emperour and the Soldan.

ded in *Pulia*, ſo as this enterpriſe of the Emperour FREDERICK the ſecond, had no better ſucceſſe than the reſt. So ſoone as he was arriued in *Italy*, thoſe places which had rebelled and had held for the Pope, reuolted and held for him; and he ſent for men into *Germany* and into *Sicilia*; and began to warre vpon the Popes townes, and tooke many of them: and notwithſtanding that he ſeemed to haue ſped well in the warre, yet he ſought to be at peace with the Pope, by reaſon of ſome tumult and inſurrections in *Germany*. And by the interceſſion of the Maſter of the Order of the Knights and Friars, called *Teutonici* (which like the Knights of S. IOHN and the Templars, lay in the Eaſt) and the Archbiſhop of *Meſſina*, a peace was concluded betweene the Pope and him: LEOPOLD Duke of *Auſtrich*, with other Princes and Prelates of *Germany*, being there preſent: and the taken townes were reſtored, and the Pope wholy abſoluing him, proclaymed him King of *Ieruſalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicilia*; and they met at a place appoynted, and with great ſhew of loue and good will dined together at one table, and ſo peace was eſtabliſhed betweene them for that time; wherein, and in that which I haue already recounted, were ſundry opinions, as the cuſtome is in this life, ſome excuſing the Emperour, and others imputing the fault to him, for what had paſſed: others attributed the fault to the Pope, for practiſing againſt him in his abſence. This peace being made, the Emperour returned into his Kingdome of *Naples*; and the Pope to pacifie matters in *Perugia* (wherein had been great tumults and contentions) went thither; what befell in *Rome* in time of this his abſence, I will preſently tell you; firſt, bringing in few words to minde, the eſtate and ſucceſſe of the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, whereto I am alſo bounden; for as the Emperour FREDERICK raigned long, it is not conuenient to leaue this, to make mention of another matter, wherein were great changes of Emperours, through the ſmall time of their continuance: and thus it was.

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the Pope.

By the death of HENRY Emperour of *Grecia* (as we haue aboue ſaid) PETER had the Empire, for that he married his daughter IOLES; who returning crowned by Pope HONORIVS to his Empire, had warres with THEODORE LASCARVS; who holding the Citie of *Adrianople*, was called Emperour, for that he married the ſiſter of the Emperour ALEXVS, who killed his owne Brother, as is before declared: and a peace was made betweene them, wherein PETER being intrapped and taken priſoner by LASCARVS, was afterwards put to death in priſon, when he had raigned three yeeres onely: which when his wife IOLES vnderſtoode, ſhe making her ſonne, called ROBERT, to be proclaymed Emperour, vndertooke the gouernment, vntill that he ſhould come to *Conſtantinople*: (for he was in *Italy* when his Father dyed) and he being come, was obeyed, and began to gouerne the Empire. Within few dayes after this, dyed LASCARVS the Tirant of *Adrianople*, and left the vſurped name of Emperour to his ſonne in law, IOHN DE PLOBATACIO, who married his onely daughter, called YRENE; by whom he had already one Sonne, called THEODORE LASCARVS, as was his Grandfather. ROBERT hauing made ſhew of a good Prince (by the diuels inſtigation) fell in loue with a faire young damſell, which was betrothed to a Burgonian Knight (a man of great ſort, and which had ſerued the Emperour) and by the conſent of her mother, brought her to his court, and married her, and made her to be honoured and held for Empreſſe: which did ſo much grieue the Burgonian that ſhould haue been her husband, that after ſome dayes diſſembling, he tooke a terrible reuenge, which was, that ioyning himſelfe with his friends and Parents, together with many Greekes, which hated this ROBERTS

Peter, Emperour of Conſtantinople put Laſcarus the Tirant of Adrianople to death.

rule

rule and gouernment: accompanied with them all, with armed hand he came one night into the Emperours Pallace, to the Empereſſe which ſhould haue been his wife, and cut off her noſe: and her Mother which had been the cauſer of the marriage, he threw out at a window into the ſea, wherein ſhe was drowned: and hauing done this, he departed, and put himſelfe and his friends into a place of ſafetie, ſo as the Emperour ROBERT could not puniſh the fact: who ſhortly after came to *Rome* to be crowned, and returning homewards, fell ſicke in *Macedonia*, and dyed, leauing behinde him one Sonne, called BALDVVIN; others ſay, a Brother, who was preſently receiued for Emperour and his ſucceſſor. And for as much as he was very young, by a generall aſſent IOHN DE BREGNA King of *Ieruſalem* was ſent for to be his gouernour and aſſiſtant in the Empire, who then was in the Popes ſeruice in *Italy*; and he with the Popes leaue and good will came into *Græcia*, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Empire of *Conſtantinople*; and betrothed a daughter which he had, to the young Emperour BALDVVIN, and gouerning that Empire ſo long as he liued (which was about ſome ſixe or ſeuen yeeres) he left it in peace to his ſonne in lawe: who in what manner he afterwards loſt the ſame, you ſhall know hereafter. This comming of IOHN DE BREGNER to *Conſtantinople*, was about the ſame time (little before or after) that the peace was made betweene the Emperour FREDERICK the ſecond, and Pope GREGORY the ninth: which (as I then ſaid) being concluded, Pope GREGORY went to *Perugia* to pacifie the Citie and the marches thereof: and the Emperour went to his Kingdome of *Naples*. In the time that the Pope was abſent from *Rome*, the gouernment of the Conſuls being aboliſhed, (which was ſo hatefull to the Popes) and now the gouernment of a Senatour being brought in: ſometimes one, and ſometime fiue, which gouerned the body of the Citie; a man of great power, called HANNIBAL, was aduaunced to that dignity; who incenſed the people againſt the Pope, he being abſent, and the Pope comming to *Rome* at that time, many matters enſued; and in the end, this HANNIBAL was depriued of his office, and one IOHN DE POLI, a ſedicious fellow alſo, ſucceeded him, who put the Citie in armes againſt the Pope, and againſt ſuch townes as held for him, and open warre began betweene them, yet the Pope by all meanes that could be imagined ſought peace. The Emperour FREDERICK being in *Pulia*, was aduertiſed hereof; offered to come to his ayde, and came to ſpeake with him (and as ſaith BLONDVS) gaue him for a pledge of his friendſhip a Baſtard Sonne which he had, whoſe name was HENRY, whom he had made King of *Sardinia*, the Germanes call him ENCIVS, and ſo doe ſome authors call him; but the Emperour performed not what he had offered; for within few dayes after he departed for *Germany*: the Pope remaining in the chiefeſt of his troubles with the Romanes; wherewith he was extreamely diſcontent, but yet not ſo as to breake the peace betweene them. And before the Emperors departure, the Pope with his money drew the Germane Souldiers to his ſeruice, and with them recouered certaine townes which rebelled; and his armie ouerthrowing the Romane armie, he compelled them to be quiet; yet for that time he could not ſafely come into *Rome*. And the peace betweene the Pope and the Emperour laſted aboue eyght yeeres, although there were but little good will betweene them. The Emperour being come into *Germany*, from whence he had been abſent a good ſpace, wherein his eldeſt Sonne was reſident for his Father, and had taken greater authoritie vpon him ouer the countrie than his Father would he ſhould haue done: there grew ſome ſuſpitions and iealouſies be-

tweene his father and him, and many Princes held with the Sonne, againſt the Father: vpon this occaſion, many meetings and Councels were held; but in the end, FREDERICK conſtrained his Sonne to leaue the countrey, and to goe as his Fathers Lieutenant and Viceroy, into *Sicilia* and thoſe Countries. After this, the Emperour being a widower, married with the King of *Englands* ſiſter. In this iourney, the Emperour beſtowed vpon FREDERICK, Sonne of LEOPOLD Duke of *Auſtrich*, the title of King, and that his eldeſt Sonne and his poſteritie ſhould ſo bee called: but his ſucceſſors haue not enioyed this priuilege, the cauſe whereof I thinke to be, for that this Duke FREDERICK dyed without iſſue that might ſucceede him; and there was great ſtrife for his eſtate; but in the end, RODVLPH Earle of *Habſpurg* had it, who was afterwards Emperour, and gaue the eſtate of *Auſtrich* to his eldeſt ſonne ALBERT, as when the time commeth ſhall be declared. This being paſt, the Emperour made no long aboad in *Germany*, but ſo ſoone as he could, leuyed an army and went into *Italy*: for many cities in *Lombardy* rebelled, and ſome men in them waxing mightie, tirannized the ſame, and many of them retained the old league and confederacie, which they held in the time of FREDERICK the firſt; as *Milan*, *Breſcia*, *Mantoa*, *Bologna*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Triuigi*, and many others, which being aſſiſted by the Venecians held againſt the Emperor: and for the Emperour ſtood, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Rezzo*, theſe remained freinds, and bound the one to the other. The Emperour being come neere to *Verona*, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, the towne was driuen to yeelde, through the policie and power of one ENCELINVS, called by his ſurname ROMANVS; who was the mightieſt man in all thoſe partes, and by diſcent a Duch man, nephew to another of the ſame name, which came into thoſe parts in the time of OTHO the third. From *Verona*, the Emperour went into the territorie of *Mantoa*, wherein he tooke and ſacked two ſtrong townes, the one of which was called *Marcaria*, and the other *Claro*. From thence he went to *Cremona*, where he was ioyfully receiued, & made his aboad there the ſpace of nine monethes: at the end of which time, ſpreading a rumour that he would goe to beſiege *Mantoa*; he haſtily returned, and came before *Vicenza*, which he beſieged; and the inhabitants being taken vnawares and vnprouided, offered to yeelde vpon compoſition; and the Emperour gaue eare to their parle, giuing them good words; but vpon a ſudden, he commaunded the citie to be aſſaulted; and entring it perforce, ſet it on fire, and did much harme therein. And paſſing forwards ſpoiling the fields and marches of *Padoa*, thinking to haue taken *Triuigi*, he beſieged it, and put it to ſuch diſtreſſe, that if from *Padoa* had not come reliefe, he had entred, and deſtroyed it. And as he lay before *Triuigi*, he had certaine intelligence, that his ſonne HENRY, King of the Romans, whom (for that in *Germany* he practized againſt him) he had made gouernour of *Sicilia*, was confederate with the citie of *Milan*, and the reſt of that faction; and that ſome Princes of *Germany* were of that league alſo, and that they amaſſed their forces, to the end to ſuccour thoſe cities: the Emperour ſtood in ſuch feare of this practiſe, that he determined for his refuge to flie to pope GREGORY; (notwithſtanding that he knew him to bee diſpleaſed, for abandoning him, when he had warre with his citizens of *Rome*) and by letters and Ambaſſadours complayned to the pope of the perfidie and diſloyalty of his ſonne, humbly entreating him, to graunt his letters againſt him, as againſt one that was diſloyall, and diſobedient to his Father: and the pope knowing that it was true, did ſo, thinking it a iuſt requeſt; or elſe for feare of the Emperours power. And wrote

The Emperour Frederickes ſonne Henry conſpired againſt his Father.

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his letters to the Princes of *Germany*, commaunding thé vpon paine of excommunication, not to ioyne with HENRY King of the Romanes, against his father the Emperour; neither to obey his commandements. The popes command was of such authoritie, that none ſtirred to come into *Italy*, accordinglie as they had promiſed; & the Emperor vſed ſuch meanes, that he apprehended his ſonne, and ſent him priſoner to a Caſtle in *Pulia*, where he afterwards dyed: ſome men thought him to be poyſoned by his Fathers commandement: and he inioyned the Dukes of *Bohemia*, and of *Bauiere*, to make warre vpon FREDERICK Duke of *Auſtrich*, (whom he had made a King) for hauing conſpired with his ſonne againſt him. Within few moneths after that HENRY King of the Romans was taken; his Father the Emperour leauing the affaires of *Lombardy*, in the beſt order that hee could (notwithſtanding that *Milan* and other cities ſtill continued diſobedient) doubting of the eſtate of *Germany*, went thither; and making war in the countrey of *Auſtrich*, tooke the citie of *Vienna*, and many other townes; ſo as taming and well puniſhing the Duke of *Auſtrich*, he was much feared, and generally obeyed. And knowing that his ſonne HENRY was dead, (who left a lawfull ſonne called CONRADIN, of whom hereafter much mention ſhall be made) he vſed the meanes to aſſemble the Princes electors; and that they ſhould chuſe his ſonne CONRADE (whom he had by his ſecond wife IOLES, and whom he had already made Duke of *Suenia*) for King of the Romanes, and notwithſtanding that the electors did it in his abſence, yet for the better aſſurance of what was done, he and his ſonne called a Councell in the citie of *Ratiſbone*, where what was already done was approued, and CONRADE was againe choſen and crowned King of the Romans; from whence they both ſent their ambaſſadours to the pope, for a confirmation of the title to the kingdome of *Ieruſalem*, which his father in law IOHN DE BREGNA had reſigned vnto him. The pope graunted his requeſt, for the Emperour was of great power, and it was ſaid that he would againe come into *Italy*, which put him in feare, notwithſtanding that the ſpeech went, that he came but againſt *Milan* & the other cities of that parciality; with which he was much diſpleaſed, and had determined to bring them to ſubiection: and the cities alleaged that they were content to ſerue him, according to the agreement made with the Emperour FREDERICK the firſt, called the peace of CONSTANCE, as we haue declared in his hiſtorie; wherewith he held himſelfe not ſatisfied, and ſo raiſing a very great power came againe into *Italy*, leauing his ſonne CONRADE, King of the Romanes, in his place in *Germany*.

The Emperour committed his ſonne to priſon where he dyed.

Vienna in Auſtrich taken by the Emperour.

The Emperour comming into *Italy*, tooke his way directly towards *Padoa*, and the Padoans being induced thereto by ENCELINVS (who bare a great ſway in *Lombardy*, receiued him into their citie; aſſuring themſelues, that the libertie and priuilege which the Emperor FREDERICK the firſt had giuen them, ſhould haue been maintained: but this FREDERICK was of another mind, for when he was within the citie, he preſcribed them ſuch lawes and ordinances as pleaſed him, as to his vaſſals and ſubiects. Pope GREGORY hauing intelligence of the Emperours comming into *Italy*, ſent a meſſenger to meete him, called GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO, by whom he both deſiring and requiring him, (in requitall of the benefits which he had receiued of his Church, as well in the peace and abſolution graunted him, when he came from *Ieruſalem*; as in the fauour which he had ſhewed him againſt his ſonne; and in diſpenſing with his mariage in *England*) that his now comming might be for the good, and the peace of the countrey: and that he would maintaine that peace and agreement which was

Iſabel daughter of Iohn king of England, maried to the Emperour Frederick the ſecond, dyed in childbed.

graunted by his Grandfather, to *Milan*, and to the other cities, and which was confirmed by the authority of the Church. And after this he ſent three Cardinals with the ſame Meſſage; but to neither of them he gaue any good anſwere; ſo as they perceiued by him, that he was ſcarce friend to the pope: and they all feared that he came no leſſe againſt him, then againſt *Milan*; ſo as without any concluſion, they returned to *Viterbo*, where the pope then lay: and the Emperour leauing *Padoa* garriſoned, marching thorough *Lombardy*, tooke his way towards the citie of *Breſcia*, which was of the league; & beſieged a towne called *Claramont*, and taking it by aſſault, (the more to terrifie the Breſcians, and to make them to yeeld) he deſtroyed and burned the ſame. But the Breſcians for all this diſmaid not, but ſhewed rather a greater obſtinacie: and FREDERICK at that time beſieged not their citie, but marched towards *Milan*, the captaine and head of all the rebels: and the Milanois (with the help of the Venecians, and of others cities their friends) had an army in a readines; whereof, PETER TREVPOLO the Duke of *Venice* his ſonne, was Generall; together with CHARROCHIO a principall citizen of *Milan*, and other principal men of other cities: all which with great courage (for that not long before they had ouerthrown his Grandfather FREDERICK) ſtayed to fight with him in the field; and met with him, neere to a place called *Crotona*, and he came with as great a deſire to fight with them; ſo as they fought a very cruell battaile, the armyes being in number and in force (in a manner) equall: but after they had fought many houres, the Milanois began to ſhrinke, and the victorie ſhewed it ſelfe on the Emperours ſide; and PETER TREVPOLO their Generall, and other captaines were taken priſoners; all which the Emperor commanded to be put to ſhameful death. After this victory he came to *Cremona*, to refreſh and to reinforce his army, of what he had loſt in the battaile, where ſome cities which had rebelled, compounded, and yeelded their obedience.

A battaile betweene the Emperour and the Milanois.

The Pope being aduertiſed of the calamitie of the Milanois, and of thoſe of the league (whoſe cauſe he ſeemed to allow and defend) fearing the Emperours greatnes (whom hee knew to hate him) made a league with the Venecians (which hee knew to be much grieued for the pitifull death of their Dukes ſonne) and determined to ſuccour *Milan*, and their confederats. And the better to bring this to paſſe, he made a kind of peace and truce for tenne yeeres, betweene the cities of *Venice* and *Genoa*, which at that time were at warres: and vſed ſuch meanes, that he himſelfe was receiued into *Rome*, hauing euer ſince the laſt troubles liued out of it. And being in *Rome*, he ſent abroad his Buls againſt the Emperour, which he publiſhed to all Chriſtendome: and excommunicated both him, and all ſuch as tooke his part, who then from *Cremona* (where he had refreſhed his army after the battaile) came to *Pauia*, leauing *Milan*, to make warre vpon the Venecians. And there he was aduertiſed of the Popes fulminations, and of the great preparation made by the Venecians againſt him, both by ſea and land. Vpon this he raiſed new forces, and ſo with a great victorious army (wherein many Moores of *Africa* (which they called Sarazins) ſerued him on horſebacke) he tooke the field, and ouerran the lands of the Venecians, waſting and ſpoiling the ſame; and encamping himſelfe by the waters ſide in ſight of *Venice*, the Venecians ſailed forth with a great number of Archers and others, in barkes and boates, therewith to annoy his campe, ſo much as they could from the water. The Emperour ſeeing how little he profited by lying there, returned to *Padoa*, leauing ENCELINVS to warre againſt *Triuigi* and the countrie there about, and with him carried ſome principal men of *Verona* and *Padoa*, for hoſtages, ſpreading a report, that he went to beſiege

Mantoa,

Mantoa, and passing by it, hee went to *Parma*, and from thence to *Luca*, and from *Luca* to *Pisa*, with a determination not to stay, vntill he came to *Rome*. At this time GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO (who was the Popes Legate in *Milan*) came to *Bolonia*, and from thence tooke the field, with the troupes which came to him from *Milan*, and other parts; and ioyning with the Venecians, and others of the league (first taking *Ferrara* by force of armes) euery where began a most cruell warre; which was the greatest, that of long time either before, or after, had bin seene in *Italy*: some holding for the Pope, others for the Emperour. This warre was so great, and so many and so great accidents happened therein, that if I should relate what I finde written, I should neede to spend great part of this volume onely therein: wherefore I will write but onely the summe thereof.

The originall of the Guelphes and the Gebelins in Italy.

First the Emperour being in *Pisa*, with a determination to besiege and to batter *Rome*; the great plague, of the parcialities and factions in *Italy*, began (which fired and destroyed the same, and continued a long time therein) betweene the Guelphes and the Gebelins: the Guelphs holding for the Pope, and the Gebelins for the Emperour: the originall of which, the authors write confusedly, that I will not enter into disputation concerning the same. Let their roote and beginning be what it will: I thinke it was the inuention of some most peruerse diuels, as it should seeme by the sequell: for within short space, these factions extended themselues so farre ouer all *Italy*, that no place was free from this infection (*Venice* except) wherein this pestilence tooke no hold: all the rest was diuided into these two names and factions, without any other foundation of loue or hatred, but only for the names sake: and there daily ensued scandales and slaughters; and in families and linages it often happened that the father was against his sonnes, and brothers were against brothers; which fighting, killed one another, ransacking townes, burning and ruinating houses, in worse sort then if they had been traytors, or Infidels, with so great rancour and hatred, as the like thereof before that time had neuer been seene nor heard of. And truly it was a wonderfull matter to be considered of: these two factions were so dissonant, and with such enuie were different and contrarie the one to the other, that they could not in any thing endure any conformitie or resemblance: for they differed in their ensignes, in their colours, in the fashion of their apparell, in attiring themselues, in their disports, in their feasts, yea, euen vnto their very manner of going, speaking, feeding, riding, and in all things that mans wit could imagine. The Emperour and his adherents were called Gebelins; and he proclaimed that all such as tooke part with him should be so called, which was perfourmed throughout all *Italy*: and all the Guelphes held with the Pope. With this name the Emperour departed from *Pisa* towards *Rome*; wherein the fire of these factions was alreadie kindled, and the greatest part of the people were Gebelins, which were readie to haue set vpon the Guelphes, and to haue robbed and killed them, without any redemption. The Pope seeing himselfe in so great daunger, tooke the heads of S. PETER and S. PAVL (as they say) and made a solemne procession, and therewith a long oration to the people; shewing them how vaine a thing it was for men to kill one another, for that they had onely taken contrarie names; and disswading them from their determination, perswaded them to defend his Church and their countrie against his enemie FREDERICK, who was comming thitherwards: and of his bountifull liberalitie he gaue to all such as in his quarrell would take armes, and would beare the signe of the Crosse, plenarie Indulgence, and absolution. The people were herewith so much perswaded, that when the Emperour with

The factions of the Guelphes and Gebelins betweene the Emperour Frederick the second and Pope Gregorie the ninth.

his armie came before *Rome*, presupposing that the greatest part of the citizens had been Gebelins, he to the contrarie found them all markt with the signe of the crosse, in armes against him: and comming with his people to the gates of the citie, some companies sallied to skirmish with him; and so some were slaine of either side, which made him to vse extraordinarie crueltie; for all those of the citie which were taken with the signe of the crosse, he made to be slaine: some of which had their heads clouen a crosse; and of some others hee made crosses in their foreheads with hot irons: and priests hee made to be crossed vpon their crownes: and after three daies (despairing to take *Rome* by force, spoyling the countrie round about it) hee went into *Campania*, and gaue a sudden turne and came to *Beneuent*, which he tooke and sacked, and commaunded the same to be dismantelled and defaced: and so marched through many parts of *Italy*, warring vpon the popes townes, and such as tooke his part; wherein he tooke *Rauenna*, and besieged *Fauencia*. And in *Sicilia* he confisked the goods of many ecclesiasticall persons, and apprehended and put some Bishops to death: others he banished out of that countrie; and he particularly caused all places, which appertained to the order of the Knights Templars, to be sacked and spoyled; vsing herein the seruice of his horsemen, which were Moores of *Africa*, which serued him in that warre, to which he gaue many preheminences and double paies; and the citie of *Nuceria* in *Pulia* to inhabite, which they possessed many yeeres after. Pope GREGORY seeing himselfe so driuen to his shifts, sent his Legates to the kings of *France*, *England* and *Spaine*, bewailing his miserie, and complaining of the Emperour, implored succour, aide, and counsell: whereto they gaue him gentle answeres; and by their consent he called a generall Councell, for the reformation and conseruation of his estate, pretending reliefe, and a conquest to be made of the Holy land, which was now in greater distresse then euer before. The Emperor hauing intelligence that a generall Councell was summoned, and imagining that the chiefest intent thereof was against himselfe; resolued therefore by all meanes possible to let it, by stopping the passages, and apprehending such as went to it; and sent his sonne ENOIVS (king of *Sardinia*) to *Pisa* (which then was of great power by sea) where hee armed a great number of ships and galleys, to the end to stay the comming of the Cardinals, the Popes Legates; which with many prelates of *Spaine* and *France* came to the Councell: and they being vpon the sea, betweene *Corsica* and *Pisa*, within sight the one of the other, the Legates would haue fled, and so auoided the fight: But the Admirall who was a Genoais, would not alter his course, so as they fought a most cruell battaile, which lasted the greatest part of the day: but in the end, the king of *Sardinia* had the victorie, and the Cardinals and Legates being taken prisoners, were carried into *Pulia*. The French Bishops and Abbots which were taken, the Emperour set at libertie, at the request of the French king; the rest lay long in prison: so as the Councell could not be held, nor begun, as the pope would haue had it; wherewith he was so much despited, that with very rage and anger he fell sicke and died; hauing been pope aboue fourteene yeeres, whereof the most part was in trouble and contention. He died in the yeere of our Lord 1241. This Pope in his life time, first canonized S. FRANCIS and S. DOMINICK for Saints: and afterwards S. ANTHONY, called S. ANTHONY of *Padoa*, although a Portingall, and borne in the citie of *Lisbon*. He compiled also the booke of the Decretals, and instituted the singing of *Salue Regina*, at certaine times and houres, with the ringing of the Sacring bell: and that our Ladie should bee praied vnto in the night, with *Aue Maria*, which should agree

Pope Gregory the ninth died for anger. Anno Dom. 1241.

with

with the ringing of the bell, and did many other things like a Pope.

Pope GREGORY being dead, by the generall consent of all the Cardinals which were in *Rome*, GVANFREDE DE CASTILION, a Milanois borne, was chosen Pope, and called CELESTINE the fourth; who presently sought to be at peace with the Emperor, and to that effect sent his Legates to his campe to him, he then lying before *Fauencia*: but this Pope could not tarry for an answere, for he died the eighteenth day after his election. CELESTINE being dead, the Cardinals could not agree about chusing him a successor: some say, that for feare of the Emperours threatenings, they durst not chuse whom they would haue chosen: PLATINAT saith, that the Cardinals of *Rome* determined to chuse no Pope at all, vntill that the Emperor released those which he held prisoners: BLONDVS following his author (who as he said was an eye witnesse) affirmeth the cause to be, for that the Cardinals which were prisoners, sent to require, and therewith protested, that no Pope should be chosen without their voyces. So as vpon some of these occasions, or for all together, for the space of twentie moneths *Rome* was without a Pope. And in all this time the Emperour would not release those Cardinals which were his prisoners, neither would those of *Rome* chuse a Pope. In which time the Emperour tooke the citie of *Fauencia* (which held out against him, about one yeere) and came before *Bolonia*; and seeing that he could not take it, he spoiled the countrie, and passed the Vniuersitie from thence to *Padoa*; and afterwards went to *Modena*, and to *Rezzo*, which also stood vpon their guard; and tooke townes appertaining to the Church of *Rome*: so as there were great warres in all parts of *Italy*, which cost many men there liues.

At the same time, that the Emperor thus warred in *Italy* against the faction of the Guelphes, the Tartarians inuaded *Hungary*: these Tartars are a barbarous nation in the North, which comming in time past out of *Scithia asiatica* (as some say, and VALATERRANES saith, out of *Taurica Chersonesus* in Europe) about the yeere of our Lord 1202 warred in *Asia*, and subdued some prouinces therein, vnder the leading of their King and Captaine, called CANGVISTA; and they afterwards so much encreased in the beginning of the Emperour FREDERICKS raigne, about the yeere 1222, that they conquered *Georgiana*, *Armenia* the lesse, and other prouinces in *Asia*; and suppressed the power and people of the Turkes: (which I for breuitie sake then passed ouer) and comming afterwards into *Europe* by the *Caspian* sea, crossing the mountaines *Riphei*, became masters of those countries, and made warres in *Russia*, and in *Polonia*, and subdued a great part of *Sarmacia*, which at this day is called after them *Tartaria*; and their King is called the great CAN: they receiued the sect of MAHOMET, through their first conuersing with the Turkes, and in such manner they warred, that they put the world in feare of them. And the Emperour now making warre in *Italy* against the Guelphes, the Tartars vnder the leading of their king, called BATVS, came into *Hungary*, and warred therein three yeeres, and did much harme; VELA the fourth being then king thereof; at the end of which time they returned to the countries, which they before had gotten: and so *Hungary*, a prouince of the empire, endured as great miserie as *Italy*.

The originall and successe of the Tartarians.

Anno Dom. 1202.

Anno Dom. 1222.

Hungary inuaded by the Tartarians.

And it so happened that the Emperour of *Constantinople* liued not in peace in those daies, for IOHN DE BREGNA king of *Ierusalem* (who was gouernour of the Greeke empire, with yong BALDVVIN which married his daughter) being dead, the empire remained in BALDVVIN, against whom IOHN LASCARVS (nephew to the other of that name, who was called Emperour in *Adrianople*) raised such

power, and found ſo many friends, that he tooke *Smirnia*, and *Satilia*, with other cities, townes and Ilands: ſo as the Emperor BALDVVIN, accompanied with the Earle of *Tolouſa* (which had been with him in all his warres and troubles) came into *Italy*, to ſue for aide and reliefe againſt his enemies: and finding it in ſuch eſtate as you haue heard (imagining that in time of ſuch confuſion he ſhould not get any) he ſought meanes to haue a Pope choſen, and ſo came directly to the Emperour; who hauing then taken the citie of *Parma*, and driuen the Guelphes out of it, went thence to *Placencia*. And BALDVVIN comming thither, and being well receiued and entertained, vſed ſuch meanes to the Emperour FREDERICK, that at his requeſt all the Cardinals were releaſed and ſet at libertie, which he had long detained priſoners in *Melphi*: and the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* with the good leaue of the Emperour FREDERICK, went to *Palagna*, where the Cardinals were, to treat with them concerning the election of ſuch a new Pope, as might be acceptable to the Emperour FREDERICK, to the end that peace might be maintained betweene them. And he was with great ioy honourably receiued, in Iune, in the yeer 1244, and they preſently conferred about the election of a pope, and one SINOBALDVS Cardinall of S. LAVVRENCE borne in *Genoa*, was choſen, and called INNOCENT the fourth; who was the Emperours greateſt friend of al the Cardinals: which when the Emperors friends and ſeruants vnderſtood, with all poſſible ſpeede they gaue him to vnderſtand thereof: when the newes was brought vnto him in the citie of *Parma*, it is reported that he preſently ſaid, (preſaging what would follow) I haue exchaunged my beſt friend, being a Cardinall, for my greateſt enemie, being Pope. After the election, the new Pope, the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and all the Cardinals came together to *Rome*, where they conſulted of a peace to be concluded with the Emperour FREDERICK, and Ambaſſadours were ſent from the one to the other: but the Emperour in the time that the Papacie was void, was growne ſo great and ſo mighty a Lord in *Italy*, that he would not accept ſuch conditions as were proponed: and ſo gaue equiuocall and incertaine anſweres, ſuch as they knew not how to reſolue vpon. And foure moneths being ſpent in this parle, the Pope was certified that the Emperour had ſecret conference and intelligence with ſundrie in *Rome* againſt him: the effect whereof was, that in a place called *Caſtello amar*, whither it was agreed that the Pope ſhould come, to yeeld his reſolution concerning the peace, and there expecting the Emperours comming ſhould be apprehended. This being diſcouered, and the Pope ſeeing how ſmall power he had in *Italy*, ſpeedily went to *Hoſtia*, and there embarking himſelfe in certaine galleys of *Genoa*, which hee had ſecretly cauſed to be brought thither for that purpoſe, went to *Genoa*, where he fell ſicke, and recouering health he there againe ſhipped himſelfe, and went into *France*; and arriuing at *Aigues mortes*, and comming vp the riuer *Rhodanus*, the French king receiued and entertained him with great ſolemnitie: and then he went to the citie of *Lions*, where he complained of the Emperour, and within ſome few daies after, proclaimed through all Chriſtendome, a Councell to be held at *Lions* in *France*, in the beginning of the yeere 1246, whither hee cited the Emperor to come and to make his perſonal appearance; and in many his ſermons and orations which he made to the people, he with a lowd voyce ſummoned him to appeare: and ſo prelates from all parts of Chriſtendome repairing thither, the Councell began; and the Emperour ſent his Ambaſſadours to make his excuſe; and otherwiſe made many large offers. But the Pope would accept neither his offers nor excuſes; but publiſhed, that if within a certaine time limitted he

Anno Dom. 1244.

Pope Innocent went into France, where he excommunicated the Emperour, and releaſed his ſubiects from their allegeance.

Anno Dom. 1246.

he appeared not, he would then pronounce ſentence againſt him; as is contained in the chapter, *Ad apoſtolicam ſedem, de re Iudicata, libro ſexto,* wherein he condemned him in the loſſe and depriuation of the empire, and of all the other kingdomes and dominions which he poſſeſſed; and preſently proclaimed the ſame through all Chriſtendome: and commanded the princes electors with all ſpeede to chuſe a new Emperour, releaſing them from all alleageance and othes made to the Emperor FREDERICK whatſoeuer. At this time BALDVVIN Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, vnderſtanding that his enemie ROBERT LASCARVS was dead, returned, and had ſuch ſucceſſe as you ſhall heare.

So great account was made of the Popes ſentence pronounced againſt the Emperour in *Germany* (it being approued by the Councell) that the Electors began to treate of the chuſing of a new Emperour: and notwithſtanding that his ſonne CONRADE King of the Romanes, was therewith much grieued, and by all meanes ſought to haue letted the ſame; yet they met at *Hiperboli*, and choſe HENRY Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, Emperour: and he according to the accuſtomed manner went to *Aken*, where he was crowned: whereupon preſently betweene him, and CONRADE the Emperours ſonne, began a cruell warre; the end and ſucceſſe whereof we will recount hereafter, when we haue related what FREDERICK did when he vnderſtood that hee was depriued. It was ſo that ſo ſoone as he knew it, he in extreme choler made the houſes of the Popes friends and kinſemen in *Parma* to be throwne downe, and their goods to be ſpoiled: and wrote his letters into *Germany*, excuſing and iuſtifying his proceedings, and to animate his ſonne. But imagining his eſtate to be in great hazard, he reſolued to goe in perſon to the Councell at *Lions* in *France*; and to that effect he firſt made a league of friendſhip with the Duke of *Burgondy*; and had a ſafe conduct & aſſurance from the French King, for his going, abroad, and returne. And leauing his ſonne ENCIVS (King of *Sardinia*) in *Parma*, he commaunded him not to ſally out of that citie, for that hee held the ſame and the marches thereof, to be of great importance: and ſo being accompanied with men of both peace and war, he tooke his way towards *France*; and hauing trauailed ſo farre as betweene *Turin* and *Lions*, meſſengers ouertooke him, which gaue him to vnderſtand, that *Parma* (whereof he made ſo great account) was loſt, through his ſonnes ouerſight: for he through a greedie deſire to haue taken *Breſcia*, which was of the contrary faction, by the aduice and procurement of thoſe of *Cremona*, went from *Parma* with part of the garriſon which lay therein; and in the meane time that he was about this exploit, the Popes friends and kindred, which liued in *Placencia*, hauing intelligence with ſome which were within *Parma*, came thither, & by ſurpriſe took it, although not without ſhedding much bloud. Theſe ill newes touched the Emperor FREDERICK to the quick, and he fearing on the one ſide, his vnſafe going into *France*, and on the other ſide, that other cities in *Italy* following the example of *Parma* (he being abſent in a ſtrange countrie) would alſo rebell, reſolued therefore in great furie to returne: and raiſed forces in *Sicilia* and *Naples:* and from *Trinigi* came his great friend ENCELINVS with a great troupe of men of warre; all which hee ſent againſt *Parma*, whither he himſelfe marched with a full reſolution to haue deſtroyed the ſame, and to haue laid it waſte, and vſed ſome ſpeeches to the ſame effect: but he failed of his expectation, for GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO, who from the time of GREGORY the ninth had been the Popes Legate in *Milan*, and in the other cities of that faction in *Lombardy*, getting ſouldiers from *Milan*, and other cities of the league, put himſelf with them into *Parma:* and furniſhed and prouided it with

all

all things requisite to endure a siege. It was not long before that the Emperour came before it with his army (wherein were threescore thousand men) and besieged it, with a full resolution not to rise from before it, vntill that he had taken the citie; and so he began to assault it on euery side. But the besieged defended themselues so wel, that they daily sallied out and skirmished with their enemies, in such manner that it behoued the Emperour to withdraw his campe a little further from the citie; and the warre continuing, he compassed the citie round about with a wall: and as he purposed wholy to haue ruinated *Parma*, so he caused a new citie to be builded in the same place where his armie lay; which he presently enuironed with walles, and made market places, Churches, and houses in it; and appointed lands for those of *Parma*, which would come thither to inhabite: so as within short space the citie was builded, and peopled, and hee named it *Victoria*. And as the Emperour had lien about two yeeres before *Parma*, and the newes of this new citie, and the distribution made by him was bruted abroad, many came thither from all parts to dwell; in so much that PLATINA affirmeth, that therein were as many faire gardens, and orchards, with birds and beasts in them, and so great concourse of men and women, as in any the most peopled ancient cities of *Italy*.

While the Emperour lay before *Parma*, his sonne CONRADE and the Lantzgraue HENRY, made as cruell warres as euer were seene; which Lantzgraue through FREDERICKS depriuing, was chosen and called Emperour: and he raising the greatest power that hee could (therewith to make himselfe Lord of the empire) met with the Emperours sonne CONRADE, neere to *Franckford*, who had as great armie as was his; and there they two fought (as some authors write) one of the most cruell battailes that of long time had been seene in the world; wherein CONRADE being ouerthrowne, fled into *Suenia*; and HENRY remaining master of the field was held for Emperour. And forasmuch as he vnderstood, that the Emperours sonne CONRADE leuied new forces, and gathered head in *Suenia*, he went thither with his armie, and besieged and tooke some cities therein; and continuing his course of victorie, laid siege to the citie of *Vlme*; and holding it very hardly besieged, at a time when he thought that nothing could haue offended him, or defended it selfe against him; an arrow shot at randon out of the citie, (which was thought to be poysoned) hit, and so wounded the new Emperour HENRY, that within few daies after hee died thereof, within one yeere after his election: and the princes and men of warre which were with him dispersed themselues, so that it presently appeared, that the partie of the Emperour FREDERICK and his sonne CONRADE would againe preuaile. But yet the electors of the empire, within few moneths after (by the procurement of the Cardinall of Saint GEORGE, called PETER Image of gold, whom the Pope (being aduertised of the death of HENRY) sent from *Lions* in *France* thither, without that the Emperors sonne CONRADE was any way able to stay or hinder the same) met at *Waringen*, and chose WILLIAM Earle of *Holland* for Emperour: who, accompanied with the electors, and other princes and prelates, went to *Franckford*, and therein was crowned. And forasmuch as he vnderstood that CONRADE leuied a power against him, he called a Councell in the citie of *Vtrecht*; whither came the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Treuier*, and *Colen*, and other prelates: and LEWIS Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other Earles and Proctors, from more then twentie seuerall Imperiall cities in *Germany*, and from some princes also; where they handled some matters concerning his confirmation in the empire. But CONRADE raising

raiſing a great power in *Suevia*, and in other parts, began to warre againſt WILLIAM, and WILLIAM leuied an army to doe the like by him; in which warre we will leaue them for this time: to ſpeake of the Emperour, and of what ſucceſſe he had in *Italy*; and then afterwards when time ſhall ſerue, wee will againe returne to this matter.

Two yeres were now expired ſince that the Emperor FREDERICK came to lie in his new citie *Victoria*, before *Parma*; daily expecting when it would haue yeelded, (for the beſieged endured extreame famine) by reaſon whereof there was not ſo good watch and ward held in the campe as there was wont to be. And GREGORY DE MONTE LONGO the popes Legate, who had the commaund of the citie, as he had valiantly defended it, ſo he neuer let ſlip any oportunitie to doe any notable ſeruice; and perceiuing, and being alſo aduertiſed what manner guard was held in the new city (without attending any other forces to ioine with him) he reſolued to ſally, and to attempt it: and laid ſuch a plot, that he perfourmed one of the moſt ſtrange exploits that hath bin ſeene or heard of; which was in this manner. Certaine companies of Moores and Germanes comming from the campe, drew neere to the citie, expecting that ſome would come foorth to skirmiſh with them, as at other times they vſed to do: the Legate perceiuing this, and thinking it now a fit time to put in execution what he before had proiected, with all poſſible ſpeede made all his troupes to be armed, and ſetting them in order, when the skirmiſh in the field was moſt hot, he commaunded the ports to be opened, and ſallying ſuddenly, charged with ſuch reſolution, that without any great difficulty he ouerthrew thoſe troupes, ſo that they turned their backes and fled; and he purſuing them came to the new citie (wherein was the Emperour FREDERICK in his pallace diſarmed, ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, and ſo was the greateſt part of his army) and charging with ſuch fury, that the Guard could not withſtand them, entred the citie, putting to the ſword ſo many as they found to beare armes againſt them: and ſo the bickering began on euery ſide. But as the attempt was ſuddaine and vnexpected, ſo great a feare ſurpriſed them, that without making any great reſiſtance they all fled: and the Emperour, knowing no better courſe to be taken, tooke horſe and ſo eſcaped, with ſuch as could keepe with him: and all thoſe which remained, were either ſlaine or taken: and the Legate and his people had one of the richeſt praies and booties that had been ſeene, as well of ſuch things as were the Emperours and of the army, as of the inhabitants of the citie; which they preſently deſtroyed, and made leuell with the earth: executing as much therein, as the Emperour thought to haue done in *Parma*: and here was ſlaine IOHN TVRRIO one of the heads of the factions in *Milan*, who kept with the Emperour: and with the Legate, was MATHEVV VISCOVNT, who was the other; for theſe two Viſcounts, and Turrions, were the two factions then in the citie of *Milan*. So ſoone as the fame of the taking of *Victoria* was ſpred ouer *Italy*, thoſe which held for the pope were greatly encouraged. The Emperour in his flight ſtaied not in any place, vntill he came to *Cremona*, but he truſted them not ſo well as to come into their citie, notwithſtanding that they earneſtly entreated him: but raiſing men from all parts (beſides that many of the Gibelins came voluntarily to ſerue him) within a ſmall time, as a valiant man, and as though he had had a great army, he came to *Placencia*, but beſieged it not, onely ſpoiling the countrey about it: And leauing his ſonne ENEVS King of *Sardinia*, for his Lieutenant in thoſe townes which held for him; he went into *Tuſcane*, in hope to haue taken *Florence*, which in that quarter was againſt

The citie of Victoria taken and deſtroyed by the Parmaſans.

gainſt him. But as his faction was now but little regarded, or feared; ſo the Florentines would not receiue him, but agreed with him to put all the Guelphes, which were his enemies, out of the towne, wherewith he was content; and ſtaying in the countrey neere *Florence*, in hope to haue leuied ſome new troupes, and ſo to haue recouered the honour which he loſt; newes came how that his ſonne ENCIVS, with the greateſt power that he could leuy, thinking to haue done ſome notable peece of ſeruice, went towards *Bologna*; and the Bolognois, being aduertiſed thereof, with the aide of their friends, ſallied forth to meete, and to fight with him; and ouerthrowing him, had taken him priſoner. Which when the Emperour vnderſtood, he was extreamely grieued and offended; and ſeeing that in *Lombardy* his enemies were too hard for him, and that out of *Germany* he was out of hope that any ſuccour could come; for that therein his ſonne CONRADE made warre againſt WILLIAM Earle of *Holland*, who was called Emperour, he therefore reſolued to go into his kingdome of *Naples*, in hope there to reinforce his Army, and to take ſome other counſell. And comming into *Pulia* with greater wrath then honour, by reaſon of ſuch aduentures as were befalne him; he made a baſtard ſonne of his, called MANFREDE, Prince of *Tarent*, and gaue him many places in ſubiection. And within few dayes after, he fell grieuouſly ſicke, and his diſeaſe held him long, whereof in the end he dyed: which the Hiſtoriographers recount after ſundrie manners, ſo as it ſeemeth that the truth can hardly be known. Some ſay, that his diſeaſe killed him: others ſay, that beginning to recouer health, he was poiſoned: others ſay, that his ſonne MANFREDE practiſed his death, with deſire to raigne; as it after appeared. But howſoeuer, he dyed at this time, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1250. in the ſixe and thirtith yeare after his election. In the time alſo there is euer ſome difference; for ſome authors reckon, but from the time of his coronation, and not before. He was when he dyed ſeuen and fifty yeares olde, and left behind him, three ſonnes, two baſtards, and one legitimate: his eldeſt ſonne CONRADE he had by IOLES, daughter to the King of *Ieruſalem*, who in his fathers time was King of the Romanes, and inherited the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and the Duchy of *Suenia*. And his baſtard ſonne ENCIVS, whom he made King of *Sardinia*, liued, and died priſoner in the power of the Bolognois: whom they would neuer ſet at liberty for any ranſome. Some authors write, that he was priſoner there twenty and odde yeares, very well vſed, and dyed in *Bologna*, and there was buried: and MANFREDE, the afore named Prince of *Tarent*, he alſo had two daughters, ANNE, and CONSTANCE, which married with ſeueral Princes. This Prince was adorned with ſundry vertues, and excellent graces: and ſo likewiſe infected with dangerous vices: but he was very valiant, and of a ſtrong conſtitution, able to endure trauell, very wiſe, and expert in the warre, deſirous of glory and fame, very liberall, and enclined to learning, and skilfull in the tongues, and could very well ſpeake Greeke, Latine, Arabick, French, and Dutch: and delighted much in the reading of Arts and Hiſtories. But theſe vertues were greatly obſcured, through his vnmeaſurable deſire of honour and renowne, and the ambition and deſire to commaund and to be Lord ouer all men, and through his cruelty vſed in many exploites in the warres, deſtroying and racing townes, and in ſhedding bloud, for he was very vindicatiſe and ſuddain: and aboue all was an enemy to the popes, and ſcorned their command. He was likewiſe noted of incontinencie, for beſides that he had ſundrie wiues, he kept many concubines, and accompanied other women; all which in Princes deſerue greater reprehenſion; for in the

The death of the Emperour Frederick the ſecond. Anno. Dom. 1250.

the higher degree, the leſſe liberty. What followed after his death you ſhall know in the next. In maxima fortuna minima licentia eſt.

In *Conſtantinople* BALDVVIN was Emperour, who had great warres with MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, who was called Emperour and ſucceeded ROBERT LASCARVS, before mentioned, who left him tutor ouer his ſonne IOHN; but he tooke the Empire to himſelfe, murthering the pupill, and warred to make himſelfe abſolute Lord ouer all. In *France* at this time raigned King LEVVES, called a Saint, who vnderſtanding that the Citie of *Ieruſalem*, after that the Emperour FREDERICK had recouered it, was againe loſt; and that the Chriſtians in the reſt of the Cities were greatly diſtreſſed, prouiding a great army and nauie, departed therewith in perſon, and ſayled into *Egypt*, to warre vpon the Soldan; and taking land, beſieged the Citie of *Damiata* aforenamed; and after ſome skirmiſhes and conflicts tooke the ſame, and performed other worthy aduentures, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, two hundereth fortie and nine. But proſecuting the warre, it pleaſed God that in a battaile he was afterwards ouerthrowne, and by the Soldan taken priſoner, with two of his brothers; and to recouer their liberty, he gaue vp the Citie of *Damiata*, and the reſt of what he had gotten, and ſo returned to his Countrey, hauing effected as little as thoſe which went before him. The Kings of *Spaine* with equall courage to any of the other Princes (but with better fortune) reconquered the Countries which the Infidels held in *Spaine*: at that time raigned King FERDINAND, who wan *Seuil* and *Cordoua*, and many other Townes and Cities.

THE LIFE OF CONRADE THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND CII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of those which were called Emperours vntill that RODVLPHVS was Emperour.

THE ARGVMENT.

FRederick being dead, the Empire being diuided betweene two Emperours, was infested many yeeres, each of them vsing all meanes to suppresse the other. First Conrade determined to goe into Italy, to take possession of the kingdomes of Naples and Sicilia, and going with a mightie armie, he tooke those kingdomes by force of armes: after which conquest he died, and William remained sole Emperor, who desiring to goe into Italy to be crowned by the Pope, was letted through a tumult raised by the Frisons; and going against them with an armie, he was by them infortunately slaine. The death of William was the occasion that the Empire was voide, and that the electors were diuided and could not agree, for almost each of them would haue an Emperour to his liking; whereof ensued great trouble and domage in Germany. In Italy also were great warres betweene Manfrede and the Pope, king Charles and Conradin, whereof in the end king Charles had the victorie. And in Germany the electors being a long time at variance, in the end agreed to chuse Rodulph Earle of Habspurgh, when as for a long time they could neuer agree vpon any other man.

THE greatest part of the authors which wrote the liues of the Emperours, account all the time from the death of FREDERICK (whose life we haue now written) vntill that RODVLPH Earle of *Habspurgh* was chosen Emperour (which were three and twentie yeeres, beginning in the yeere

yeere 1250, (in which FREDERICK died) and ending in the yeere, one thousand, two hundred, seuentie and three, in which RODVLPH was chosen) for an interregnum, and vacation of the empire; accounting none of those for Emperours which in that time were chosen and so called, for that they were chosen in competencie one against another, and were not crowned by the Popes: which were WILLIAM, who was Emperour in the time of FREDERICK; and FREDERICKS sonne CONRADE, who was king of the Romanes; and RICHARD, brother to the king of *England*; and ALONSO king of *Castile*, whom the Spaniards call the Wise: all which were chosen in contention, and were competitors: wherein (in my opinion) they haue no reason, especially in that which concerneth WILLIAM; sith he before the death of FREDERICK, was in name and possession Emperour; and although that hee was not crowned by the Pope, yet his election was approued and confirmed by him: wherfore I (not to depriue any man of his title and dignitie howsoeuer it were, as also not to alter the course of our historie) haue determined to treat briefly of all, in such matters as concerne the empire, which is the subiect of al my trauaile. I will likewise in summe recount what passed in *Italy*, to the end that the historie following may be the better vnderstood. I say then, that the death of the Emperor FREDERICK was soone published euery where (as of Emperors and Kings is vsuall) and caused new accidents. In *Germany* his sonne CONRADE, which in his fathers life time was Duke of *Suenia*, and king of the Romanes, and his heire in the kingdome of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; and by his mother pretended title to the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, tooke vpon him as Emperour against WILLIAM Earle of *Holland*, who by the Popes commaundement was chosen against his father; and was in possession of the empire. And WILLIAM seeing that his competitor was dead, made account to haue defeated and supplanted CONRADE: whereto hee was presently countenanced and encouraged by letters from Pope INNOCENT, who all this while was in *France*, and was supported by many princes of *Germany*; which for as much as CONRADE was excommunicate (as well as was his father FREDERICK) WILLIAM alleaged, that CONRADE had lost his right to the empire; and was depriued thereof by the Pope, as in deede by the Popes sentence he was. Neuertheless, CONRADE was stil called Emperor, and so the matter was diuided into two factions: yet WILLIAMS was the mightier, for he commanded (in a manner) al the cities in *Germany*. In *Sicilia* and *Naples*, FREDERICKS bastard sonne MANFREDE, who (some say) drowned his father, had a conceit in time to make himselfe king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, but sith he was a bastard, he knew that the lawful inheritance appertained to his brother CONRADE, which was in *Germany*, in whose name (as gouernour for him, and to his vse) hee possessed himselfe of those kingdomes, excepting *Naples*, *Capua*, and some other townes, which would not receiue him: whereupon he proclaimed them traytors and rebels, and began to warre against them. In other parts of *Italy* the warres ceased not, notwithstanding that the Emperour was dead: for malice and hatred had taken so deepe roote betweene the Guelphes and the Gibelins, that they were neuer without warres and troubles, murthering one another: and ENCELINVS (who as I said before was of great power in *Lombardy*, and a faithfull seruant to FREDERICK) took part with CONRADE, as with the Emperour, and so did some others: yet the contrarie part which held for the Pope was more mightie. CONRADE seeing the affaires of the empire to stand in this estate, and considering that it was doubtfull holding of *Germany* against WILLIAM; and that *Naples* and *Sicilia* was a good portion, and

came to him by inheritance from his father, raising the greatest power that hee could in *Suevia*, leauing garrisons therein, and in such other parts as he held of the empire; with the aide of the Duke of *Bauiere*, with whose sister he was married, came to take possession of those kingdomes, as most certaine and assured; and with a very good armie came to *Verona*, holding still the name of Emperour, where he was receiued, and afterwards (being assisted and guided by ENCELINVS Gouernour of *Lombardy*) hee came to certaine Harbours vpon the coast of the Venecian sea, where he was shipped by the Venecians, and thence sailed into *Pulia* (for from thence there was no safe passage for him by land) and taking land with his people, hee was obeyed by his brother, and receiued into the townes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*. And notwithstanding that those of the cities of *Naples*, and of *Capua*, alleaged that in that they refused to be commaunded by MANFREDE, it was not in respect that they had any meaning to haue rebelled against him, but for that they vnderstood that MANFREDE meant to become a tyrant. But this notwithstanding MANFREDE carried the matter so cunningly, that his brother was perswaded to the contrarie, and therefore highly offended: by reason whereof, the Neapolitanes and Capuans durst not put themselues into his hands, but stood vpon their guard; and CONRADE with great furie held *Naples* besieged the space of eight moneths, in the end whereof he took the same through famine, and executed cruell punishment therein, and thence went to *Capua*, where he did the like, and in some other places which were of their confederacie: so as from thencefoorth, whersoeuer he went, hee found no resistance, by neither cities, Princes, nor Lords. And those which he any thing suspected, he banished, and then began to war against the lands and friends of the Church of *Rome*. After this (two yeeres after his comming into *Italy*) he fell sicke and died; being poysoned in his medicines (as it was then thought) by the practise of his brother MANFREDE, who did it of purpose to haue been king. NAVCLERVS, and HENRICVS MVCIVS, write that the Emperour CONRADE before that he died went into *Germany*, leauing garrisons in *Sicilie*; for that he vnderstood that the Emperour WILLIAM made himselfe strong, and was possessed of the whole empire, by meanes of the Legates which the Pope sent thither for that purpose: and that CONRADE comming into *Germany*, ioyned with the Duke of *Bauiere*; and with an armie entred the iurisdiction of *Ratisbone*, and afterwards tooke the citie it selfe, wherein he did much harme; and that WILLIAM vnderstanding thereof, leuied such forces, that CONRADE durst not giue him battaile, and that he then abandoning *Germany*, went to *Naples*, where he died. Hereof the other authors make no mention, wherefore I am of opinion, that it was before CONRADES first comming to *Naples*, and that after his comming thither hee returned no more into *Germany*. But whither he returned into *Germany* or no (for it might be) hee died in the kingdome of *Naples*, and left his sonne CONRADINE (who was in *Suevia*, being very young, and whom he had by the Duke of *Bauiers* sister) for heire of his estate and kingdomes: wherein also is difference betweene the authors; for some say that he was his sonne (which is the most likely) and others say that he was his nephew, and sonne of his elder brother HENRY, who (as wee said) died in prison in the time of his father FREDERICK. His sonne CONRADINE remaining his heire, and not of age fit to gouerne his kingdomes, hee left vnder the tutle and protection of his mother, and of certaine Duch princes. And MANFREDE (as some write) for certaine daies space concealed his brothers will, and although (that as yet) he durst not take vpon him as king, yet in his nephew CONRADINES name,

The death of the Emperour Conrade the fourth.

name, hee ſought by all meanes to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the whole land.

So ſoone as the death of CONRADE was publiſhed in *Germany*, all thoſe which had taken his part, ſought to be friends with WILLIAM; who being freed from his competitor, friendly receiued them; and ſought (by force or policie) to drawe them to him, to the end to haue made a generall peace. At this time Pope INNOCENT (who had made his aboade in *France*, for the ſpace of nine yeeres) vnderſtanding that CONRADE was dead, came preſently into *Italy*: And MANFREDE (as he knew him to haue bin an enemie to the Emperours FREDERICK, and CONRADE; and that hee alleaged, that their wils and Teaſtaments were of none effect, ſeeing they were by him excommuniate and depriued; and that the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples* belonged vnto the Church) fainedly tooke part with him in *Otranto*: purpoſing to exclude thoſe which came to gouerne for the child CONRADINE, who remained in *Suenia*, and by fiſhing in troubled water, to get the kingdome for himſelf. The Pope being ioyfully receiued into the moſt cities in *Italy*, with the greateſt power that he could make, took his way towards *Naples*, where he was receiued, and thither to him came MANFREDE, and ſome other Princes, & gouernors of cities, to yeeld their obedience, as feudatories to the Church of *Rome*: and he excluding CONRADINS tutors, thought within ſhort time to be Lord of the greateſt part of the reſt. And as this was his drift, ſo after that the Pope had confirmed him in his eſtate, and had beſtowed other fauours vpon him; he began to publiſh the diſcord openly, which he before had ſowen in ſecret, and to ſhew himſelfe enemie to the Pope: but before that it tooke any effect, the Pope died in *Naples*, hauing bin ſo eleuen yeeres and halfe, in the yeere of our Lord 1254. This Pope gaue order that the Cardinals ſhould ride on their foot-cloathes, and weare the red Hats and Robes, which they vſe at this day; to the end that as they did excell other men in dignitie and preheminence, ſo they ſhould goe different in apparel, and thereby be knowne from other men. Preſently vpon the death of Pope INNOCENT, MANFREDE publiſhing that his nephew CONRADINE was dead, cladding himſelfe in mourning attire, proclaimed himſelfe King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and raiſing forces, drew the Africane Moores, which dwelt in *Nuceria*, to his ſeruice; and ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe places which held for the Pope: ſo as ALEXANDER ſucceeding INNOCENT the fourth, ſent a Cardinall whoſe name was OCTAVIVS to *Naples*, againſt MANFREDE, who proceeded ſo farre as to excommunicate him, but MANFREDE, which now was called King of both the *Sicilies*, tooke ſuch order with the Legate that he conſtrained him to ſhut vp himſelfe in *Naples*; and ſo was he Maſter of the field, and not only in that prouince, but in all *Italy* ſought to raiſe diſſention and diſcord, ſhewing himſelfe to be of the faction of the Gibelins, with whoſe aide he made himſelfe mightie, and was principally aſſiſted by the great tirant ENCELINVS. In *Florence*, in *Lombardy*, and in other parts, happened many great accidents, which I haue no time to relate, being to returne to my Hiſtory of the liues of the Emperours: neuertheleſſe it ſhall be expedient for me to declare what end MANFREDE and his nephew CONRADINE made; who was alſo called King of both the *Sicilies*; and at that time, by reaſon of his nonage, was in his mothers keeping in her eſtate of *Suenia*; which gaue oportunitie to MANFREDE to riſe, as he did, with the kingdom. The Emperor WILLIAM, ſeeing in what eſtate *Italy* ſtood, & being now Lord of all *Germany* in peace, deſiring to come into *Italy* to viſit the lands of the empire, which had recouered libertie through the long abſence of the Emperours; and likewiſe to be crowned by the hands of Pope A-

Pope Innocent returned out of France into Italy.

Anno Dom. 1254.

The inſtitution of the Cardinals Hats and robes, by Pope Clement, and riding vpon foote-cloathes.

ALEXANDER, ſummoned a Councel to be held in the citie of *Colen*, & hauing therein determined of his iournie, was aduertiſed that the prouince of *Friſeland* was vp in armes, and rebelled againſt him; and that not content therewith, they had inuaded the prouince of *Holland*, wherein they had done great harme, by taking and carrying away whatſoeuer they found. And WILLIAM, to the end that the matter ſhould proceede no further, reſolued to goe in perſon to bring the Friſons to obedience, which were ſuch men, and ſo many, that he otherwiſe knew not how to bridle them; and it ſeemed no ſound courſe for him to goe into *Italy*, and to leaue *Germany* in an vprore. And ſo marching with his armie againſt the Friſons, which lay encamped not farre from him, as it was in the winter, and in that countrie are many Lakes and Moraſſes, which then were froſen, the Emperor with one or two with him, on horſebacke, went to view his enemies campe, or to view ſome ground where his own armie might lodge: and paſſing ouer a lake, his horſe ſlipt, and fell with him, and the Ice breaking, his horſe and himſelfe were ſo peſtred in the water, that they could not get out of it; which a company of Friſons (which lay vndiſcouered in an ambuſh) perceiuing, ſallied out, and vnknowne ſlew the Emperour, thinking that they had ſlaine but ſome meane horſeman, without being perceiued by any man in his campe, neither by them which were with him, or elſe they durſt not reueale it: and ſo hee lay vnſeene in the water, vntill that afterwards he was found and knowne by his enemies. This happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, two hundrd, fiftie and ſixe: in the eight and twentith yeere of his age, and the ſeuenth of his raigne. And as he was miſt in his campe, and no man knew what became of him, nor what was befalne him (men being of ſundrie opinions) ſome imagining that he was gone, and had abandoned them; and others were of other opinions, at laſt they were certified of the trueth by their enemies. Whereupon the armie disbanded, and went euerie man whither hee liſted: in this manner ended the high thoughts, life, and raigne of the Emperour WILLIAM, whom his ſonne FLORIS, which then was a child, ſucceeded in the eſtate of *Holland*, and the reſt: who afterwards made cruell warre againſt the Friſons, in reuenge of his fathers death; who vntil then lay in a poore Sepulture. In *Sicilie* and *Naples* MANFREDE grew daily more mightie, and was called King.

The Emperour VVilliam, Earle of Holland ſlaine and drovvned. Anno Dom. 1256.

The cauſe of the declining of the Germane Empire.

The diſcord and diuiſion, which (as we ſaid) was in the Empire betweene FREDERICK and WILLIAM, and afterwards betweene WILLIAM and CONRADE, FREDERICKS ſonne, and that which we will declare which happened after his deceaſe, was the beginning and originall cauſe why the Empire loſt in thoſe times great part of the authoritie, power, and reputation, which it before inioyed, and that ſome Cities in *Italy* recouered libertie, and were exempt from the Empire, and that others fell into the hands of tirants, as it afterwards enſued. For notwithſtanding that there afterwards were valorous and mightie Emperours, yet all matters were ſo corrupt and out of order in the Empire, that it could not be reduced to the Prieſtline rule and lawe, neither did the Electors and Princes of *Germany* (in whom conſiſteth the chiefeſt ſtrength of the Empire) yeeld ſuch obedience and fealtie to them, as their aunceſtors had done to theirs, making themſelues through theſe occaſions and diſſentions, free, and of greater power; and the Emperours became poore, of leſſe account, and were leſſe reſpected by them. I ſay then, that as the Princes Electors of the Empire were certified of the death of the Emperour WILLIAM (which were as all men knowe) the Duke of *Saxony*, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the

Princes Electors.

Arch-

Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Colen* and *Treuier*, and (when they cannot agree) the King of *Bohemia*, they began to conſult about chuſing of a new Emperour, firſt, writing the one to the other, and afterwards meeting in *Franckford*, they could not agree, for there were many Competitors, and the matter was carried by bribes, gifts, and ſiniſter meanes. Comming in the end with great difficultie to make the election, vpon twelfth day, in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand, two hundred fifty and ſeuen, the voyces were diuided into two parts: the Duke of *Saxony*, the Archbiſhop of *Treuier*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, choſe ALONSO King of *Caſtile*: and EBERARD Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, CONRADE Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and LEVVES County Palatine of *Rhine*, gaue their voyces to RICHARD Duke of *Cornewall*, and brother to the King of *England*. In this manner they parted in diſcord, either partie holding him for Emperour whom they had choſen: but moſt men affirmed that it was no election, for it ſeemeth not that the King of *Bohemia* gaue his voyce, or was preſent at the election, or would ioyne with either of the parties, but was ſingular in his voyce, ſeeking to haue been Emperour himſelfe. Thoſe which choſe ALONSO and held with him, ſent him their Ambaſſadours (which were the Biſhops of *Spire* and *Conſtance*) to giue him intelligence of his election, deſiring him to addreſſe himſelfe to come into the Empire: at their comming into *Caſtile* they were ioyfully receiued by the King, who being very glad of their Ambaſſade, accepted the election: but he being buſied in the warres againſt the Moores (from which he had a little before taken the towne of *Niebla* and other places) he could not then come into *Germany*: but writing his letters to the Princes Electors, he diſpatched the Ambaſſadours (giuing them and ſending to the reſt many iewels and great rewards) and ſo they returned very wel content. But King ALONSO his going into *Germany*, through many occaſions which were offered in *Caſtile*, as well againſt the Moores (from which he twice wan the Citie of *Xeres*, the Citie of *Murcia* and other places) as for that his Brother PHILIP withdrew himſelfe from his ſeruice, his iourney was a long time deferred. The other partie of the Princes Electors, which had choſen the King of *Englands* Brother, ſent him alſo a ſolemne Ambaſſade; and he came into *Germany*, and with the ayde of his Brother the King, came to *Aken*, and there was crowned by thoſe which had choſen him, and he afterwards was poſſeſſed of ſome Townes and Cities vpon the *Rhines* ſide: and ſo began very great warres and troubles in *Germany*, ſome holding for RICHARD, and others for ALONSO; others (which were the greateſt number) admitted neither the one nor the other, holding the Empire for voyde: and ſo miſerable *Germany* flamed with cruell warre, which continued the ſpace of fifteene or ſixteene yeeres, in which time, RICHARD dyed out of poſſeſſion of the Empire, and King ALONSO could neuer come thither, by reaſon of ſundry accidents which happened in *Caſtile*, as in the Spaniſh Chronicles doth appeare.

Diſagreement in chuſing of the Emperor.

Alonſo King of Caſtile choſen Emperour.

Richard Brother to the king of England crowned Emperour in Aken in Germany.

The death of Richard, Brother to the king of England.

At the ſame time BALDVVIN the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* being vnable to make his partie good, againſt MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, (who by making away the two ſonnes of the THEODORE LASCARVS, gat the Empire to himſelf) fled from *Conſtantinople*, and MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS had the Empire, and ſo it returned to the Greeke nation, hauing bin aboue ſeuenty yeares gouerned by the Latines: the firſt that had the ſame was called BALDVVIN, and ſo was he which loſt it, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1260. At this time alſo came Ambaſſadours to pope ALEXANDER, from CONRADINE Duke of *Sueuia* (who was called, and ought to haue been, King of *Sicilia* and *Naples*) entreating his fa-

Baldovvin depoſed from the Greeke Empire, by Michael Paleologus. Anno Dom. 1260.

uour in his behalfe against MANFREDE, who vsurped the said kingdomes; but could take no effect at that time; for MANFREDE was now growen so mightie, that the pope was not able to make head against him: and besides the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, was Lord of *Florence* and other townes in *Italy*. Within few daies after this dyed pope ALEXANDER, hauing held the chayre about seuen yeares, with troubles and warres in little prosperitie. This pope canonized Saint CLARE, of the order of Saint FRANCIS, for a Saint, and he being dead, the Patriarch of *Ierusalem* (a French man borne) was chosen pope, and called VRBANE the fourth; who considering what great power the Tirant MANFREDE had gotten in *Italy*, (for what his father held therein, was at his deuotion.) And seeing that there came no sufficient ayd from *Germany*, and moreouer hauing no meaning to approue the succession of CONRADES son CONRADINE, for that his ancestors had bin ancient enemies to the Church of *Rome*, but chiefly for that he had small confidence in his power, and for other occasions which I forbeare to write: by the aduice of his Cardinals he sent his Ambassadours to LEVVES the French King, desiring him to send his brother CHARLES Earle of *Prouence* and *Aniow* with an army in reliefe of the church, and to expell the Tirant MANFREDE out of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and that then he would giue the same to him in fee, as the Churches inheritance. The French King willingly gaue eare to the popes Ambassade, and yeelding to his demaund, offred aide, and to send him into *Italy*: and began to prouide necessaries for his iourney, which pope VRBANE could neuer see take effect, for he was intercepted by death in the citie of *Perugia*, in the third yeare of his papacy: in all which time (by reason of factions and parcialities) he neuer came to *Rome*. This pope instituted the feast of *Corpus Christi*, which is celebrated by the church of *Rome* with great solemnity, vntill this day, being first inuented by the famous Doctor THOMAS of AQVINE, a Frier of the order of Saint DOMINICKE, who florished in those times. At that time also florished S. BONAVENTVRE, a Doctor and Frier of the order of Saint FRANCIS. VRBANE being dead, GVIDO Cardinall of *Sulconia*, borne in *Narbone* in *France*, was chosen pope, and called CLEMENT the fourth; in whose time at his instant entreatie, the French Kings brother, or cosine germane, Earle of *Aniow* came into *Italy* with a great armie, to the end to make a conquest of the kingdomes of *Naples* & *Sicilia* from MANFREDE, who was already called king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and there passed betweene them many conflicts and feates of armes, which I ouerpasse: CHARLES being assisted by the faction of the Guelphes. At length neere to the citie of *Beneuent*, MANFREDE and he, with power against power, fought a battaile, wherein MANFREDE was ouerthrown and slaine, after that he had seen CHARLES cast to the earth, and his army in a manner wholy ouerthrowne, but yet in the end CHARLES had the victory. This ouerthrow and death of MANFREDE caused a great alteration in *Italy*, for the faction of the Guelphes euery where preuailed (in a manner) in all the cities of *Italy*, being fauoured by the new king of *Sicilia*, against the Gebilins. And in short space King CHARLES was possessed of the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, being first crowned in *Rome* king of both the kingdomes; and in acknowledgment of the fee, he was bound to pay yearly to the Church of *Rome*, threescore thousand ducats, or crownes of of gold. In this manner, the state of *Prouence*, whose head is the citie of *Marselles*, was vnited to the kingdome *Naples*, which was in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, two hundreth, threescore and sixe.

Pope Alexander canonized Saint Clare for a Saint.

Pope Vrbane the fourth, called the Duke of Aniow into Italy, to make warre in Naples and Sicilia.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted by Pope Vrbane the fourth. Anno Dom. 1254.

Manfrede King of both Sicilies, ouerthrown and slaine by Charles Duke of Aniow.

In time of these alterations in *Italy*, *Germany* was still troubled about the elec-

tion

tion of an Emperour: and whereas the king of *Englands* brother RICHARD, who contended with ALONSO for the empire, at this time died, if ALONSO had then come into *Germany* he might easily haue obtained the empire, seeing his competitor was deceased: but by reason of ciuill warres against the Moores, he could neuer haue oportunitie to come thither: and his brother PHILIP, and other great men of *Castile*, left his seruice, and ouerranne his countrey. *Germany* being thus without an head, endured great miserie, aswell for this cause, as through the great warres which the king of *Hungary* made against the king of *Bohemia*, and other princes, vpon sundrie occasions. CHARLES the new king of *Sicilia* liuing in this prosperitie, all those which in *Italy* were of the faction of the Gibelins, sent to solicite CONRADE Duke of *Suenia*, and which was called king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, (as sonne of the Emperour CONRADE and nephew of the Emperour FREDERICK) to come, and reconquer his kingdomes, and that they all would helpe and serue him in that action: whereto CONRADINE (as a couragious young man) soone agreed, and began to gather forces and to trie his friends, whereto he was also perswaded & encouraged by HENRY the king of *Castiles* brother, who was banished from his brother for some leagues and confederacies which he had made against him. And he at that time was gouernour, and a Senatour of *Rome*, made by Pope CLEMENT; which dignitie he obtained (after that he had wandred through *England*, *France* & *Germany*) at the request of King CHARLES of *Naples*, by reason of his affinitie, and the Popes fauour, to whose Court he came, lying then in *Viterbo*, and the Pope made him a Senatour of *Rome*, which then was the highest dignitie and command therein. This HENRY was a man of so great valour, and therewith so politike, that he wholy commaunded the citie; and being so, he induced CONRADE to come into *Italy*, (for he was also his kinseman, and he had found him his friend at his being in *Germany*) promising, and putting him in hope, that he should not onely haue the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia* (which were his by inheritance) but should also be Emperour of *Rome*; for hee would receiue him into the citie. Finally, CONRADINE moued by these letters and messages, but reposing his chiefest confidence in the Gibelins, came into *Italy* with tenne thousand the most expert men of warre that he could get; to whom many of the Gibelins resorted, and was receiued and lodged in *Verona*, whither the Sienois and Pisans sent to him their Ambassadours (and many other cities wherein the Gibelins were masters) exhorting him to proceede forwards. When King CHARLES was aduertised hereof, he went from *Tuscane*, where hee then was, into his kingdomes; leauing good garrisons in those townes which held for him; and a gouernour with the title of Marshall. And HENRY the Kings brother of *Castile*, which was then in *Rome*, whither CONRADINE was trauailing, openly shewed himselfe for him, being of power able to doe so, whether the Pope would or not; who fauoured CHARLES his partie, as a King whom hee had made. But the factions in *Italy* made all poore, fraile, and inconstant. To be short, after other matters which befell CONRADINE by the way, hee being come neere to the citie of *Arezzo*, fought a battaile with the Marshal whom King CHARLES had left in those parts. And notwithstanding that the Marshall and his people fought valiantly, yet CONRADINE was victor and the Marshall was slaine in the battaile, and his partie ouerthrowne; whereby CONRADINE wonne so great credit and reputation, that if he would haue staied in those quarters, many townes would haue yeelded vnto him: but being solicited by letters, and messages from HENRY in *Rome*, he tooke his way thitherwards, passing neere by *Viterbo*, where Pope CLEMENT lay, who

Conradine his comming into Italy against the Duke of Anioy.

as an enemie to wars, and bearing of armes, was very sorie for what passed: and comming to *Rome*, hee was solemnely receiued with all the ceremonies accustomed, and HENRY calling him Emperour, lodged him as such in the Capitoll. And he remaining some few daies in *Rome*, departed towards *Naples*; accompanied with the said HENRY, in quest of king CHARLES; and HENRY left in his place and office in *Rome*, one GVIDO FERRETANVS, a man whom he much trusted. King CHARLES hauing alreadie intelligence of CONRADINES comming, and seeing that by delaies hee daily lost more and more, notwithstanding that hee had no equall forces, yet he resolued to end the controuersie by a battaile, which by CONRADINE (who presumed much vpon the multitude and valour of his souldiers) was chiefly desired, so as the one armie drawing neere to the other, neere vnto *Alua:* and king CHARLES knowing how to take benefit of the ground wherein he was encamped, marshalled his troupes in such manner, that he might shadow the greatest part of his armie behinde a hill, and so the fight began and continued aboue three houres, in the end wherof, CHARLES his troupes being neere ouerthrowne, he brake out of his ambuscado, and charged with such furie, that he forced his enemies to turne their backes, and obtained the victorie: and CONRADINE, HENRY and FREDERICK, who (I know not by what title) was called Duke of *Austrich*, escaped by flight. But through sundrie casualties they all three within few daies after fell into his hands, and hee cruelly executing the law of Armes, made the heads of king CONRADINE, and of FREDERICK Duke of *Austrich* to be striken off, contenting himselfe to hold HENRY prisoner for their neerenes in bloud betweene them. By this meanes king CHARLES wonne great reputation, for he had ouerthrowne and slaine two kings, MANFREDS and CONRADINE. And within short space all those townes which held for CONRADINE, hearing of his death, reduced themselues to CHARLES his subiection; and so in *Sicilia*, *Pulia*, *Calabria* and in all *Italy*, the faction of the Gibelins recouered the vpper hand. So as poore CONRADINE in hope to haue gotten the kingdome of *Naples*, lost his life, and therewith his estate of *Suenia*, whereof he was assured: and in him ended the line of the house of *Suenia*, for he left no heire; and that state was lost, the most of the cities therein making themselues Imperiall: yet RODVLPH and his sonne IOHN, were afterwards called Dukes of *Suenia*. The victorious triumphant king CHARLES, with Pope CLEMENTS leaue and authoritie, went to *Rome*, to execute the office of Senatour, which HENRY had lost, and to pacifie the factions which were in the citie; and the Pope from *Viterbo* where he made his residence, neuer ceased to procure peace and concord betweene the cities of *Italy*, and to pacifie king CHARLES: but his desire tooke no effect, for he was interrupted by death, which ouertooke him in the end of the yeere 1278, hauing been Pope little more then three yeeres, and was reckoned amongst the Saints. Pope CLEMENT the fourth being dead, the Cardinals agreed so ill about chusing him a successor, that for the space of two yeeres there was no Pope. What happened in the meane time, is too long to be written, wherefore I leaue it apart, amongst which S. LEVVES king of *France* went against the kingdom and citie of *Tunis*, where he died of the plague. His going thither was to the end from thence to haue gone to the conquest of *Ierusalem*, whereto he was induced and incited by Pope CLEMENT before his death. And before the Popes death, EDVVARD king of *England* went to the same seruice with about two hundred thousand men, which from all parts of Christendome vowed to goe that voyage, but all was afterwards. Two yeeres being past that the Cardinals could not agree, by their

A battaile betweene Charles of Anion king of Sicilia, and Conradine Duke of Suenia.

Conradine Duke of Suenia and king of both the Sicilies put to death by Charles Duke of Anion.

King Edward Longshankes at the warres in the Holy land.

their common conſent in the yeere 1270, THEOBALD a Cardinall was choſen, and called GREGORY the tenth, who was a Legate with King EDVVARD in that enterpriſe, which EDVVARD performed as little in that action, aſwell by reaſon of King LEVVES his long aboad before *Tunis*, where he died, for whom King EDVVARD ſtaied; as alſo for that the Popes ſeate was voide the ſpace of two yeeres, which put all out of order, and cauſed him and ſuch as were with him, to endure great want and penurie: and for that at this time alſo died the Patriarch of *Ieruſalem*, by whoſe counſell he began and continued that warre, and in the end THEOBALD which was the Apoſtolike Legate in this iourney, came to be Pope, wherfore King EDVVARD alſo returned to his countrie, without effecting what he deſired.

The death of S. Lewes king of France before Tunis.

King Edward the firſt of England returned from the wars in the Holy land.

When THEOBALD, or Pope GREGORY the tenth, being in *Aken* was aduertiſed of his election; with the aide of King EDVVARD which furniſhed him with men and ſhipping, hee came into *Italy*, and was ioyfully receiued and entertained by King CHARLES of *Naples*, through whoſe countrie he paſſed, who accompanied him ſome daies iourneys, and comming to *Viterbo*, where the Cardinals attended his comming, hee was crowned after the accuſtomed manner: and he then preſently ſummoned a generall Councell, firſt to procure the reformation and peace of the Church: ſecondly, that an Emperour ſhould be choſen; for *Germany* was brought to ruine through ciuill diſſention and want of iuſtice: and thirdly to take order for the conqueſt of the Holy land, appointing *Lions* in *France* to be the place where this Councel ſhould be held; whitherwards he preſently departed, firſt ſetling the beſt peace that hee could in *Italy*, principally betweene the Genoais and the Venecians, two mightie Common-wealths in thoſe daies, which waged a moſt cruell warre. This being done he came to *Lions*, from whence he ſent to the Princes Electors, commanding them to meet, and to make choiſe of an Emperour. To this Councell at *Lions*, came PALEOLOGVS the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, whom the Pope confirmed in his empire, notwithſtanding that he obtained the ſame by indirect meanes; and he and the prelates which came with him, in the name of the Greeke Church, ſubmitted themſelues to the Councell in certaine points, wherein the Greekes diſſented from the Latines, but they obſerued the ſame as little as at other times they had done. The princes Electors met at *Franckford*, to treate of the election of an Emperour, ſeeing how many yeeres the Empire was void, for now twentie yeeres were fully expired ſince the death of FREDERICK, in all which time, *Germany* was neuer free from factions and parcialities about the Empire, and thirteene or foureteene yeeres ſince the Emperor WILLIAM died, ſo that *Germany* lay abandoned, without an head or ſoueraigne Lord: for RICHARD brother to the King of *England*, and ALONSO King of *Caſtile*, were choſen in diſcord and diſſent of voyces; and RICHARD within ſhort ſpace died, and King ALONSO could neuer come to enioy the Empire. All the Princes Electors meeting, ſpent three yeeres before they could agree about the election; for either of them would haue him to be Emperor in whom they thought to haue greateſt intereſt: ſome alleaged that no election could be made, for that King ALONSO of *Caſtile* was choſen; and the ſame King ſent his Proctors to proteſt that he prepared himſelfe to come into the Empire: others hindred the election, for that they vſurped the lands and poſſeſſions appertaining to the Empire, and were in feare to loſe the ſame: finally, the matter was very confuſed and out of order, but in the end they agreed, and notwithſtanding that OTHO CARVS King of *Bohemia*, had wonne the moſt part of the

Electors,

Electors, and assured himselfe that hee should haue been chosen, yet they altring their determination, chose RODVLPH Earle of *Habspurgh* and *Hessia*, who in line masculine descended lineally from the father to the sonne, from PHAROMOND King of the Francons: others haue written (amongst which is VOLATERRANVS) that this RODVLPH was descended from the house and family of the PERLEONES, or LEONES in *Rome*, an auncient house of Earles, and that one of them vpon certaine ocasion left his countrie, and went into *Ergouia*, and there built the castle of *Habspurgh*, from whence descend the Earles of *Habspurgh*: which they say was in the yeere 1150. But it cannot be so, for the towne and castle of *Habspurgh*, from whence these Earles are descended, is not in *Ergouia*, but another much more ancient, and farre distant from that, whereof long before the time that they speake of, the Earles of *Habspurgh* were Lords: and IOHN STABIVS setteth downe a pedegree of nine Kings and foureteene Earles before this RODVLPH, of whom wee now treat: who besides that he was chosen and crowned Emperor, and gouerned the empire the space of eighteene yeeres, came (through want of heires) to be Duke of *Austrich*: and that house hath continued in that linage from that time vntill this day, and hath produced nine Emperours, and a great number of Dukes: from which RODVLPH the first, is descended RODVLPH the second now raigning in the yeere 1604. In *Constantinople* still raigned MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS.

The Earle of Habspurgh and Hessia chosen Emperour.

THE LIFE OF RODVLPH THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND CIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS Emperour of *Constantinople.*

THE ARGVMENT.

When Rodulphs election was published, all Germany reioyced, as seeing the end of so many troubles, he was according to the custome crowned in Aken, but would neuer goe to be crowned in Italy, alleaging that all the Emperours which went thither, either died there,

or

or returned with great losse. He held sore warres with the King of Bohemia, who by his wines perswasion, violating his faith, rebelled against the Emperour, to whom he had sworne fealtie and obedience. After this warre, the Emperour addicted himselfe to maintaine iustice, and taking no care to come into Italy, contenting himselfe with their tribute; he held all Germany in peace, a thing which no Emperor euer had done. He subdued all those which rebelled, and being olde departed out of this life. He made alliance with many great Lords by meanes of his daughters, for in his sonnes he was not very fortunate.

SOone as it was published that RODVLPH was chosen, great ioy was conceiued through all the townes and cities in *Germany*: and by all men which desired peace and iustice, as well through the desire they had to haue an Emperour, as for that RODVLPH was a man highly esteemed, through the hope they conceiued that he would proue a future good Prince; for he was held to be a man of great iudgement, and very valiant, whereof he had made great proofe both in peace and warre, in the seruice of FREDERICK the second, who was his godfather, and afterwards in the warre against the King of *Bohemia*: but the Ambassadours of King ALONSO and of the King of *Bohemia*, departed very much discontented from *Franckford* homeward, making first their protestations.

Earle RODVLPH little thought of any such matter when the newes was brought him of his election; and he at that time lay before the Citie of *Basil*, besieging the same, wherein were two factions of the Psitaci and the Stelleferi, whereof the one had driuen the other out of the Citie: and he tooke vpon him the charge to restore the banished to their houses, with whose ayde, and the ayde of his friends and subiects, he besieged that Citie: and being aduertised of his election, came to the Citie of *Aken*, and there according to the accustomed manner was crowned; whither came Ambassadours from the Princes of *Germany* to congratulate his election: but neither the King of *Bohemia*, or the Duke of *Bauiere* would obey, or hold him for Emperour: what thereof insued, you shall vnderstand hereafter.

Psitaci and Stelleferi two factions in Basil.

The Emperour Rodulph crowned in Aken.

After the coronation, the Electors sent their Ambassadours to Pope GREGORY the tenth, who then was at the Councell of *Lions* in *France*, and being very glad of his election, confirmed and approued the same: and promised to giue him the Imperiall crowne, if he would come into *Italy* for it; but he would neuer goe to be crowned in *Rome*, neither come into *Italy*: it is written, that he being demaunded wherefore he would not goe thither, for answere recited one of ESOPS fables; saying, that the Lion as king of all other beasts being sicke, would haue them all come to visit him, and they all went and recomforted him: but the Foxe of purpose staying to be last, and being come to the mouth of the caue wherein the Lion lay, would not enter, and the cause being demaunded, answered, that the most part of the footesteps which he saw, were of such as went in, but he could hardly perceiue that any of them came forth againe; whereby he well knew that the most part of them remained foode for the sicke Lion: wherefore he would not put his life in such hazard. After this manner RODVLPH said, that it befell the Emperours, his predecessors, in their iournies into *Italy*: for they altogether remained there, or returned with great losse: wherefore vpon this consideration, he would neuer come into *Italy* to be crowned, which was the cause that many Cities exempted themselues and became free.

A tale of a Lion.

The cause why the Emperour Rodulph would not come into Italy.

The new Emperour through a desire to reforme the estate of the Empire, summoned a Councell or Parliament to be held in the Citie of *Norembergh*, whither came all the Princes in person; or else those which could not come, sent their Agents or Proctors, excepting the King of *Bohemia*, and the Duke of *Bauiere*, which neither came nor sent; neither would they acknowledge him for their Emperour: whereupon RODVLPH by the consent of all those which were present, prescribed them a certaine time, within which they should restore and deliuer vp the lands and possessions which they had vsurped in the time of the Empires vacation: as well such as appertained to the Empire, as to other particular persons; and charged them to make their appearance within the time limited, in the Citie of *Augsburgh*. The time being expired, and the Emperour being come thither, all came or sent their lawfull excuses: and notwithstanding that the Duke of *Bauiere* came not, yet he sent by his Agents, to yeeld his obedience to the Emperour; but in the behalfe of the King of *Bohemia* it was not so, for he sent his Ambassadours; amongst which was a Bishop, to whom publike audience being giuen, the Bishop began a long set oration, wherein he sought to haue proued that the election of RODVLPH was of no effect; and that the King of *Bohemia* was not bound to yeelde him obedience, neither to acknowledge him for his Lord: wherewith he and the Princes present were so much displeased, that without permitting him to end his discourse, they commaunded him presently to depart the court and the citie; and so he and his associates departed. In that Councell the King of *Bohemia* was proclaimed a rebell and disobedient, and as such, were they to proceede against both him and his estate: and the Emperour presently sent the Burgraue of *Norembergh* (which is a dignitie in *Germany*) to require him to surrender the Duchy and states of *Austrich*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and *Stiria*, which he vsurped. But the king neither would, neither had any meaning to do so, and therefore tooke armes to make resistance: & the Councell being ended, the Emperour likewise leuied an army against him: what ensued, we will tell you after that we shall haue recounted what end the king of *Castile* had in the Empire, which passed in this manner.

ALONSO king of *Castile* vnderstanding that RODVLPH of *Habspurgh*, was chosen Emperour, was very sory; and after many consultations held, and a peace established with the king of *Granada*; he departed from *Spaine*, purposing to haue been Emperour, and sent souldiers and other prouision before him, by sea and by land to the citie of *Marselles*; for he held the kings of *France* and of *Naples* for his friends and kinsmen: and so departing from *Castile*, accompanied with his brother EMANVEL, and other great men in the moneth of March in the yeare 1275, leauing his eldest sonne HERNANDES gouernor in his absence, he came into *France*, with an intent to haue proceeded on his iourney. What ensued and how he passed, the histories record not; the effect is, that at the same time pope GREGORY hauing dissolued the generall Councell, and returning into *Italy*, met with king ALONSO, at a place called *Bellocadoro*; where the king shewed himselfe discontent, for that the pope (to his preiudice) had consented to the election of an Emperour, he pretending to be already lawfully chosen: but the pope so well excused himselfe, and gaue the other so good counsell, that he perswaded him to giue ouer his challenge, and to returne to *Castile*; which was greatly furthered through the newes of the death of his eldest son, and of the incursions made into his countrey by the Moores: and of the practizes of his second sonne called SANCHES, (who afterwards was king) who tooke vpon him the gouernment

uernment of the kingdome, and ſought to haue ſucceeded by depriuing the ſonnes of DON HERNANDES: for theſe and other great difficulties (whereof the king was aſcertained) he returned into *Caſtile*; where he afterwards liued in great trouble, for his ſonne SANCHES roſe with the kingdome; onely the cities and kingdomes of *Seuil* and *Murcia*, remayned faithfull vnto him, vntill that about nine or ten yeares after he dyed in *Seuil*, in the yeare of our Lord 1284. and the ſaid SANCHES ſucceeded him in the kingdome. And pope GREGORY after his departure from king ALONSO, trauailing through *Italy* towards *Rome*, dyed in *Arezzo*, and in his place was choſen PETER TARENTASIVS Cardinall of *Oſtia*, a Dominican Frier, and was called INNOCENT the fifth: in whoſe time the truce betweene the Venecians and the Genoais being expired, cruell war began betweene them: and the pope indeuored to haue made peace betweene them and the other cities in *Tuſcane*, *Piſa*, *Florence*, *Luca*, *Siena*, and the reſt which were in armes; king CHARLES of *Naples* alſo interpoſing his authoritie. But before he could bring the ſame to effect he dyed, hauing been pope fiue moneths and two daies only; and him ſucceeded OTHO BON, a Cardinal, and was called ADRIAN the fifth, who was pope but fortie daies: and after him was choſen one PETER, borne in *Lisbon*, and was called IOHN the two and twentieth, who was a great phiſition, and wrote of phiſicke: and notwithſtanding that he was a great clerke, yet was he nothing expert in gouerning his charge; ſo as if he had liued long, he would haue ſhewed his imperfections, but in the eight moneth of his papacy (he being in *Viterbo*) the roofe of a chamber fell downe vpon him: and notwithſtanding that he was taken out aliue, yet was he ſo ſore bruzed, that he dyed within ſeuen daies after. He being dead, Cardinall IOHN CAIETANVS was choſen, who was called NICHOLAS the third, with whom and with all the reſt, the Emperour RODVLPH held friendſhip; whom we left making preparation for his warres againſt the king of *Bohemia*; which he was conſtrained to deferre for a ſpace, for that LEVVES the County Palatine of *Rhine*, and the Marquis of *Baden*, would not (within the time limited) ſurrender ſuch lands and townes as they had taken, at what time the Empire was voyd: wherefore he went in perſon to recouer them perforce with much trouble and daunger. This being done, he marched firſt with his forces to make warre againſt the Duke of *Baniere*, for that he performed not what he had ſworne by his Ambaſſadours and Proctors: but ayded and fauored the king of *Bohemia*. And the Emperour with a mightie army entring his countrey, ſlew many of his people, and by force of armes tooke and deſtroyed ſome townes, ſo as he compelled the Duke humbly to ſubmit himſelfe. And the Emperour marching further, entred *Auſtrich*, which OTHO CARVS had taken, and therein had placed Bohemian garriſons: neuertheleſſe ſome caſtles yeelded, and others were taken by force of armes; and he afterwards beſieged the citie of *Vienna*, to the relicte whereof, after the ſiege had laſted the ſpace of ſeuen weekes, the king of *Bohemia* came with a great power, which he had leuied in his kingdome, and in *Morauia* and other countries: and to the Emperours campe came againſt him the King of *Hungary*, who was an enemy to the King of *Bohemia*, and had taken ſome townes from him: and the two armies being come, the one neere to the other, and in a readines to haue fought; certaine Monkes and Friers became mediators betweene the King and the Emperour, which vſed ſuch meanes, that a peace was concluded: and the Emperour pardoned the King, vpon condition that he ſhould preſently ſurrender the eſtates of *Auſtrich*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola* to the Emperor, and to the king of *Hungary*, what

Anno Dom. 1284.

what he had taken from him; and that the Emperour ſhould anew confirme vnto him the kingdomes of *Bohemia*, and *Morauia*, for which he ſhould come in perſon to yeelde obedience, and be ſworne after the accuſtomed manner. All which the king (ſeeing no other remedy) yeelded to performe, being at the point to haue loſt all the reſt; but he inſtantly requeſted, that he might doe his homage in ſome ſecret place; for as he was a very haughtie minded man, ſo did it extremelie grieue him to kneele to a man to whom he had giuen pay; and thinking that the Emperour would haue perfourmed what he requeſted, foraſmuch as hee ſtaied for him in a cloſe tent, hee came, and kneeling downe before the Emperour to do him homage; the tent was ſo artificially made, that it fell open, in ſuch manner, that he was ſeene by the whole army, wherewith he was much grieued. This agreement being made, and the king returned into his countrey, he was by his wife the Queene very ill entertained; for as ſhe was a vaine proud woman, ſhee told him that he was not worthy the name of a king, neither to weare a crown, ſith he had loſt ſo great eſtates without the hazard of one battaile; and had humbled himſelfe diſarmed, before him which had bin his ſeruant; hauing an army of ſo good men to take his part as he had: and ſith that he had made ſuch a peace, he ſhould now let her haue his army, and ſhe would by warre recouer what he had loſt by eſchuing the ſame. Theſe his wiues ſpeeches, and ſuch like which ſhe vſed at other times, added to the ſorrow for what he had loſt, did ſo much moue him that he repented him of what he had done. And rebelling, meant to decide the matter, and to put away this reproch by armes: whereupon he drew his forces to an head, and ſuch places as were not reſigned, he repayred, and fortified; and went into *Auſtrich* to recouer what hee had already ſurrendred; which he did with ſuch expedition, that he tooke many places therein. When the Emperour vnderſtoode of the king of *Bohemia* his proceedings, hee with no leſſe expedition raiſed his forces, and with ſome Princes of the Empire came againſt him with a great power; who reſolutely ſtayed in the field to giue him battaile, which befell vpon the ſixe and twentith day of Auguſt, in the yere of our Lord 1277: which battaile was ſharpe and cruell, and the king in the middeſt of the troupes being with a ſword deadly wounded by one BERTOLD a fauourite of the Emperours, fell from his horſe: which ſuddaine accident, together with the enemies force, was the cauſe of his peoples ouerthrow, and that the Emperour being victorious was Maſter of the field: and the king was afterwards found therein, as naked as he was borne of his Mother. The Emperour hauing obteyned this ſo notable a victorie, followed not the ſame with ſuch rigour and cruelties as he might haue done; for the king leauing a ſonne called WENCESLAVS, the Emperour married him to his daughter IVDITH, and inueſted and confirmed him in the kingdomes of *Bohemia* and *Morauia*: and foraſmuch as he was but a child, he gaue the gouernment of both his perſon and eſtate, to the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*: and ſo had RODVLPH the Duchy of *Auſtrich*, and other eſtates thereto appertaining; which he afterwards gaue to his eldeſt ſonne ALBERT, who in proceſſe of time came to be Emperour.

Anno Dom. 1277. A battaile betweene the Emperour and the King of Bohemia, wherein the Bohemians were ouerthrowne, and their King ſlaine.

After the warre of *Bohemia*, the Emperour ſought to eſtabliſh iuſtice, and to free the countrie from theeues and rebels which were therein, by reaſon of the late troubles; amongſt which, one was ſo audacious that he ſhamed not to ſay that he was the Emperour FREDERICK the ſecond, who died in *Italy*; ſtoutly maintaining himſelfe to be the ſame: the cauſe whereof was, for that the common people neuer certainly knoweth what paſſeth; and ſome reported that the Empe-

rour

rour FREDERICK was not dead, but lay hidden. This rumour was ſo farre ſpread that it came to the iſſue, that this man gathered ſo many vnto him, that he tooke ſome cities, and ſo much troubled the Emperour, that he was conſtrained to leuie an armie againſt him, by which this counterfeite FREDERICK was ouerthrowne and taken priſoner; and afterwards burnt by the Emperours commaundement, and the reſt of his confederacie were ſharply puniſhed: and ſo he was obeyed euery where. But as for matters of *Italy*, hee tooke no care to goe thither in perſon, but ſought to gouerne there by his Vicars and Lieutenants, euer maintaining peace with the Popes; contenting himſelfe that ſome cities in *Lombardy*, and others which acknowledged the empire, repaired vnto him with their cuſtomes and impreſts, whereof he was very greedy: for in truth, notwithſtanding that this prince was adorned with many great vertues, yet he was much noted and reproched for being couetous and greedie of money, as he afterwards ſhewed. And in regard of peace betweene him and pope NICHOLAS, he freely graunted to him *Rauenna*, and the other townes of that gouernment, which the Pope challenged to be the Church inheritance; vniting thereto the citie of *Bolonia*, which of later time held for the empire. Pope NICHOLAS hauing the Emperors friendſhip, & for that he was a Romane borne, was of greater power then any of his predeceſſors had bin; and tooke from CHARLES king of *Naples* the office of Senatour, and made a law, that from thencefoorth no king or kings ſonne ſhould be Senatour: he alſo took from him the Lieutenantſhip for the Church in *Tuſcane*, alleaging that it was not the Emperours pleaſure that hee ſhould hold that dignitie; and ſo iealouſie and ſuſpition grew betweene them: for it was odious to the Pope to ſee that CHARLES was of ſuch power; wherefore hee procured PETER king of *Arragon*, to make challenge to the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; affirming that they appertained vnto him, by reaſon of his mariage with CONSTANCE daughter of MANFREDE king of *Sicilia*. All this the pope durſt to doe, hauing the fauour and friendſhip of the Emperour RODVLPH, whom they knew to be of great power in *Italy*, and obeyed in *Germany*.

A counterfeit Emperour.

The Pope was author of all the warres betweene the French and Spaniſh for the kingdome of Naples.

About this time the Emperor ſent one to be his Lieutenant in *Italy*, whom many cities receiued and obeyed, and others would not. At this time alſo died Pope NICHOLAS, hauing bin ſo foure yeers, leſſe foure moneths; and vpon ſome occaſion, that Sea was voide fiue moneths; and then was choſen SIMON Cardinall of S. *Sicilie*, a French man borne, and was called MARTIN the fourth. In thoſe times the Popes made their aboad in *Viterbo*, but he would not be ſacred there, but wēt for that purpoſe to *Ciuit a Vechia*, whither came to ſee him CHARLES king of *Naples*, who (for that they both were Frenchmen) was very ioyfully receiued, and afterwards much fauoured: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1281. In the ſame yeere, the Emperour eſtabliſhed VVENCESLAVS king of *Bohemia* (whom he had maried with his daughter IVDITH) in the gouernment of his kingdom; free from the tutorſhip of the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, to whom hee had giuen the ſame. And the ſame yeere he had warre with the Gouernour of a people called *Ethni*, inhabiting a prouince in *France* about *Lionois*, who rebelled, and would haue made himſelfe Lord of *Burgondy*, and of part of *Sueuia*; whither he went in perſon, obtained victorie, and left the land in ſubiection. And returning from his iourney, he came into the prouince of *Alſacia*, wherein were many factions, and many great men rebelling, diſobeyed his commandements: but with his preſence all was ſtill and in quiet: ſo that in all *Germany* he was both obeyed and feared, and raigned in proſperitie. But as in this life no eſtate high or low is free from diſaſters

and mishaps, so a sonne of his whom he much loued, whose name was HARMAN, in a boat passing the riuer *Rhine* was drowned, together with certaine other principall personages: and his wife the Empresse also died; and about three yeeres after he married againe, with the daughter of the Duke of *Burgondy*: and so hee passed fiue or sixe yeers without any accident worth the writing. In *Italy*, CHARLES king of *Sicilie*, and of *Prouence*, being rich & of great power, through the fauour of Pope MARTIN, had a conceit to haue deposed MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, and to haue restored BALDVVIN to the empire of *Constantinople*; who marrying his daughter, was depriued: and although he pretended this title, yet it was thought that he would haue had the empire for himselfe. This being done, he thought to haue recouered the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, whereof he intitled himselfe king: whereupon he practised with the pope, perswading him to excommunicate PALEOLOGVS, for that he had not obserued what was decreed in the Councell late held at *Lions*, whither he came to Pope GREGORY the tenth, concerning the vniting of the Greeke Church with the Latine. He had also intelligence with certaine cities in *Græcia* which rebelled against PALEOLOGVS, and began to prouide men and galleys for that enterprise. But all these purposes were frustate: for whilest he sought to depose another from his empire, hee within few daies lost great part of his owne: for all the cities in *Sicilia*, vnable to endure the violence and oppression vsed by the French, rose and rebelled, and slew all the Frenchmen which were in the Iland: hauing first had intelligence with PETER king of *Arragon*, who lay in waight for *Sicilia*, (vnder this title, that he married the daughter of king MANFREDE) and came in great haste with a fleete of fiftie galleys and ships, faining that he had rigged the same, to the end to haue passed ouer into *Africa*; and so became Lord of the whole Iland. Afterwards there were great wars betweene them both by sea and land, during which, king CHARLES falling sicke, of an infirmitie and of sorow, died; leauing his eldest sonne CHARLES prisoner, in the power of PETER king of *Arragon*. And pope MARTIN sent his Legate to *Naples*, to hold that kingdome in subiection to CHARLES who was in prison, whom he proclaimed to be his fathers heire and successor: the French king sent also to the same effect. Finally, at this time the kingdome of *Sicilia* was diuided from the kingdome of *Naples*, and the king of *Arragon* held the same; and afterwards ensued other alterations. Returning to my historie, I say that the Emperor RODVLPH, through the counsell of HONORIVS the fourth, which succeeded Pope MARTIN, in the yeere of our Lord 1286, sent for his Lieutenant generall, an Italian Earle called PINCINAGLIA DI FISCO (a man very priuate with the Pope) who comming into *Tuscane*; *Florence*, and many other cities which were of the parcialitie of the Guelphes, would not obey him; and there passed many treaties and requests, but in the end, he hauing made his protestations, and condemned some cities, returned into *Germany*. And the Emperour sent thither another Lieutenant, who (hauing commission thereto) gaue eare to certaine cities, which offered to compound for money; and so by the Emperours consent, *Florence*, *Luca*, *Pisa*, and some others, bought their libertie, whereby the Emperour gat little honour; notwithstanding that in all the rest he was a good, a valiant, and a prudent prince: but the greedines of money, and his resolution not to come into *Italy*, made him to vse this basenes.

The Frenchmen slaine in the Ile of Sicilia.

Florence, Luca & Pisa bought their freedome of the Emperor Rodulph the first.

In those daies, EBERARD Earle of *Wittembergh*, being assisted by some other Princes, rebelled: but the Emperour entring his countrie, besieged him in a strong Castle, and compelling him to sue for mercie, at the entreaty of the Archbishop

biſhop of *Mentz*, he pardoned him: and although that he afterwards made ſome ſtirre, yet he perſeuered in his ſeruice. At this time died in *Rome* HONORIVS the fourth, hauing been Pope two yeeres and one moneth, and after his death the chaire was voyd tenne moneths; and then was choſen the Cardinall of S. *Sabina*, a Frier, and Maſter of S. FRANCIS order, and was called NICHOLAS. All this while the Emperour RODVLPH gouerned *Germany* in peace, yet in the prouince of *Turinge*, many inſolencies and robberies were committed, by reaſon of the factions and controuerſies, betweene the Lords of the Caſtles therein: wherefore the Emperour called a Councell to bee held in the citie of *Erfordia*; and by the conſent of the Princes, made threeſcore Caſtles in that prouince to be throwne downe, and laid leuell with the earth, whereby he brought all *Germany* into quiet ſubiection; which continued ſo, vntill his death, which was within a little while after. So as it cannot be denied, but that this Emperour was a good Prince, and a prudent gouernor, both in peace and in warre (wherein he would intermeddle, which was but in *Germany* onely) deſiring as a wiſe Prince to rule and gouerne the ſame well, rather then to ſeeke to ſubdue *Italy*, and other countries, and ſo to loſe both the one and the other; and to auoid contention with the Popes, which in *Italy* he could not eſchue. One thing made his raigne infortunate, which was the loſſe of the Holy land: the Chriſtians loſing all the cities which they held in *Soria*, and *Paleſtina*; for the Souldan of *Egypt* being Lord of *Ieruſalem*, ſeeing the warres betweene the cities of *Italy*, and the Chriſtian Kings of *Arragon*, and of *Naples*; and alſo betweene the Kings of *England* and of *France*, came with a great armie of foote and horſe, and beſieging the citie of *Tripoli* in *Soria*, took the ſame perforce: and preſently did the like by the cities of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Brito*, with their confines; which he deſtroying, ſlew and captiuated an infinit number of people. *The loſſe of the Holy land.* And the Chriſtians which eſcaped, reducing themſelues by ſea and land to the city of *Ptolomaida*, whither came the king of *Cyprus*, the Maſters and Knights Templars, of S. IOHNS, and of the Duch order, together with the Partriarch of *Ieruſalem*; fell there at variance amongſt themſelues, about who ſhould be Gouernour, and haue the command: which the Soldan vnderſtanding, and a certaine truce which he had graunted them being expired, he came with 150000 men before the citie, and taking and deſtroying all the countrie round about it, ſent his ſonne with his whole power to beſiege the citie: who continued the ſiege, notwithſtanding that his father died in the meane ſeaſon: and after ſundrie accidents which happened, the greateſt part of thoſe which were in the citie, abandoning the ſame, fled by ſea; and neere to the coaſt of *Cyprus* were ouertane with ſuch a tempeſt, that the moſt part of them were caſt away and drowned: and the next day, the Soldan entring the citie (ſome few which had no meanes to depart, being left to defend the ſame) commanded firſt all thoſe which hee found therein, to be ſlaine; and then the citie to be deſtroyed, leauing no houſe or wall ſtanding: and ſo the Chriſtians were wholy expelled out of all, that GODFREY of *Buillon* and other Chriſtian Princes had gotten *196* yeeres before: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1290: which ſo ſoone as it was publiſhed in Europe, the Emperour, the Pope, and generally all the Princes Chriſtian were very ſorie: knowing that by reaſon of the warres betweene them thoſe countries could not be relieued. *Anno Dom.* 1290.

The next yeere after this, the Emperour falling ſore ſicke, was carried to the citie of *Spire*, accompanied with the Empereſſe and his ſonne in law, the King of

The Emperour Rodulph died in the yeere 1291.

Bohemia and his Queene, the Duke of *Bauiere*, and many other Princes: and dyed the same day that he came to the citie. This Prince may well be accounted for one of the most excellent of the world; seeing that being but a meane Lord, and finding the empire diuided, rent, and tyrannized, without an Emperour, and at libertie, for many yeeres space, he pacified and brought the same into subiection, and maintaining iustice and equitie, left the same in peace. His house and estate he so much encreased, that hee left to his sonne ALBERT, the Duchies of *Austrich*, and *Carniola*. He was twice married: first with a Countesse of *Suevia* called ANNE: the second time with the Duke of *Burgondies* daughter, called YNES: by the first onely he had children. About the number of his children the authors varie: but when he died, it seemeth that hee had but two sonnes; the one was ALBERT afore named, and the other RODVLPH, whom hee made Lord of part of *Suevia*, who was father to IOHN the parricide, who slew his vncle, as hereafter you shall vnderstand. He had also (as writeth IOHN CVSPINIAN) seuen daughters, which he married to mightie princes: the first was EVFEMIA, which was a Nunne; the second was IVDITH, married to WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia*; the third was MAVVD, married to the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*; the fourth was YNES, married to the Duke of *Saxony*; the fifth was KATHERINE, married to HARMAN Marquis of *Brandenburgh*; the sixth was ANNE, married with OTHO Duke of *Bauiere*; the seuenth and last was called CLEMENCE, and was married to CHARLES the second king of *Naples*: from which issued great Kings and Princes.

The same yeere that the Emperour RODVLPH died, MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS Emperour of *Constantinople* died also, and his sonne ANDRONICVS had the empire: and the next yeere following died Pope NICHOLAS, hauing bin so foure yeeres, and through discord betweene the Cardinals, that Sea was voide two yeeres and three moneths.

THE

THE LIFE OF ADVLPH ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CIIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ALL men thought, after the death of the Emperour Rodulph, that the Electors would haue choſen his ſonne Albert, but through the cunning of the Biſhop of Mentz, Adulph Earle of Naſſaw was choſen, which Albert diſdaining, with the ayde of the French King, bare armes againſt him, purpoſing to depoſe him. Hereto the Electors conſented, and repenting that they had choſen him, depriued him of the Empire, and choſe Albert, who going to be crowned in Aken, came to a bickering with Adulph, and ſlew him in the Battaile.

THE Empire through the death of the Emperour RODVLPH being voide, all men were of opinion that his Sonne ALBERT Duke of *Auſtrich* ſhould haue ſucceeded him: and (in a manner) all the Princes Electors deſired the ſame. But GERARD, Archbiſhop of *Mentz* (which was one of them) vſed ſuch policie, that at the Princes meeting in *Franckford*, he (cunninglie) got their voyces, and made ADVLPH Earle of *Naſſaw*, who was his neere kinſeman to be choſen. The meane which he vſed was this: he hauing already gotten to this effect the Archbiſhop of *Colens* voyce, vſed the ſame policie in obtaining the reſt of their voyces: firſt, conferring with the Duke of *Saxony*, he told him that he had ſome of the Electors voyces to chuſe the Duke of *Bruinſwick* (who was his great enemy) but yet he would forbeare to doe it, if he would giue him his voyce. The Duke fearing that this had been true (for he had heard that the Biſhop

A policie vſed by the Archbiſhop of Mentz.

ſhop of *Colen*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, had graunted their voices to the Biſhop of *Mentz*) perſwaded him, not to conſent thereto, for if he did, it would be his deſtruction, if he were choſen; ſo as whoſoeuer were choſen (were it not the Duke of *Brunſwick*) he ſhould haue his voyce preſently. The Duke of *Saxony* being thus deceiued, with the like wile he gat the voyces of the Archbiſhop of *Treuier*, and of the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*; proponing vnto them in ſecret, to the Countie Palatine, the king of *Bohemia*, and to the Biſhop of *Treuier*, the Duke of *Gueldres*; whereto each of them anſwered him, that if he were not choſen whom he named vnto them, they would giue him their voyces: this they did, ſuppoſing that he would haue choſen ALBERT the Duke of *Auſtrich*, for ſo he made ſhew in outward appearance: ſo that by this deuice he gat all their voyces, without that the one knew ought of what the other had done: and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* promiſed him his voice alſo, for that he had fauored him in the controuerſie betweene the vncle, and the nephew, Marquiſes, about whether of them ſhould be elector: ſo as the day of the election being come, they all referring their opinions to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*; by common conſent the Earle of *Naſſaw* was choſen; whereat they all marueiled, as well for that they expected that ALBERT ſhould haue bin choſen, as alſo for that ADVLPH was a man of meane eſtate, and of too poore a reuenue to maintaine the imperiall dignitie; notwithſtanding that for his owne perſon he was valorous, greatly eſteemed, and held for an excellent man of warre: but as his reuenues were ſmall, he preſently began to be held in contempt, eſpecially by the Duke of *Auſtrich* and his adherents. ADVLPH being thus choſen, by meanes of the Biſhop of *Mentz*, and of his other friends and kindred went to *Aken*, and there was crowned with great ſolemnitie; and then called a Councell to be held in a citie in *Suenia*: and from thence, (for that there were then great warres betweene the kings of *England* and of *France*) he ſent to offer his ayd to the king of *England* againſt the French king; and the king of *England* ſent him a great ſumme of money, to the end that with an army he ſhould in perſon haue come to his ayd; wherewith the Princes of the Empire ſeemed to be much grieued, alleaging that it was a great diſhonor to the Empire, that the Emperour ſhould take pay of any forraine prince: and the Duke of *Auſtrich* ſaid, that ſeeing the Emperour receiued pay of the king of *England*, he might as well take pay of the French king. The Emperor hauing receiued this money, and knowing that the Lantzgraue of *Turinge* his ſonnes made war vpon their Father, he went in perſon to ayd the Lantzgraue, who to obtaine his fauour, and for the hatred which he bare againſt his ſonnes, ſold to him the Earledome of *Miſne*, for part of the money which the king of *England* had giuen him. The Emperour ſpent two yeares in thoſe warres, deſiring to aduance his houſe, and to enlarge his poſſeſſions, as he did; and this time being expired, he deſiring to ſatisfie the king of *England*, and being vnable to performe the ſame, (for the Princes were much diſcontented for that he gaue them no part of the gold which the king of *England* ſent him) open enmitie brake out betweene him and the Duke of *Auſtrich*: and the Duke practized with the other Princes to depoſe him from the Empire; by the conſent of the ſame Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who had choſen him: ſo as the Emperour ADVLPH was of no ſuch power or authority as was his predeceſſor; and men began to ſtand in feare of what afterwards enſued. While theſe matters paſſed in *Germany*, for that it is a very notable matter, I will tell you what paſſed in *Italy*, touching the Papacy: which was in this manner.

Adulph Earle of Naſſaw choſen Emperour.

The Emperour Adulph offred to ſerue the King of England in his warres againſt the French.

At

At the end of two yeares and three moneths after the death of pope NICHOLAS the fourth, in all which time he had no ſucceſſor; in *Perugia* (whither the Cardinals repayred to make their election) was choſen a very zealous man, who was both a Monke & an Hermite, called PETER MVRRON; who thinking himſelfe to haue bin called of God accepted the Popedom, and was named CELESTINE the fifth: and in his beginning (as it was written) who ſo highly honored, that vpo the day of his ſacring, there came to *Perugia* (as to ſee a wonder) 200000. perſons to ſee him: but as this man had wholy ſecluded him from the world, and giuen himſelfe to contemplation and prayer; ſo the world could not well like of him, nor of his faſhions; neither knew he how to deale in the world, for his ſmall vnderſtanding, and leſſe experience in worldly matters; which was the occaſion that he gaue credit to what was told him; by meanes whereof he did ſomtimes one thing contrary to anôther: whereupon ſome of the Cardinals cunninglie counſelled and perſwaded him to renounce the papacie, whereto this good man willinglie agreed, accounting himſelfe incapable of that charge, and ſo oftentimes proteſted, and in concluſion (notwithſtanding that CHARLES King of *Naples* would haue letted him, and to that end induced him to come to *Naples*) did ſo, and in an open ſolemne act renounced the popedome; fiue moneths after that he had accepted the ſame: and vpon his renounciation, by the Cardinals, was choſen Cardinal BENEDICT, and was called BONIFACE the eight, who was the man which chiefly perſwaded CELESTINE to renounce the Papacy: and this deuout man being about to returne to his hermitage, BONIFACE fearing that the people would againe haue reſtord him, made him to be apprehended and detained in priſon vntill he dyed, which was within ſhort ſpace after: whoſe ſucceſſor BONIFACE was farre vnlike vnto him, for he was ambitious, proud, factious, and a great perſecutor of the Gibelins, yet very learned, politique, ſubtill, and of great experience; whoſe end was ſuch as hereafter we will tell you.

Pope Celeſtine the fift renounced the Papacy.

Returning to the Emperour ADVLPH, I ſay that he vnderſtanding that the Duke of *Auſtrich* practized againſt him, and ſought to depriue him of the Empire, warred againſt him, to whom the French king vnder hand gaue ſecret ayd, to the end that the Emperour ſhould not be able to ioyne with the king of *England* againſt him, as he purpoſed to haue done. Vpon this occaſion all *Germany* was in an vprore, ſome holding with one partie, and ſome with the other: and ADVLPHS friends daily forſooke him, through his vnequall cariage towards them, for in his fauours he was parciall, a thing which maketh Princes to be hated of many: by meanes whereof ALBERTS party became ſo ſtrong, that the Princes electors (excepting the Archbiſhop of *Treuier*, and the Countie Palatine of *Rhine* which would not be there) met in the citie of *Mentz*, where alleaging ſuch reaſons as they thought good (which in my iudgment weere very inſufficient) they depriued ADVLPH of the Empire, and choſe his enemie ALBERT; who with the greateſt and moſt floriſhing power that he could procure, of his owne, and of his friends, went to be crowned in *Aken*: whom ADVLPH (who was not a coward, or any way puſillanimous, notwithſtanding that his power was vnequal) went to meet: and the two armyes ioyning neere the citie of *Wormes*, vpon a day in the moneth of Iuly in the yeare of our Lord 1298, there began betweene them a moſt cruell and bloudy battaile: the deſpaire wherewith ADVLPH and thoſe of his party fought, making their inequalitie equall. The battaile continued aboue ſixe houres, either party fighting moſt cruelly, before that it could be perceiued whether army ſhould haue the victorie; and each Generall hauing loſt great

Anno Dom. 1298. A battaile betweene the Emperour Adulph and Albert Duke of Auſtrich.

great part of his people: ADVLPH fighting with his face against the sunne (which did greatly annoy him) in the middest of the throng where the fight was most cruell, was in a great charge felled from his horse to the earth, whither (by chance) came his enemy ALBERT, who (before that he could be ready to breake his thrust) with the point of his sword gaue him so great a wound in the face, that it bereaued him of his senses, so that he was slaine in the place. Some write, that whilest that he was in this fight, ALBERT cried vnto him alowd; Here ADVLPH shalt thou lose the Empire; whereto he answered, This (O ALBERT) is in the hand of God.

The Emperour Adulph slaine.

So soone as the Emperor was slaine and perceiued by his souldiers, they (without making any more resistance) were ouerthrowne, and ALBERT remained victor, although it cost him deere, for a great number of his men were slaine and wounded. In this manner was this Emperôr murthered by the hands of a Prince subiect to the Empire; in the seuenth yeare of his raigne: whether the cause mouing him thereto were right or wrong, I leaue to God, who is the righteous iudge: but the reasons which they alleaged, were that he tooke pay of the king of *England*, wherewith he was grown proud: that he made a Masse priest to be beheaded; that he had caused false money to be coyned, and had degraded certaine Ecclesiasticall persons: that he had forced certaine damsels: and so others which they alleaged: which whether they were true or false, it pleased God that he dyed in this manner. Some authors write that all those which conspired against him, and were accessarie to his death, had euill endes: how ALBERT sped, I will tell you hereafter. Of ADVLPHS sonnes small mention is made, excepting one which with many Earles was taken prisoner in the Battaile; and the Duke of *Bauiere* escaped by slight; other men of great account in this cruell battaile were slaine. In *Constantinople*, ANDRONICVS sonne of MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS was Emperour.

THE

THE LIFE OF ALBERT THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND CV. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ALbert would not accept of his first election, but Adulph being dead, caused it to be made anew, and was confirmed by the Pope, who was easily drawne to confirme him, to the end that he should warre vpon the French king, which he would not doe, neither euer come into Italy. Germany then enioyed peace, and in twelue warres which he waged he euer had the victorie, by reason whereof he was called Albertus Triumphans. Many notable matters happened in his time, as the translating of the pontificall seate from Rome to Auinion, the subuersion of the Knights called Templars, the beginning of the house of the Ottomans in Turkey, and many other things worth the reading. He died infortunately through the conspiracie of a nephew of his who slew him neere to the Rhine, in the tenth yeere of his raigne.

AS the chiefe right to kingdomes and empires many times consisteth in armes, so ALBERT (who was (as it hath been often recited) sonne of the Emperour RODVLPH, Duke of *Austrich*, and Lord of other estates) remaining victor: and the Emperour ADVLPH (who was his riuall) being dead, he finding no man in field to make head against him, remained sole Emperour. But forasmuch as his election was made in the time of the Emperour ADVLPH, in discord, (many contradicting the same) he sought to legitimate and assure his estate. For

Albert Duke of Austrich the second time chosen Emperour.

which cause (accompanied with many princes) he went to the city of *Franckford*, where, in presence of the princes electors, hee renouncing his first election, and holding the empire for voide, was the second time by common consent chosen Emperour: and from thence went to *Aken* to be crowned, together with his wife ISABEL, daughter of the Earle of *Tirol*, and of *Carinthia*, by whom he had many children, whose brother married ALBERTS sister. Which coronation was perfourmed with so great solemnitie, and so many repaired thither to see the same, that vpon the coronation day, there was so great a throng and prease of people, that the Duke of *Saxony* (who married another of the Emperours sisters) and many others were smothered to death, without that any man could rescue them: which was a great disgrace to the feast. After this coronation, a Diet or Councel was held in *Norembergh*, wherein he tooke order for such matters as appertained to the empire; and thence sending his Ambassadours to Pope BONIFACE, gaue him to vnderstand of his election, and entreated him to confirme the same: which the pope at that time would not graunt, but like a proud priest (as it is written) answered, That he was ill worthie the empire, which had murthered the Emperour. But hee shortly after confirmed him: for as this pope was a man of an high minde and presumptuous, so vpon some occasion which happened (which I haue no time to recount) he fell at such oddes with PHILIP the French king, that the king apprehended a Bishop which was his Ambassadour: and such other matters passed betweene them, that the Pope summoned a Councell, to the end to proceed against the king of *France*, who would not permit any his subiects to sue to the court of *Rome*, neither to carrie or send any rents or tributes to the same. Whereupon the pope to the end to vse the Emperours aide against the French king, very willingly confirmed his election: and inciting him to proclaime himselfe king of *France*, promised to depriue the king, and to giue him the kingdome: about which matters were many treaties, and in the end the Pope denounced sentence against the French king: whereby he depriued him of his kingdome, and gaue the same to the Emperour. Herein is great difference betweene the Historiographers, for they report this after sundrie manners. But the truth is, that the Emperour was the kings friend, and had married his eldest sonne RODVLPH, whom he had made Duke of *Austrich*, to the kings daughter BLANCH: for which cause, or for some other, for many are alleaged, he accepted not the title to the crowne of *France*: but was contented with his confirmation in the empire; wherein (following his fathers counsell) he raigned in prosperitie, without any desire to goe into *Italy*; and so neuer went thither. The enmitie betweene the pope and the king so much encreased, that the king deadly hating the pope, practised with a Nobleman of *Rome*, whose name was SARRA, of the house and familie of the COLVMNOIS (who was Lord of many townes and castles, and was of the faction of the Gibelins) whom the pope had banished: for which cause he made his aboad in *France*, and was highly fauoured in the French court. The conclusion was, that this Lord should apprehend the pope, which he vndertooke, vsing such meanes as you shall heare. This Lord SARRA COLVMNA hauing many friends of the faction of the Gibelins in *Alania*, where the pope was then resident (for it was his natiue countrie) departed *France* disguised, hauing first agreed with a captaine called NOGARECIO, to put himself with two hundred souldiers into a place which hee had appointed; and he himselfe went into *Alania*, where hauing secret conference with his friends, he shewed them the French Kings letters and fauours: and so well carried the matter, that vpon a day he assaulted the

The Pope deprived the king of France by his censures, and gaue his kingdome to the Emperour.

popes

popes palace, and tooke him prisoner, and presently tooke his way with him towards *Rome*; which he entred with the aide of the Gibelins, and of his owne familie of the COLVMNOIS which liued therein. But the pope within fiue and thirtie daies after died, hauing been pope the space of eight yeeres and nine moneths; which was in the yeer of our Lord 1302. In this manner ended the high thoughts of pope BONIFACE, who wrote the sixth booke of the Decretals. What the Lord SARRA meant to haue done with him, is vnknowne; yet it is written that he purposed to haue carried him into *France*, which he then could not, or durst not put in execution. After that BONIFACE was dead, NICHOLAS Cardinall of *Hostia* was chosen, and was called BENEDICT the eleuenth, who was borne in *Treuigi*, and was a Dominicane Frier.

Pope Boniface apprehended by Sarra Columna.

Whilest these matters passed in *Italy* and in *France*, ALBERT raigned prosperously in *Germany*: but in *Hungary* were great warres about the title to that kingdome, for ANDREVV their King dying without issue, VENCESLAVS sonne to the King of *Bohemia*, aspired to the kingdome: and afterwards, OTHO Duke of *Bauiere*, against CHARLES sonne of the King of *Naples*, but in the end CHARLES was King: and VENCESLAVS inherited *Bohemia*, which was his fathers inheritance, who was of the same name: but he proued to be so wicked (notwithstanding that he was but a young man) that his subiects conspiring against him, slew him in a citie of *Morauia*: and forasmuch as he also had no issue, the like controuersie arose in *Bohemia*, as was in *Hungary*: notwithstanding that he left a sister whose name was ISABEL: which the Emperour ALBERT vnderstanding, resolued to procure her for his sonne RODVLPH, by reason of a certaine couenant and agreement made betweene the houses of *Austrich* and of *Bohemia*; which was, that the one wanting heires, the heires of the other should succeed in the estate. But the greatest part of the Bohemians determined to chuse a Lord of their owne nation for their King, whose name was HENRY, and was Earle of *Carinthia* and of *Tirol*, and was the Emperors brother in law: neuertheless there was euer ill will and discord betweene them; and HENRY desiring to raigne, with out any intermission hasted into *Bohemia*, and there was receiued and obeyed for King: but the Emperor presently leuying an army entred the countrie with so great power, that HENRY durst not abide his comming: and put his sonne RODVLPH in possession (who was a widower, hauing buried the French kings daughter) and the better to assure him, and to make him the more acceptable to the Bohemians, married him to the widow ISABEL, late wife of King VENCESLAVS deceased: which tooke such effect, that he was presently obeyed by all men, and began to raigne in peace. But it pleased not God that he should long hold that kingdome, for within few moneths after, when hee was freed from all his enemies, hee died suddenly, in the yeere of our Lord 1306. By reason whereof, the old discord and contention was renewed, some desiring to haue the desposed HENRY Earle of *Carinthia*; and others would haue FREDERICK, the Emperors second sonne to be their King. But the Earle HENRIES partie being the stronger, he was receiued and established in the kingdome: which the Bohemians did so willingly, that the Emperour (within few daies after) comming thither in person with a mightie armie, to haue preferred his son FREDERICK, they all so resolutely serued their new King, that after much harme done in the countrie, the Emperour was faine to returne without effecting what he came for, seeing how constantly the Bohemians stood to their defence. In which warres and others which he first had with the Emperour ADVLPH, and other Princes, it is writen, that hee fought in person

The death of the king of Bohemia 1306.

twelue ſeuerall times, and in them all had the victory, and therefore was called ALBERTVS TRIVMPHANS. In the time of this Emperour ALBERT, Pope CLEMENT the fifth leauing three Cardinals to gouerne *Rome*, remoued his ſeate from thence to *Auinion* in *France*, wherein he and his ſucceſſors made their aboad for the ſpace of ſeuentie and odde yeeres, whereof enſued many inconueniences. In the beginning of the Emperor ALBERTS raigne, in *Aſia* the leſſe, began the Empire and dominion of the great Turke, which is now ſo mightie and ſo redoubted; the head and founder of which Empire was one OTTOMAN, of the ſame nation, a man of baſe parentage, but of a high minde, and very politike, who of a ſmall beginning, grew to be ſo mightie, and brought ſo many nations to his ſeruice and ſubiection, that hee conquered many countries, and made himſelfe a King, and laid the foundation of that Empire, which his ſucceſſors haue from time to time enlarged, and brought to that eſtate wherein we ſee it at this day: and from him is deſcended in line maſculine, from the father to the ſonne the great Turke now raigning, in the yeere of our Lord 1604.

The Pope remoued his ſeate from Rome to Auinion in France.

The beginning of the Turkiſh Empire, anno 1307.

In the tenth yeere of the Emperor ALBERTS raigne, which was in the yeere 1307, the Knights of the order of S. IOHNS tooke the Ile of *Rhodes* from the Infidels, where they made their ſeate and principall reſidence, and therefore were afterwards called Knights of the *Rhodes*; and performed many marueiles in armes, both by ſea and land, vntill (in our time) that Iland was taken by SOLIMAN the great Turke, who conquered the ſame. In the time of the Emperour ALBERT alſo in *Lumbardy* neere vnto *Nouara*, began a ſect of Heretikes, which vnder colour of religion, and of charitie, made all things common: and women in like manner moued men to carnall coniunction, alleaging it to be a deed of charitie; and did many other things: this error diſperſed it ſelfe into ſundrie parts, and many thouſands of people followed the ſame. But the pope and other princes vſed ſuch diligence in puniſhing theſe Heretikes, that in the end it was ſuppreſſed, yet not without great difficultie.

The Knights of the Rhodes.

In the time of the Emperour ALBERTS raigne, the Heluecians (now called Swiſſers) began to be famous; all which ioyning together made a league to enfranchiſe themſelues, and to defend their libertie, and gouerned and ruled their ſtate by their Heads or Cantons; which they haue maintained vntill this day, and haue done many ſingular feates of armes againſt the Dukes of *Auſtrich*, and other princes; and from that time hitherto haue been accounted for a very valiant nation. Towards the end of this Emperours raigne, Pope CLEMENT, by the counſell and conſent of the king of *France*, diſſolued the whole order of the Knights Templars, and condemning their bodies, confiſked their goods, which were ſuch and of ſo great value through all Chriſtendome, that what was taken from them, was ſufficient to haue enriched many ptinces, and the other orders of Knights, whereto they were applied. In his time alſo *Sardinia* was taken by the Moores, which Iland pope CLEMENT beſtowed vpon the king of *Sicilia*, to the end that he ſhould recouer the ſame. About the end of the tenth yeere of this Emperours raigne, he hauing leuied great forces, therewith to haue gone into *Bohemia*, with an intent to haue made his ſon FREDERICK king thereof, wherein then raigned HENRY Earle of *Carinthia*; a nephew of his, being his brother RODVLPHS ſonne, whoſe name was IOHN, through ſecret hatred which he conceiued againſt him, for not giuing him any liuelihood or eſtate (he withholding from him in *Sueuia*, what to him by inheritance from his father appertained) reſolued to kill him: and vpon this occaſion, conſpiring with other Barons, which were RODVLPH, VLRICH,

The beginning of the Cantons of the Swiſſers.

The order of the Knights Templars diſſolued and condemned.

The Ile of Sardinia taken by the Moores.

RICH, and WALTER, vpon a day in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere 1308, the Emperour being in a place in *Auſtrich*, purpoſing the next day to haue paſſed the riuer *Rhine*; hee after dinner, for his pleaſure taking horſe, and riding ouer the ploughed fields betweene two little riuers, called *Riſa*, and *Arula*, neere to the *Rhine*, accompanied onely by theſe conſpirators, which were his inward familiers; his nephew IOHN with his confederates, and others which followed him for the ſame purpoſe, getting before him; RODVLPH laid hand vpon his horſes bridle; his nephew IOHN ſtabd him in the throte; and VLRICH with a blow claue his head, and the reſt wounded him, ſome with ſtroakes, ſome with thruſts, ſo that hee was ſoone ſlaine: and the murtherers ſetting ſpurres to their horſes, left the miſerable Emperour dead in the place, in which, his ſonne the Duke of *Auſtrich* afterwards builded a ſtately Monaſterie: his bodie was carried to *Spire*. The conſpirators were ſought out by his ſonnes, and the moſt of them found and put to death. This death was reputed to happen in this manner vnto him through the iuſt iudgement of God, for killing his predeceſſor the Emperour ADVLPH: the truth is knowne to God onely, who ordreth all things according to his good pleaſure: all that I can ſay, is, that the higheſt eſtates are in leaſt ſafetie, and moſt ſubiect to daunger, both bodily and ghoſtly: what appertaineth to the ſoule is hard to be proued, for that it is ſecret, whereof God onely can iudge: but as it appeareth, in great eſtates the occaſion and libertie to ſinne, maketh the matter the more doubtfull, and mens weakenes is alike as well in the great as in the ſmall; which is an argument of the greater daunger; as our Sauiour Chriſt plainly expreſſeth in the Goſpell, wherein hee ſheweth how hardly rich men inherit the kingdome of heauen: wherefore great princes ought to be circumſpect concerning bodily daungers. I will not wearie the reader with other examples, thoſe ſhall ſuffiſe which I haue written of the Emperours, on which (as I haue before declared) there is no kind of death in the world, that hath not befalne them: And to the contrarie, in many meane eſtates, we find not any that in many yeres ſpace, haue died of a violent death, but that the greateſt part of men of meane fortune haue died naturally: but pride and ambition doe ſo blind mens eyes, that what is moſt hatefull is moſt deſired; and wee euer ſeeke to attaine vnto that, wherein is greateſt danger: yet ſome haue been of ſo perfect vnderſtanding, that they would not accept; but haue refuſed empires and dominions, when they haue been offered them, although their number was but ſmall. But returning to the Emperour ALBERT, I ſay that he had by ELIZABETH his wife one and twentie children, ſonnes and daughters, whereof tenne died in their infancie: and his eldeſt ſonne RODVLPH died in his time king of *Bohemia*; ſo as when the Emperour ALBERT died, he left fiue ſonnes, and as many daughters: his daughters names were ELIZABETH, ANNE, GVTTA, KATHARINE and INES, all which were married to ſundrie princes: his ſonnes names were FREDERICK, LEOPOLD, HENRY, ALBERT and OTHO, which OTHO married the Ducheſſe of *Bauiere*; all which (after the Germane manner) were called Dukes of *Auſtrich*, which cauſeth a great confuſion in the hiſtories: but the houſe of *Auſtrich* reſted in ALBERT, who (for that he had the gowt) was called the lame, and was the ſtocke and originall of the houſe of *Auſtrich*, from whom are deſcended his ſucceſſors.

Anno Dom. 1308.

The death of the Emperour Albert the firſt murthered by his nephew.

At what time as the Emperor ALBERT was ſlaine, ANDRONICVS was Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, of whom I finde little written, and therefore make no particular relation of him.

Pope CLEMENT the fifth making his aboad in *Auinion*, gouerned *Rome* and

his estates of *Italy*, by his Legates; by reason whereof, and of the Emperours long absence, many cities in *Italy* tooke for their Lords, the heads and leaders of their factions (which preuailed in them) which they possessed a long time, and to this day some remaine, which of tyrants, haue in processe of time made themselues absolute Lords; as in *Verona*, those of the house of SCALA; in *Ferrara*, the house of ESTE, extending it selfe afterwards to MODENA, whose descendents at this day enioy that estate; in *Padoa* those of CARRARA; in *Mantoa* the PASSERINI were expelled by the GONZAGHI, which afterwards were, and to this day are, great Lords: and others in other parts.

THE LIFE OF HENRIE THE SEVENTH OF THAT NAME, AND CVI. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry being choſen by the Electors was confirmed by the Pope, with an iniunction that he ſhould come into Italy, by reaſon of much diſcord which was therein, the French King was greatly diſpleaſed with his election, for that he pretended to haue been Emperour. The firſt enterpriſe that he tooke in hand was againſt the king of Bohemia, and againſt the Earle of Wittembergh, againſt both which he had good ſucceſſe, he came afterwards into Italy as well to ſatisfie the Pope as to viſite the countries vnder his iuriſdiction, hauing paſt the Alpes he found no great reſiſtance by reaſon of the factions in Rome, where he was crowned, with more ſadnes then reioycing, the citie being diuided betweene the Colonneſi and the Vrſini, which daily fought together, the Florentines would not yeeld vnto him, nor loſe their libertie, and hauing endured a long ſiege, in concluſion they defended themſelues bravely, ſo as the Emperour chaunging his minde went to the conqueſt of Naples, and while he made preparation for the ſame he was poyſoned, and died in Ruon Comunto, leauing Italy in greater trouble then before. He raigned ſeuen yeeres.

TRuly I coniecture that in writing the life of the Emperor ALBERT, I haue made too long a digreſſion, by reaſon of the recitall of other matters which happened in his time: but yet neuertheleſſe I did it, for that I was

briefe

briefe in writing his life, holding it neceſſarie, to the end that the reſt may be the better vnderſtood, and to explaine what is alreadie ſaid: and alſo for that the accidents were notable, it was not fit to paſſe them ouer in ſilence. The Emperour ALBERT being ſlaine through the treaſon of his nephew IOHN, and his death being euery where publiſhed, his ſonnes ſought reuenge, and to get his goods and eſtates, and ſome of them to haue the empire. The princes Electors to make choice of a new Emperour, reduced themſelues (according to their cuſtome) to the citie of *Franckford*: and PHILIP the French king, ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood of the Emperours deceaſe, hauing a conceit to haue been Emperour, ſought (by money and large promiſes) to get the Electors voyces: and for as much as Pope CLEMENT held his court within his dominion (which was in *Auinion*) he ſought by meanes of his authoritie to obtaine the ſame, and to that effect ſent to him his brother CHARLES of *Valois* (although vnder another pretence) accompanied with many men of warre, to the end that no man ſhould dare counſell the Pope to the contrarie. The pope being ſecretly aduertiſed of his purpoſe (and being together with the greateſt part of his Cardinals of opinion, that if the French king were Emperour, he would by that meane make himſelfe Lord of all *Italy*, and ſo his patrimonie ſhould be oppreſſed, and brought to ſubiection, and that many other inconueniences would haue enſued) by his letters and Bulls enioyned the Electors, preſently without any delay to chuſe an Emperour, ſuch a one as ſhould be moſt fit for the ſtate and common good, and they knowing his mind (notwithſtanding that they were ſolicited and vrged to the contrarie by the French king) by common conſent choſe HENRY Earle of *Lutzenburgh*; vpon the firſt day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1308: whereto his brother BALDVVIN, Biſhop of *Treuier*, and one of the Electors did greatly aſſiſt him. So ſoone as his election was publiſhed, and vnderſtood by the French king, he was extremely wroth (for he aſſured himſelfe to haue been Emperour) and much more after that he vnderſtood that the Pope had haſtened the Electors, and had authoriſed them to make the election; for which, afterwards enſued ſome diſcord betweene them. The new choſen Emperour, well accompanied, went to the citie of *Aken*, where with great ſolemnitie he was crowned; and thence ſent his Ambaſſadours to the Pope, entreating him to confirme his election, which the Pope gladly perfourmed, inioyning him within the terme of two yeeres to come to *Rome*, there to be crowned by his Legates. This the Pope did to the end that the Emperour ſhould haue ſought to make peace in *Italy*, for therein were then many factions and tyrannies. HENRY accepting theſe conditions, reſolued to come into *Italy*, and began to prouide for his iourney, which neither RODVLPH, ADVLPH, nor ALBERT, his predeceſſors would doe; and to this effect called a Councell to be held in *Spire*, whither came (in a manner) all the princes. At the ſame time new cares and troubles aroſe, beſides his iourney for *Italy*: the firſt was, that vnderſtanding that HENRY Earle of *Carinthia*, was king of *Bohemia*, and that the ſame Earle was in poſſeſſion of the kingdome, the new Emperor (wanting none to incite him thereto) reſolued to depoſe the ſaid Earle, and to make one of his owne ſonnes king: whereupon hee cauſed the daughter of WENCESLAVS king of *Bohemia*, and of the Emperour RODVLPHS ſiſter, to be brought to *Spire*, and notwithſtanding that ſhe was foure yeeres elder then his ſonne IOHN, yet he married him vnto her, and with this title leuied an armie and ſent him to the conqueſt of *Bohemia*, whither he was ſolicited to come by many of that kingdome. At the ſame time alſo a ſecond occaſion of care was offered, which was, to leuie an armie and to ſend the

Henry Earle of Lutzenburgh choſen Emperor

same against EBERARD Earle of *Wittembergh*, who being discontent with HENRIES election refused to come to his obedience, and being countenanced by the French king, tooke many townes in the empire. The enterprise of *Bohemia* had good successe, for the said Earle hauing (as writeth HENRICVS MVCIVS) raised a power to fight with the Emperour; and the two armies being encamped the one neere to the other, betweene them many notable skirmishes were maintained; but in the end the Earle of *Carinthia*, who was called king, was constrained to retire, and the Emperours sonne assaulted the citie of *Prage*, which is the head of that kingdome, and taking the same, was therein crowned by PETER the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and his power presently so much encreased, that the Earle of *Carinthia* abandoning the kingdome, went home into his owne countrey; and the Emperors sonne IOHN remained king of *Bohemia*. If he sped well in *Bohemia*, the armie had no lesse good fortune, which he sent against EBERARD Earle of *Wittembergh*, for the greatest part of his castles were taken, which (as saith NAVCLERVS) were fourescore: and in the end he himselfe in the best manner that he could, was constrained to compound, not without great losse of his estate; which he after the Emperours death againe recouered.

The Emperour Henry made his sonne Iohn king of Bohemia.

During the time of these troubles, the Emperour forgat not within the time limited by the Pope, to prepare for his iourney into *Italy*: wherein, when his comming was certainly knowne, it caused so great feare, as though it had been a matter the like whereof had neuer been seene; for threescore yeeres were now expired since that any Emperour had bin there, euen from the time that FREDERICK the second died therein, who also was King of *Naples*: that time being spent in contention and discord in the Empire, by reason of the death of the said FREDERICK: and afterwards in the time of the Emperours ADVLPH, and ALBERT, neither of them would euer come into *Italy*. The Emperour HENRY being in a readines to march with his armie, first sent his Ambassadours to the cities in *Italy*, and to their Gouernours, giuing them to vnderstand of his comming, and of his armie; exhorting them to peace, and to lay downe their weapons, for to that purpose hee principally addressed his iourney into that countrey; and he further required them to receiue him and his army into their townes and cities. His Ambassadours were very honorably receiued, and answered generally by them all: for as there were many factions and parcialities, each partie desired to winne the Emperours fauour: onely the Florentines holding themselues for free (hauing bought their libertie of the Emperor RODVLPH, and being then very mightie, and hauing at that time made a league with ROBERT King of *Naples*, and lying then encamped before *Arezzo*) answered the Emperor that they marueiled, that so wise a Prince as he was would come into *Italy* with so great a number of barbarous people, as it was said he brought with him, seeing that the Emperours office and dutie was to take care to cleere and purge that countrie of barbarous nations, and not to bring them thither. And whereas he said that they should leaue to war against the Aretines; they answered, that that also was against his Imperiall office, for it was his part to right wrongs, and to redresse iniuries: and whereas those of *Arezzo* had banished the Guelphes from their houses, hee ought to command them to be restored: and as for receiuing him into their citie, they would be aduised and consider what ought to be done, and in time would answere him accordingly. The Emperor took this answere in very ill part: BLONDVS, PLATINA, and others write, that DANTE an excellent learned Poet in that time, vnderstanding of his country mens answere in his absence, said, that the Florentines

The Florentines answeare to the Emperor Henry the seuenth.

rentines were blind and saw not the present estate, seeing they had giuen such an answere.

The Emperour hauing past the Alpes, the Earle of *Sauoy*, and the Marquis of *Monferrato* came to receiue him, and came with him to the citie of *Turin*; wherein he and his wife the Empresse were quietly receiued: with him also came RODVLPH Duke of *Bauiere*, and LEOPOLD sonne of the Emperour ALBERT, who (as were his brothers FREDERICK, ALBERT, and HENRY) was called Duke of *Austrich*: and the Archbishop of *Treuier* with other Princes, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1312. At that time Pope CLEMENT called a generall Councell to be held in the citie of *Vienne* in *France*, whither came three hundred Bishops, besides many other prelates, wherein the Begardes were condemned for heretikes. From *Turin* the Emperour came to *Aste*, whither came to him some principall heads and Lords of cities, offring him their seruice and to receiue him into their gouernments. And so came to him PHILIP which was called Earle of *Pauia*; SIMON COLLVVIANO of *Bercelli*; ANTHONY VISERAGO from *Lodi*; to all which cities, and to *Turin* and *Aste*, the Emperour sent his Lieutenants to rule in his steed: which were receiued.

Anno Dom. 1312.

The Emperour Henries comming into Italy

From *Aste* he went to *Milan* (the head and strength of all *Lombardy*) wherein were two houses and factions of great power: *viz.* the Vicecomites or Vicounts, from which descended the Dukes of *Milan*; and the Turriones which were of the faction of the Guelphes; and as these two were then of chiefest authoritie, so they sought to let the Emperours comming into their citie: so as there was a great stirre about the matter: but either party fearing that their aduersaries would ioyne with the Emperour, they both receiued him into *Milan*, and he made many of the Viscounts which were expelled by the Turriones, to come in with him: and the Emperour to content both parties, and to make them friends; to GVIDO TVRRIO, gaue the citie of *Bercelli*; and made GALEAZZO Viscount, his Constable of the citie; and left LEOPOLD of *Austrich* with certaine companies of Germanes to keepe the citie in peace. The other cities of *Lombardy* vnderstanding that the Emperour was possessed of *Milan*, sent their solicitors vnto him to offer him their obedience, and receiued such Lieutenants as he sent them, and so did those of the contrarie faction, excepting *Alexandria* and those which were further off, as *Padoa*, *Ferrara*, and *Bolonia*, which being of the faction of the Guelphes, and in league with the Florentines, sent not to him. The Emperour within few daies after was crowned with the iron Crowne in *Milan*, which was wont to be done in *Monza*, for which and for other occasions, a certaine contribution of money was leuied in the citie (as they thought which paid it) too excessiue: by reason whereof and of the Germanes ill behauiour, the people murmuring, tooke armes against the Imperialists and fought with them; and the Emperour sending for his souldiers into the citie, GALEAZZO Viscount, head of that faction, vsed a notable (though doubtful and danngerous) stratagem; which was, that he leauing his father in his house, together with the greatest part of his adherents, went to LEOPOLD of *Austrich* (who was with the Imperialists) and told him that GVIDO TVRRIO and his abbettors had caused that tumult, to the end to make themselues Lords of the citie, as they alreadie were: but as for him and his friends, they were still readie to doe the Emperour seruice in ought they should be commaunded. It was an easie matter to perswade him, which had all men in suspition, to giue credit hereto, and so LEOPOLD and the Imperialists ioyning with GALEAZZO, set vpon GVIDO and the Turriones, which suspected no such matter,

matter,(yet armed and in order,expecting the iſſue of that tumult) and wounding and killing many of them, draue them from the place which they had taken: and GVIDO TVRRIO ſurmiſing what the matter might be (ſeeing the Imperialiſts ioyned with his aduerſaries againſt him)abandoned the citie,and in the beſt manner that he could, with the greateſt part of his faction, retired to the citie of *Bercelli*: in this manner were the Turriones (which were of the faction of the Guelphes)driuen out of *Milan*: wherefore ſo ſoone as this was knowne, ſome other cities which were of that faction, forſooke the Emperours ſeruice, amongſt which were *Crema*, and *Cremona*, which preſently by force of armes thruſt out the Emperours Lieutenants, together with the faction of the Gibelins: the like was alſo done in *Breſcia* and in *Parma*. The Emperour leauing *Milan* vnder the gouernment and guard of the Viſcounts,which (as he thought) had done him loyall ſeruice,marched with his armie againſt *Crema* and *Cremona*: but ſo ſoone as thoſe of *Cremona* vnderſtood that he was entred their confines, without making any reſiſtance they ſubmitted,and yeelded themſelues and their citie,and the Emperour receiued them to mercie.But thoſe of *Crema* ſuffering themſelues to be beſieged, were taken by force,and had the walles of their citie raſed and diſmantelled, and the Emperour otherwiſe puniſhed them for an example: whereupon *Parma* fearing the like,ſued to him for pardon. But the Breſcians truſting in the ſtrength of their citie,choſe rather to hazard themſelues like thoſe of *Crema*, then to follow the example of *Cremona*,and ſo had the like lot: and the Emperor beſieged them a long time,and many men were ſlaine of both the beſiegers and the beſieged, but in the end the citie was rendred to the Emperour; who commaunded their gates and the moſt of their Bulwarkes to be throwne downe. By theſe two iourneys the Emperour wanne ſo great reputation, that the cities of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoa* and *Treuigi*,ſent their Ambaſſadors; and entreating for peace,offered him their ſeruice,and to receiue any garriſon that he ſhould ſend them. His Ambaſſadours alſo which he had ſent to *Venice*,now returned,certifying him that the Venecians were willing to do what he required of them, which was, to furniſh him with ſhipping to conuey his armie(if he pleaſed)to *Rome*.

The Turriones driuen out of Milan.

The Emperour hauing taken order for the affaires of *Lombardy*, deſired to ſee the citie of *Genoa*,and being there his wife the Empereſſe fell ſicke and died; and thither came to him Ambaſſadours from ROBERT king of *Naples*,and from FREDERICK king of *Sicilia*; both to deſire peace and his friendſhip: but the requeſt of the king of *Naples* was held for fained, for that hee maintained two thouſand horſe in *Tuſcane*, in the behalfe of Florentines and Lucanois which pleading libertie rebelled againſt him; and to the end alſo to relieue *Bolonia* and *Ferrara* if need required.The Emperor diſpatched them, ſome with fained,and others with vnfained kind ſpeeches of loue and good will,according to their ambaſſades; and within few daies after departed from *Genoa* by ſea, and ſent his armie by land, which making great ſpoyle in the territorie of *Luca*, came to *Piſa*,a citie at that time very friendly and much deuoted to the Emperours ſeruice,wherein hee was receiued with great ioy, and continued therein aboue two moneths. There hee was aſcertained of the eſtate of *Rome*, and how that therein were great factions and hurly burlies, ſome deſiring his comming, and others ſeeking to hinder the ſame. Thoſe which ſought to let his comming were the Lord IOHN, brother to the king of *Naples*,which came thither with men of warre,and with him came all the faction of the Vrſins,and were ſeiſed of the Caſtle S.*Angelo*,the Capitoll, the Vaticane, and other Holds, and all *Rome* ouer *Tiber*: againſt whom the Colonnois

nois and their faction held the reſt of the citie; betweene which was daily skirmiſhing and manſlaughter of either ſide: for which Pope CLEMENT, by whoſe counſell and inſtigation the Emperour came into *Italy*, was much blamed: for it appeared that where he thought to haue eſtabliſhed peace, he kindled warre.

The Emperour departing from *Piſa* towards *Rome*, and (for that he would not be peſtered with the Florentines) taking his way neere to the ſea ſide, ſent the Earle of *Sauoy* before with part of his horſe troupes: finally, after ſome daies ſtay in *Viterbo* he came to *Rome*, where by the Cardinals Legates, and the Colonnois, he was receiued with great ſolemnitie: the Kings brother of *Naples* together with the whole faction of the Vrſins hauing fortified themſelues in ſuch places as they had taken. The Emperour being entred *Rome*, how long he remained there, and what befell him therein, is not diſtinctly written: ſome ſay that he ſtaied there three moneths, in all which time were daily skirmiſhings, the King of *Naples* ſending galleys and ſouldiers vp the riuer *Tiber* to relieue his brother, which with the Vrſins, held the Vaticane, & the Caſtle S. *Angelo*: and that the coronation was deferred vntill they might ſend to the Pope to appoint the place wherein it ſhould be ſolemnized, for it could not be done in S. PETERS Church (for that was held by the enemie) and that the Pope was in doubt to giue order for the Emperors coronation, for that many of his friends and ſeruants were of a contrary opinion. Others ſet leſſe time, and write not that the Pope ſtood in any ſuch doubt: but they all agree that the Emperour (for that he could not get into S. PETERS Church) was crowned by the three Cardinals which were the Popes Lieutenants in *Rome*, in S. IOHN DE LATRAN; and that ſo long as he was there, his people daily fought with the Neapolitans and Vrſins, not only in the ſtreetes but euen in the houſes alſo wherein they dwelt: in time of which skirmiſhings he departed *Rome*. The Emperour being highly diſpleaſed with ROBERT King of *Naples*, leauing *Rome* wēt to *Arezzo*, which being at his deuotion was enemie to the Florentines and Lucanois; whither all the Gibelins which were expelled *Florence*, *Luca*, *Siena*, and others cities in *Tuſcane*, repared vnto him, and frō thence he went to beſiege *Florence*, in which ſiege many notable matters paſſed: but the citie was with their owne people (together with the Sienois and Lucanois which came to their aide) ſo well fortified and garriſoned, that it ſufficiently defended it ſelfe: whereupon the Emperour hauing lien a moneth and halfe before it, raiſed his ſiege, hauing firſt builded a fortreſſe in a mountaine neere to the citie, wherein, and in other Caſtles and places of greateſt importance, he left munition and garriſons daily to ouerrunne the fields of the Florentines, and to make warre vpon them; and ſo marching vp and downe their countrey for the ſpace of two moneths, in the end he went to *Piſa*, where vſing more then ordinarie authoritie of an Emperor, he ſummoned ROBERT King of *Naples* to make his appearance before him, as before his Emperour and ſoueraigne Lord, and to anſwere to ſuch matters as ſhould be obiected againſt him, for that he meant to proceed againſt him, and to make him, for ſuch matters as he had attempted and done againſt him, aſwell in *Rome*, as in other parts of *Italy*, to be indited of treaſon. But King ROBERT making no account of theſe ſummons; the Emperour (lying at the ſiege of *Florence*) procured FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* (with whoſe ſonne hee purpoſed to marry his daughter) to make warre againſt him in *Pulia*: which FREDERICK putting in execution rigged vp a fleet, wherein he ſent great forces, which began the warre. And in the meane time the Emperour left not to proſecute the warre againſt the Florentines & the other cities of their parcialitie; and the Florentines

The Emperour crowned in Rome.

Florence beſieged.

The Emperour ſummoned the king of Naples to appeare before him in Piſa.

ſeeing

seeing in what distresse they were, and fearing that the Emperour would the next Spring in person againe returne to the warre against them, sent to yeeld themselues subiect to the King of *Naples* (reseruing certain preheminences and exemptions) vpon condition that he in person, or some other either his sonne or his brother should come to relieue them. The Emperour hauing many daies made his abode in *Pisa*, in the middest of sommer (as writeth S. ANTHONY) departed thence very ill at ease; and passing through the territory of *Siena* (wherein he did much harme) he went to the citie of *Arezzo*; whither being come, and the time limited to the King of *Naples* expired, he pronounced sentence against him, whereby he depriued him of his kingdome of *Naples*, and released his subiects from the homage and alleageance which they ought him; and gaue authoritie to his enemie FREDERICK king of *Sicilia*, to make a conquest thereof for his sonne, and sonne in law, which should be, to the Emperour: which sentence, so soone as Pope CLEMENT vnderstood, he presently protested the same to be of no effect, alleaging that the Emperour neither could, or had any authoritie to condemne King ROBERT; for that kingdome was neither subiect nor feudatorie to any but to the Church of *Rome*; and made other protestations contained in the Clementines, in the chapter, *Pastoralis de Sententia & re Iudicata*, and made other protestations contained in that chapter. The Emperour departing from *Arezzo*, with a determination to haue besieged *Siena*, imagining that the Florentines seeing themselues on euery side oppressed, would haue come to some composition: and being by the way aduertised, that in *Naples* and in other parts of that kingdom after the publication of his sentence pronounced against the king, were some Commotions and Insurrections against him: he thereupon with a desire to haue been reuenged of king ROBERT, and to haue made a conquest of that kingdome, resolued to goe thither with all his whole power; and comming within three miles of *Siena*, he lodged his armie in a place called *Monte aperto*, where feeling himselfe ill at ease, he (by the aduice of his Phisitions) went thence to the Bathes of *Macerata*, and thence (feeling no amendement) went to *Buoncouento*, directing his iourney towards *Naples*, vpon which hee had setled his thoughts: all which, together with his other deseignes were abridged by his death, which through his infirmitie ouertooke him in the same place; which happened vpon the day of the Assumption of our Lady, he hauing the same day receiued the holie Sacrament of our Lords Supper; wherein (as some say) he was poysoned by a Frier of the order of S. DOMINICK, and died thereof the same day: which was so wicked and so odible a fact, that a man would thinke that no Christian would haue committed, much lesse a religious man. The same Historians write, that the Pope vnderstanding that a religious man was accused thereof, wrote his letters and Buls by which he published him for innocent and not guiltie. This Emperour died in the yeere of our Lord 1313. in the seuenth yeer of his raigne. Most authors which write of him, say, that he was a louer of iustice and equity, of a pleasing conuersation, amiable, valorous, expert in the wars, of an honest life, a deuout Christian and one that feared God: yet BLONDVS noteth him of imprudence, and couetousnes. He had by his wife the Empresse one son and three daughters; his sonnes name was IOHN, whom he had alreadie made king of *Bohemia*, and was likewise by inheritance from his father Duke of *Lutzenburgh*. The eldest of his daughters called BEATRICE was maried to CHARLES king of *Hungary*, brother to ROBERT king of *Naples*, which within one yeere died in childbed: the second was MARY, and was married to CHARLES king of *France*, which also died in childbed: the third

The death of the Emperour Henry the seuenth, who was poysoned in the Host by a Frier.

was

was married to RODVLPH County Palatine of *Rhine*. His body was carried to to *Piſa*, and there with great duile ſolemnely entombed. The Emperour being dead, there enſued a great alteration in all *Italy*, his army was diſperſed and came to nothing: and great and cruell warres enſued betweene the Florentines and Piſans.

There is ſo little written of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople* in theſe times, that it it is hard to accord one hiſtory with another: what I can gather out of the authors is, that the Emperour ANDRONICVS of whom we haue before made mention, by reaſon of his great age made his ſonne MICHAEL his companion in the Empire, who preſently dyed, and left one ſonne called ANDRONICVS, after his Grandfather, who rebelling againſt the old ANDRONICVS, after ſixe yeares warre bereaued him of the Empire; leauing him his life, and the title of Emperor. This ANDRONICVS was called the younger, and was a great warrior, and very valiant. He that will know more of this Emperour, let him reade GEORGE MERVLA in his ſeuenth and eight bookes of the hiſtorie of *Milan*, and LEONARD ARETIN in his fourth booke of his hiſtorie of *Florence*.

THE LIFE OF LEWES THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND CVII. ROMANE EMPEROVR: AND OF HIS COMPETITOR FREDERICK.

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry being dead, and long time ſpent before the Princes electors did meet, in the end they were diuided, and choſe two Emperours, and each endeuoured to defend and maintaine their partie by armes. They both were Crowned, and all Germany was deuided into two factions; Frederick was fauored by the Pope, yet he would not confirme any of them. This diuiſion encreaſed the troubles in Italy, wherein were long and cruell warres, and no leſſe in Germany betweene the two Emperours, which fought a battaile which continued twelue houres, at the end whereof Lewes had the victory, and Frederick was taken priſoner. Lewes being ſole Emperour

warred against the Pope, by who he was excommunicate: whereupon he was constrayned to set Frederick at libertie; who together with his brother Leopold dyed shortly after. So as he remayned without any ryuall, and without suspition, but not without griefe, for that he was constrayned to come into Italy, called thither by those of his faction, wherein ensued many Innouations, by reason of the factions of the Guelphes & Gibelins. After many accidens he came to Rome, where he was crowned by Stephen Colonna, hauing an intent to haue gone to Naples against his enemy Robert. Vpon certaine occasions he made a new Pope in Rome by whom he was absolued, which the other Pope in France vnderstanding, againe excommunicated him with greater vehemencie; and the new Pope after the returne of the Emperour into Germany, fell into the old Popes hand, and this Emperor could neuer agree with the Popes, neither could be absolued from the Popes curse, so much were they incensed against him. And so the electors fearing the Popes fulminations chose another Emperour, which was the occasion that Germany was againe diuided. So as this Emperours raigne was in the beginning and ending after one maner: and he in these troubles, ouercome with griefe, dyed suddainly, when he had raigned in company and alone three and thirtie yeares.

AFter the decease of the Emperour HENRY (who dyed in *Buonconuento* and was buried in *Pisa*) the Princes of *Germany* which were with him, returned home with some part of his army, for the most of his souldiers remayned in *Italy* to get pay and entertainment in the warres, which therein were alreadie begun, and as it seemed would neuer haue beene ended; the rest were dispersed into sundry partes. But it was one whole yeare after his decease before the electors chose him any successor, by reason that it was long before they met, and also for that they could not agree in their election; so as (the Empire being without an head) there was in all things a great confusion, and the worst of all was, that in all their treaties and negociations, they could neuer agree (as reason required) but were still more discrepant and diuided: and they at length meeting it seemeth that the most of them made choyce of FREDERICK Duke of *Austrich:* for HENRY the Archbishop of *Colen*, ALBERT Duke of *Saxony*, and VALDEMARE Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, although absent by his Agent, tooke his part; all which were his cousins germans and his Fathers sisters sonnes, and Nephewes of the Emperour RODVLPH; and RODVLPH Duke of *Bauier* and County Palatine of *Rhine*, had promised him his voyce: but IOHN king of *Bohemia*, PETER Archbishop of *Mentz*, and BALDVVIN Archbishop of *Treuier*, were so contrary vnto him, that thinking to get the voyce of RODVLPH Duke of *Bauier* and County Palatine on their side, (procuring also the voyce of the Marquis of *Brandenburghs* deputy to that effect) they resolued by all meanes possible to make the said LEVVES Emperour: and either party was so obstinate in their determination; that making their election with the accustomed solemnities, vpon Saint LVKES day, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1314, in steed of one Emperour, they chose two: for the king of *Bohemia*, the Archbishops of *Treuier* and of *Mentz*, and NICHOLAS DE BOOC (who was deputy for the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*) chose LEVVES Duke of *Bauiere:* And the Archbishop of *Colen*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and RODVLPH County Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Bauiere*, to hold his word, (notwithstanding that LEVVES was his owne Brother) chose FREDERICK of *Austrich*; and so there was a diuision in the election; and either party affirmed that he whom they had chosen, was and ought to be Emperour. LEVVES his party alleaged him to be chosen by most voyces, for of seuen he had fower. FREDERICK and his friends alleaged that the Marquis of *Brandenburghs* proctor had falcified his authority, who bringing in writing by the hand of the Marquis the name of FREDERICK, rased it out, and wrote LEVVES in the place; wherefore he

Anno. Dom. 1314.

Lewes Duke of Bauiere, and Frederick Duke of Austrich both chosen Emperors by the Electors.

he was the man that was choſen: ſo as all *Germany*, the Princes and cities, was diuided into two factions, the one holding for the one party, and the other for the other: and from contrariety in opinious, they came to blowes; and the war continued betweene them the ſpace of eight or nine yeares, vntill it ended in ſuch manner as you ſhall heare.

LEVVES departing from *Franckford* with the ayd of thoſe which tooke his part, went to the citie of *Aken*, where he was crowned by the Archbiſhop of *Colen*: but for aſmuch as FREDERICK could not get in toit, (which was the right place) he was crowned in another citie. The ſolemnitie of the Coronations being ended, they could not ſend to the pope for that the Sea had bin voyd aboue two yeares, through the death of CLEMENT the fift; but either of them ſent to the Princes, cities, and potentates, ſignifying vnto them by their letters and meſſengers, the equitie of their cauſes, and to iuſtifie their election. And ſome being perſwaded by the one partie and others by the other, the moſt part of the cities of the lower *Germany* as farre as *Argentine*, held for LEVVES; and ſo did (in a manner) all *Sueuia* alſo, excepting the citie of *Vlme*, and ſome townes which were of the contrarie faction: and in high *Duchland*, and in *Swiſſerland*, almoſt all the cities held FREDERICK for Emperor; and each of the princes electors tooke his part whom they had choſen, and ſo were diuided: and notwithſtanding that the greateſt part fauoured LEVVES more then FREDERICK, yet his brothers, ALBERT and LEOPOLD did ſo wel ſticke to him, that he leuying an army and taking the field, beſieged the citie of *Smina* in *Sueuia*, and brought it to ſuch extreamitie that the inhabitants ſent to LEVVES for reliefe; who raiſed his whole power, and with the ayd of the king of *Bohemia*, and the Archbiſhop of *Treuier*, came to vnſet the citie: and FREDERICK being aduertiſed of his comming, went to meet him, and neere to a riuer called *Nechar*, fought a battaile, wherein both the Emperours fought in their owne perſons: and the battaile was ſo furious that it laſted the greateſt part of the day, ſo that the darke night parted them without any appearance of victorie; yet HENRICVS MVCIVS ſaith, that LEVVES loſt more men then FREDERICK: and ſo FREDERICK returning to the ſiege which he had begun, LEVVES went to the citie of *Argentine*, which held for FREDERICK, and was receiued into it by meanes of the great priuileges and exemptions which he gaue and promiſed thereto; which FREDERICKS brother LEOPOLD vnderſtanding, raiſed a great power of his ſubiects and friends, and came to make warre againſt ſuch as held for LEVVES, and encamped himſelf before *Spire*; whereof ſo ſoone as LEVVES was certified, he departed from *Argentine*, and with his beſt power went to ſeeke LEOPOLD, with a deſire to haue fought with him before he ioyned with his brother; but FREDERICK made ſuch ſpeed that he ioyned with LEOPOLD before they could meet: whereupon LEVVES not daring to fight with them both together retired, with ſome dimunition both of his people and reputation, determining to warre after another manner without hazarding any battaile, and ſo tooke his way into *Bauiere*, to warre againſt his owne brother, for that he hauing choſen FREDERICK, tooke his part.

A battaile betweene Frederick and Lewes.

This aboue ſaid happened in the yeare of our Lord 1316, and in the ſame yeare pope IOHN the three and tweentith was choſen in *Lions* in *France*, after two yeares and odde monethes that the ſeat had bin voyd; who preſently comming to *Auinion*, fauoured the partie of FREDERICK of *Auſtrich*, but for that time, he confirmed neither partie. The warre betweene theſe two Emperours (notwithſtanding that in the ſpace of foure or fiue yeares, the one ſought not to giue the

other battaile) was ſo cruell and generall through all the land, and betweene the cities and ſome Princes, as the like had not bin ſeene; whereof enſued many violences, and robberies by the high wayes; in ſo much that for redreſſe thereof the cities of *Argentine*, *Spire*, *Wormes*, *Mentz*, and others made a confederacie, and agreed together to raiſe certaine companies of foote and horſe to guard and aſſure the wayes and paſſages for merchants and trauellers, whitherſoeuer they went: and ſo *Germany* being afflicted with trouble and miſery, without any battaile or feate of armes worth the writing betweene the perſons of the two Emperours, vntill in the yeare 1323, in which time what happened in *Italy*, from the time of the Emperour HENRY the ſeuenth vntill then, we will briefly bring to light, eſpecially in *Lombardy*, being a matter concerning the Empire.

When the Emperour HENRY died, the Viſcounts (from which deſcended the Dukes of *Milan*) were ſo abſolute Lords thereof, that they being no longer content with that citie; MATHEVV Viſcount, GALEAZZO and the reſt tooke *Pauia* and other cities; which they might eaſily ſoone bring to paſſe, hauing the aide of the Germanes, which of the Emperours armie therein remained; and they alſo taking part (as they did) with the Emperour LEVVES: and as the empire was diuided and in ſtrife, LEVVES to haue of his ſide ſo puiſſant a people and familie, ſent him Ambaſſadours and very kind and friendly letters. But Pope IOHN being of the contrarie faction, ſo ſoone as hee was choſen, willed FREDERICK to ſend his brother HENRY into *Italy*: who in hope that the Pope would haue confirmed his election, did ſo. But his going was to ſmall effect, for he came but neere to the citie of *Pauia*, and from thence returned: for as the Imperialiſts euer maintained the faction of the Gibelins, and the Pope the Guelphs; ſo he for that he could not hold with both parties, returned into *Auſtrich*; by reaſon whereof, the Gibelins preuailed in *Lombardy* againſt the Pope, and againſt King ROBERT of *Naples* which were of the contrarie faction: in ſo much that MATHEVV Viſcount of *Milan*, being of the Gibelins, with the aide of CANNIS SCALIGER Gouernor of *Verona*, purpoſed to haue taken *Genoa*, vnder colour to haue reſtored the SPINOLAS and the DORIAS, which were baniſhed thence, for that they were Gibelins (the Guelphs being of greateſt power in that citie) and ſent his ſonne MARKE Viſcount thither with an armie, who beſieged the citie; and aide comming to either ſide the warre was very ſharpe, and the ſiege was one of the moſt cruell that that hath been in the world; in ſo much that the Genowaies, to obtaine reſcue and ſuccour, became ſubiect to the king of *Naples* for tenne yeeres. Before and after which ſiege was cruell warre betweene the Piſans and the Florentines; the king of *Naples* aſſiſting the Florentines, and other princes and cities the Piſans; a matter too long to be related. And the power of the Viſcounts daily encreaſing in *Lombardy*, the Pope which was their enemie, ſought a meane to cauſe the French king to ſend his nephew PHILIP with an armie into *Italy*; and he did ſo, and comming into *Lombardy*, many things happened which I haue no time to recount: but the concluſion is, that he returned againe into *France*, without doing any thing worthie memorie. And the ſiege of *Genoa* continuing, MATHEVV Viſcount beſieged *Bercelli*, and tooke it, expelling thence the Turriones which were his old enemies: ſo as at this time the Viſcounts were Lords and in poſſeſſion of the cities of *Milan*, *Pauia*, *Placencia*, *Lodi*, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Noüarra*, *Bercelli*, *Terdona* and *Alexandria*, beſides others which were his confederates, as *Luca*, and CASTRVCHO the Gouernour thereof, the cities of *Piſa*, and *Arezzo*, and the Marquis of *Ferrara*, a citie belonging to the Church; and SCALIGER of *Verona*: againſt which

which ROBERT king of *Naples*, the Florentines, the Pope, and all thoſe which were of the faction of the Guelphes, waged warre. The ſiege of *Genoa* continued fiue yeeres, wherein many accidents befell both by ſea and by land; whither the king of *Naples* and the Pope ſent threeſcore galleys to the reliefe thereof; and in the end the citie was not taken, but the ſiege was raiſed, and many matters befell which I cannot write, for that I am to returne to my hiſtorie of LEVVES and FREDERICK; both which were called, and pretended to be Emperours.

The eighth yeere being now expired ſince theſe two warred, and FREDERICK pretending to make a conqueſt of the countrie of *Bauiere*, whereof the Emperour LEVVES was called Duke, and was in poſſeſſion (as protector to his nephew, thorow the death of his brother RODVLPH) leuied 2200. armed pikes, and a great number of other footmen, which were his ſubiects, and of the king of *Hungary* and other his friends: and therewith (being accompanied with his brother HENRY, and other princes and great men, daily expecting the comming of his brother LEOPOLD out of *Sueuia* to ioyne with him, with eight hundred men at armes and a great number of foote) departed from *Auſtrich*, and entred *Bauiere*, wherein he tooke townes and caſtles. And being there for a ſpace maſter of the field, his enemie LEVVES in the meane time was not idle, but of his owne forces, the kings of *Bohemia*, the Archbiſhops of *Treuier*, and other his friends which being abſent ſent their aide, leuied an armie containing aboue thirtie thouſand foote, and about two thouſand men at armes: With theſe forces hee went to ſeeke his enemie, with a reſolution to giue him battaile before that his brother LEOPOLD ſhould ioyne with him: which FREDERICK purpoſed to haue deferred vntill his brothers comming; but LEVVES came ſo neere him, and gaue him ſo many occaſions, that contrarie to the opinion of the moſt of his friends, he reſolued to hazard the battaile; and ſo vpon a morning in the moneth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1323, each of theſe competitors marſhalling his ſquadrons; and both the one and the other aſſuring himſelfe, that in the victorie conſiſted the poſſeſſion of the empire; with equall power and courage moſt valiantly beginning the fight, maintained the ſame with great furie vntill it was darke night (that author which ſetteth downe leaſt time ſaith) that the battaile laſted twelue houres; and in the end LEVVES hauing the victorie, FREDERICK and his brother HENRY valiantly fighting were taken priſoners, and many others of great acconnt were taken and ſlaine. It is written, that in this battaile were ſlaine foure thouſand horſemen, and ſo great a multitude of foote, that they number them not: ſo as the victors receiued no leſſe loſſe then the vanquiſhed. After this notable victorie, the moſt of the cities and princes which held with FREDERICK (conforming themſelues with the time) yeelded obedience vnto LEVVES, and ſo hee remained ſole Emperour: whom all men imagined would haue put FREDERICK to death; but he receiuing him to mercie, ſent him priſoner to the caſtle of *Triſnir*. FREDERICKS brother LEOPOLD (who as I ſaid came to ioyne with him) vnderſtanding that his brother was ouerthrowne and taken, was incomparably ſorie: and the more, when he knew that if he had forborne to fight vntill his comming, he might haue obtained the victorie. This paſſion continuing in him, he neuer left to moleſt the Emperor LEVVES ſo long as he liued; firſt procuring his brothers libertie; and afterwards in reuenge, to execute the wrath and diſpleaſure which he had conceiued.

A battaile betweene the Emperours Lewes and Frederick, wherein Frederick was ouerthrowne and taken.

In this manner LEVVES through the ouerthrow and impriſonment of his enemie FREDERICK remained ſole Emperour: but was not therefore free from

troubles and warres; for as hee was choſen in diſcord and controuerſie, ſo his raigne (though of long continuance) was euer vnquiet and full of croſſes and troubles: wherefore the hiſtorie of his time will be longer then ordinarily of others. So ſoone as he had obtained the ſaid victorie, he ſent an Ambaſſadour to Pope IOHN the 23, (who then lay in *Auinion*) and deſiring him to confirme his election, yeelded apparant reaſon for the ſame. Pope IOHN which had euer been his aduerſarie, would not grant his requeſt, wherof FREDERICKS brother LEOPOLD was the principall occaſion, who leauing his eſtate of *Auſtrich* to his brothers OTHO and ALBERT, came into *France* to the pope, to the end to incenſe him againſt the Emperor LEVVES, and to entreate him to commaund him to reſigne the empire, and to releaſe his brother: and thence went to the French king to procure the like: in both which places hee found good entertainment and fauour; and they ſent their letters and Ambaſſadours to the Emperour, requeſting and requiring him to releaſe FREDERICK, and preſently to ſet him at libertie: but he making his excuſes and anſweres, would not perfourme what they required; and knowing that the Pope was his enemie, he wrote his letters of fauour, and ſent authoritie to MATHEVV Viſcount, and to his ſonne GALEAZZO, Gouernours of *Milan*, and of other cities in *Italy*, to hold and gouerne the ſame for him; and ſent ſouldiers to them, & to others of the Gibelines. The Pope being hereof aduertiſed (aſſembling many Biſhops in *Auinion*, together with his Conſiſtorie of Cardinals, by the conſent of the French King, and through LEOPOLDS entreaty, which ſolicited the ſame) excommunicating the Emperor, alleaged for his reaſon, that he fauoured ſuch as were enemies to his Church in *Lombardy* and in *Italy*: and therewith aſſigned him the terme of three moneths, within which, he renouncing the election which was made of him, ſhould appeare before him, to aunſwere to what ſhould be obiected; and ſhould recall the forces which he had ſent to the Viſcounts in *Italy*, and other enemies to his Church. The Emperor made aunſwere to theſe citations; and making his appeale, publiſhed his reaſons and excuſes through all *Italy*: wherein at that time were waged moſt cruell warres by the popes Legates and Captaines, and the King of *Naples*; againſt the Viſcounts, the Piſans, the Lucanois, and other cities and princes Gibelines, which the Emperour LEVVES fauored and aſſiſted; whereof GEORGE MERVLA, LEONARD ARETIN, ANTHONY, and MACHIAVEL haue written at large.

The enmitie betweene the Emperor and the pope ſo much encreaſed through the inſtigation of LEOPOLD of *Auſtrich*, for that he would not releaſe his brother FREDERICK; that the pope meeting the French king, conſulted with him how he might depoſe the Emperour, and giue the Empire to the king of *France*; but the Emperour LEVVES was of ſo great power in *Germany*, that this parley tooke ſmall effect: neuertheleſſe, he to pacifie LEOPOLD, and FREDERICKS other parents and friends, (taking FREDERICKS oth, and ſuch other ſecuritie as he could giue him, that he would no more take vpon him the name of Emperour, neither practiſe or procure the ſame) releaſed him out of priſon, and ſuffred him to go at liberty into the countrey of *Auſtrich*, where he afterwards for a ſmall ſpace liued in peace and ſorrow: and LEOPOLD notwithſtanding that he ſaw his brother at liberty, neuer deſiſted from moleſting LEVVES his raigne, but could doe little, for the ſmall time that he liued, and both of them dying without iſſue to ſucceede them, with their death the controuerſie ceaſed.

The Emperour Frederick ſet at liberty by the Emperour Lewes.

LEVVES being freed from the contention with FREDERICK and LEOPOLD; and

and letters comming daily to him from the Gibelines which took his part in *Italy*(soliciting him to come thither)and from the citie of *Rome* it selfe, he with a desire to rule and to command, and to be crowned therein,resolued to goe thither: wherefore,summoning a Councel to be held in *Spire*,he gaue the Princes of *Germany* to vnderstand of his determination,which moued with the reasons by him alleaged,consented to his going,and some offered to serue and accompanie him, and all to aide him with men and money:and so leuying an army he departed out of *Germany*,carrying with him his second wife called MARGARET,daughter of the Earle of *Holland*,and came to the city of *Trent*(in the yeere of our Lord 1327, *Anno Dom.* 1327. and in the thirteenth of his raigne(reckoning from the beginning of him and of FREDERICK)where he staied: for thither he had appointed all the cities which were at his deuotion to send their Agents,to the end, there to treat and conclude vpon what was to be done: thither came Ambassadours from GALEAZZO Viscount of *Milan*, and from his brothers IOHN, MARKE, LVCAS, and STEVEN, (for their father MATHEVV was dead) and the Marquis of *Mantoa*,and from him of *Verona*, and the cities of *Pisa*, and *Luca*,and the rest within *Lombardy* held with *Milan*, and from many others; which making great offers to aide and assist him with men and money,counselled him presently to march forwards;and he did so, and came directly to *Brescia*, and thence to *Milan*, and there was crowned with the crowne of Iron,and there staied aboue thirtie daies after his coronation,and from thence(as some say) sending to entreat the Pope to confirme his election and to absolue him of his excommunication, hee staied there longer then hee thought to haue done, to get money to pay his souldiers; by reason whereof a great contribution was to be leuied in *Milan*, and in other cities of the league, then they willingly would haue paied: and GALEAS Viscount sometimes by entreaty,and sometimes by counsell,sought to haue auoided the tribute to be leuied vpon his countrie: whereupon the Emperour made him,his sonnes and brothers to be apprehended, and deposed them from the gouernment of the citie: and to winne the good will of the people,and to shew that he gaue them libertie, he granted that they should chuse amongst themselus eight and twentie citizens and one President, which should haue the gouernment thereof. With this baite he obtained what he desired,and the taxe which he had laid vpon them: which deed (although recounted after sundrie manners)was the cause of great alterations; and that the Emperor was noted of ingratitude,and excessiue crueltie,so to deale with those which had called him into the countrie; although it cannot be denied but that they were tyrants. Hauing dispatched his busines in *Lombardy*, he tooke his way through *Tuscane* towards *Rome*, by the procurement of CASTRVCHO, who was one of the most valiant captaines of his time,and commanding in *Luca*, maintained the warre against the Florentines, and against CHARLES sonne of ROBERT King of *Naples*,who with a great garrison defended that citie by his fathers direction,to whom it was become subiect: and caried with him GALEAZZO Viscount and his brothers prisoners. The Emperour being come to *Luca*,was by CASTRVCHO receiued with very great ioy and solemnitie: and from thence desiring to goe to *Pisa*, the Pisans were in a doubt whether they should receiue him,or no: but in the end he was entertained, and made his aboad there about two moneths; during which time,CHARLES of *Naples* being with great forces in *Florence*,the Emperor resolued to hold on his iourney without troubling himselfe with him: and being in *Pisa*, released GALEAS Viscount of *Milan*,and his sonnes AZZO,and MARKE, vpon their othes,and at CASTRVCHO his entreaty,

whoſe authoritie(gotten by his valour in armes)was then very great: which afterwards were releaſed from all,in ſuch manner as you ſhall heare. The Emperour going from *Piſa*, acompanied by CASTRVCHO with 1500 horſe of his owne, went along the ſea coaſt towards *Rome*, purpoſing (as ſome write) after his coronation to haue gone againſt the King of *Naples*, who was his great enemie: whereupon ſo ſoone as the Emperor was come neere to *Rome*, CHARLES departing from *Florence*, towards *Naples* to the aide of his father, left an excellent Captaine called PHILIP CARNOSENSE, in *Florence*, and within ſhort ſpace after, this CHARLES dying(his father the King hauing no more ſonnes) left two daughters. The Emperors comming being knowne in *Rome*, cauſed great diſſention and tumults therein, but as the greateſt part was willing to receiue him, and the reſt to the contrarie, in the end, he was ſolemnly receiued: but his coronation, and who crowned him, where, and vpon what day, is diuerſly recounted, which often happeneth amongſt thoſe which are preſent, much more amongſt Hiſtoriographers: the truth is that LEVVES was crowned in *Rome* by the hands of STEPHEN COLONNA, who at that time was Vicar of *Rome* (an office and gouernment then newly erected) yet LEONARD ARETINE, and ANTHONY ſay that his ſonne SARRA COLONNA crowned him, and that he was crowned againſt the will of the pope or his Legates, yet with great applauſe of the people both ſecular and regular.

The Emperor Lewes the fifth crowned in Rome.

LEVVES being crowned, together with the Empereſſe, was called Emperor and *Semper* AVGVSTVS; and the newes being diſperſed ouer *Italy*, thither repaired to him many principall men of the Gibelines; and he being very puiſſant, and accompanied by the valiant CASTRVCHO (of whom next to the Emperor was made chiefeſt account) to iuſtifie his coronation and his other doings in the iudgement of the people, publiſhing and auerring that pope IOHN the three and twentith, who then was in *Auinion*, neither was, neither ought to be held for pope, he of his owne authoritie created one PETER DE CORVARIA, a Franciſcan Frier, pope; who (as ſaith PLATINA) had been a married man, and in his wiues time tooke that habit: and he accepting the papacie, was called NICHOLAS, and made Cardinals and Biſhops, and held a pontificall court; and the Emperor gaue him the obedience and honor as to a pope; and being abſolued of his excommunication, was confirmed in his Empire, and had elſe what he would deſire: which was done againſt the will of many prieſts and other regular perſons, which therefore left *Rome*; yet there wanted not others which approouing the ſame, tooke part of the benefit. When theſe newes were brought to pope IOHN, he aggrauating his cenſures and excommunications, proclaimed him for no Emperor, but a tyrant and an vſurper of the Empire. The Emperor being in *Rome*, the Empereſſe bare him a ſonne, called LVDOVICVS ROMANVS; and making preparation to goe in perſon againſt the King of *Naples*, practiſed with FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* to doe the like; but ſtaying longer in *Rome* then was expedient, it happened that the captaine whom CHARLES of *Naples* had left with the garriſon in *Florence*, together with the Florentines, ſurpriſed the citie of *Piſtoia*, which was at CASTRVCHO his deuotion, and in league with *Piſa* and *Luca*: whereof when CASTRVCHO (being then with the Emperor in *Rome*) was aduertiſed, hee for feare to loſe the reſt preſently departed thitherwards, and comming thither, found great reſiſtance; but in the end he valiantly recouered the citie. CASTRVCHO his departure from the Emperor made him ſo much to alter his determination, that he giuing ouer the enterpriſe of *Naples* departed

The Pope excommunicated the Emperor.

departed with his pope from *Rome* (wherein he left the beſt order that he could for his purpoſe, firſt eſtabliſhing therein two gouernors, one of the family of the Vrſins, and the other of the Colunnois, which were called the Emperors Vicars) and tooke his way towards *Florence*; whither when it was knowne that he was comming, all men were of opinion that he would by force of armes haue taken that citie, accounting it not poſſibly to be defended ſith that CASTRVCHO was in his ſeruice, againſt whom alone the Florentines could hardly make their partie good: but it pleaſed God to diſpoſe thereof after another manner; for CASTRVCHO (in whom he repoſed his chiefeſt truſt) dyed, and his death cauſed ſo great an alteration, that the Emperor therefore, and through the loſſe of many of his people, and alſo for that others mutined, reſolued to returne into *Germanie*, firſt placing his Lieutenants in *Piſtoia* and in *Luca*, out of which he put the ſonnes and parents of CASTRVCHO; ſuch are the rewards which ingratefull princes vſe to beſtow vpon the children of thoſe which haue done them good and faithfull ſeruice. At the ſame time alſo died in *Piſa*, GALEAS Viſcount (tyrant of *Milan*) depriued of that dominion; and the Emperour for a great ſumme of money gaue leaue to his ſonne AZZO to returne to *Milan*, which he promiſed the Emperor towards the payment of his ſouldiers before his departure, and left his brother MARKE in pawne for the ſame: and comming to *Milan* was receiued with great affection into the citie, into the ſame place and authoritie which his father held; and (as BLONDVS writeth) recouered in *Milan* the money promiſed, and deliuered the ſame to the Germanes ſent by the Emperor, which forgetting to come therewith to *Piſa*, returned home to their houſes. The Emperor departing from *Piſa*, with a determination to continew his iourney into *Germany*, left his pope there behind him; who afterwards by the practiſe of one BONIFACE of *Piſa* was apprehended and brought to *Auinion*, and comming in a priuate habit into the popes preſence, dyed in his power a priſoner: and the Emperour paſſing through *Lombardy* into *Germany*, AZZO Viſcount (now Lord of *Milan*) would not receiue him into the citie, neither was the Emperor of power able to aſſault it: and ſo departing out of *Italy*, left neither the peace nor good gouernment which he found therein: but the citie of *Piſa* and others, which had held for him, ſo ſoone as he was gone, caſt out his Lieutenants and Gouernors; and the tyrants which before were therein, tooke more townes and cities, the moſt of which were Gibelines; and thoſe of the houſe of GONZAGA, then made themſelues abſolute Lords of *Mantoüa*, which they hold vntill this day. It ſeemeth that the long continuance of their poſſeſſion hath made their title iuſt and lawfull, adding thereto the confirmations made afterwards by the Emperors and the popes after ſundrie manners and conditions: and ſome Captaines and Lieutenants, made themſelues Lords and tyrants, as GALEOTTO MALATESTA in *Arimino*; MANFREDO PIO in *Carpi*; RICHARD MANFREDI in *Fauencia*; and others in many other places. But notwithſtanding all this, the factions of the Guelphes and Gibelines had taken ſuch roote in *Italy*, that all the Gibelines which tooke his part preſently ſolicited the Emperor ſpeedely to returne thither againe; for through his abſence, the Guelphes, with the ayde of the Florentines, of the King of *Naples*, and the pope, warred vpon them: but the Emperor being otherwiſe buſied in *Germany*, could not returne, notwithſtanding that he deſired the ſame. But IOHN King of *Bohemia*, by his direction leuied an armie and came into *Italy*, who paſſed many aduentures, which for breuitie I omit: the concluſion was, that he thinking to pleaſe both parties, was

called

called the peace-maker of *Italy*; and he procuring many treaties and parlies with the popes Legates, came through that occaſion to diſpleaſe both the one and other partie; as it ordinarily happeneth to thoſe which ſeeke to pacifie two contrarie factions, and fell into ſuſpition with the Emperor, but much more with the Lords of *Italy*: whereupon, AZZO Viſcount Lord of *Milan*; MASTINO DE LA SCALA Lord of *Verona*; PHILIP GONZAGA Marqueſſe of *Mantoa*: VBERTINO DI CARRARA Lord of *Padoa*, the Marqueſſe of *Ferrara*, and ſome others, as ROBERT King of *Naples*, and the Florentines which vntill then had been their enemies, ioyned together in a league and confederacie, promiſing to protect and defend the one the other againſt all the world: for which not onely the Emperour, but the pope alſo was very much diſcontented; and there enſued great chaunges and alterations in all matters in *Italy*, which I haue no time to relate. The Emperor ſeeing himſelfe excommunicate, and that the pope deſiſted not from proceeding againſt him; perſwaded all men that he was vniuſtly accuſed, and fearing ſome alteration, with faire words, large gifts, and good entertainement ſatisfied the Lords and princes of *Germanie*, ſeeking otherwiſe to be abſolued, and ſome meanes of reconciliation, which was a matter (in a manner) impoſſible to be effected, for the King of *France* in whoſe countrey and (as we may ſay) power the pope and his Cardinals then were, notwithſtanding that the pope would, yet he would not conſent thereto; and ſo the matter continued vntill the death of pope IOHN, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, three hundred, thirtie and foure, hauing been pope nineteene yeeres and foure monethes: at which time the ſtates of *Carinthia* and *Tirol* came to be vnited to the houſe of *Auſtrich*.

Matters ſtanding in ſuch confuſion as we haue declared, and pope IOHN being dead, the Cardinall of Saint *Priſca* whoſe name was IACOB, borne in *Tholouſe* in *France*, was choſen pope, who was a Monke of the order of CISTEL, and was called BENEDICT the twelfth; and being inſtalled, ratified and renewed the ſentence pronounced by his predeceſſor againſt the Emperor, which he did ſo ſpeedely, that it was thought to haue been done through the inſtigation of the French King: but within few daies after, the King deſiring the pope to make him his Vicar or Lieutenant Generall in *Italy*, and to giue him the tenth part of the Church reuenues and firſt fruites throughout all Chriſtendome (to the end therewith to make a conqueſt of *Ieruſalem*) ſo much troubled the pope with that requeſt, that he made ſhew to be much diſcontent therewith; and began in ſecret to giue eare, and good hope to the Emperors party; whereof he being aduertiſed, ſent him a ſolemne Ambaſſade, praying and entreating him to abſolue him, and to approue his election; whereto the pope made a pleaſing anſwere, and the matter was at the point to haue been concluded; but the Kings of *France* and of *Naples* (enemies to the Emperor) ſtrake ſuch a feare into the pope and his Cardinals, that he durſt not performe it; ſo as the Emperors Ambaſſadors returned with good words of no effect; and the like happened to the Ambaſſadors ſent by the princes and cities of the Empire, the yeere next following. Whereupon, foraſmuch as at that time there were great warres betweene EDVVARD King of *England*, and PHILIP the French King, about the ſucceſſion and right to the Crowne of *France*, the Emperor entred into league with the King of *England*; and great troubles and diſſention were betweene the one and other partie: but in the end the French King ſeeking the Emperors friendſhip, promiſed to make the pope to abſolue him, to the end that he ſhould ſtand his friend: ſo as the Emperor

peror through the great deſire he had to be confirmed in the Empire by the pope, came to a compoſition with him. With this confidence in the French King, the Emperour ſent his Ambaſſadors into *France*, the which, together with the Kings Ambaſſadours, went to *Auinion* to treate of the matter; but the pope with diuers reaſons ſo prolonged the concluſion, that it plainely appeared, that it would take no good effect; which made the Emperor to ſuſpect the King; for it was held for certaine, that the pope would therein haue done the Kings will, as in many other matters he had done, euen againſt his owne will, which was ſo euer, ſo long as the court of *Rome* remained in *France*, and is the reaſon why the Germane hiſtorians treating of the Emperors affaires, ſay, that the King of *France* made ſhew to deſire that which he would not haue, and the pope to haue that which he deſired not. The Emperor deſpairing to come to any agreement with the pope, ſeeing that his Ambaſſadors returned without any ſuch end or concluſion as he expected, returned to his former rigor; and aſſembling a generall Councel, ſought out learned men to pen his determination, and finding enough ſuch as were for his purpoſe, after many matters treated of, he ſeeking to get the good will of the princes, cauſed an iniunction to be diſpatched, wherein he affirmed the ſentence pronounced againſt him by pope IOHN to be vniuſt and of none effect; and that his excommunication did no way binde him: wherefore he commaunded vpon great penalties, that none ſhould obey his interdictions and cenſures in that behalfe, alleaging other matters which in the ſaid iniunction are contained, & which the popes friends would not ſhould be reuealed in any publike hiſtorie: which iniunction (being publiſhed, and commaunded to be obſerued) cauſed great diſſolution in *Germany*, eſpecially amongſt the clergie; ſome holding with the Emperour, and others with the pope. But DANTE, which at that time was a man of a moſt excellent witte and profoundly learned, wrote a booke of the Monarchy; wherein he ſeemed to fauour the Emperor; for which he was afterwards condemned, and his booke held for hereſie; and other great men wrote bookes and treatiſes defending the popes ſupreme authoritie, alleaging the ſame to be aboue all principalities and powers; which (beſides other reaſons) they ſought to proue by hiſtories, as how that pope ADRIAN tranſlated the Empire of the Eaſt into the Weſt, in the perſon of CHARLES the Great; and afterwards in proceſſe of time the popes remoued the ſame out of *France* into *Germany*, in the perſon of OTHO the firſt; & how that many Emperors were excõmunicated by them, yea, and depriued of their Empires; and how that the manner and authoritie to chuſe them, was giuen by the popes; and from them was deriued the power and authoritie of the princes electors; and that the Emperors were confirmed and crowned by the popes. Neuertheleſſe there wanted not ſome which defended the Emperors cauſe, and ſo the popes curſes and commaundements were contemned and reiected: but hee knowing that the Emperor had publiſhed an iniunction againſt him, againe renewed the ſame, and employing all his whole power alleaged the Empire for voyde, and that the gouernment thereof during the vacation, appertained to him, vntill that a new Emperor were choſen, according to the declaration made by CLEMENT the fifth in the Councell of *Vienne*. And vnderſtanding that the Emperor purpoſed to come into *Italy*, he did one thing which then was held for wiſely done; but experience ſheweth that it was very domageable to his eſtate; which was that he made thoſe tyrants or princes which in *Italy* held the townes of the Empire, his Vicars or Lieutenants in the ſame townes which they held; to the end they

The Emperors iniunction made againſt the Pope.

The Emperor againe excommunicate and deprined by the Popes cenſures.

ſhould

ſhould be reſolute enemies to the Emperor; and commaunding that they ſhould neither receiue or obey the Emperour, gaue them power and authoritie to defend and maintaine the ſame, as Lieutenants to the Church: which were LVCHINO Viſcount, tyrant or gouernour of *Milan*, and other cities: MASTHINO SCALA in *Verona* and *Vicenza*: PHILIP GONZAGA in *Mantoa*, and then in *Reggio*: ALBERTINO DI CARRA in *Padoa*, and other places: OBIZO DA ESTE in *Ferrara*, and *Modena*: and for as much as theſe were the Church lands, he enioyned them to pay him yeerly ten thouſand Ducats of gold; with which title they were the more ſtrongly poſſeſſed of thoſe eſtates. This diſagreement continuing betweene the Emperour and the Pope, there failed not ſome which vſurped the popes townes; to which, or to the moſt part of them, in requitall of what the pope had done to him; and to binde them to doe him the better ſeruice and the more to incenſe them againſt the pope, the Emperour gaue and ſent titles and Charters, making them Lieutenants for the Empire in the cities and lands appertaining to the Church of *Rome*: which they accepted and held, and the offſpring of many of them haue continued therein vntil this day; amongſt which was GALEOTTO MALATESTA in *Arimino*; ANTHONY FERETRANO in the citie of *Vrbin*; GENTIL VARANO in *Camerino*; GVIDO POLENTA in *Rauenna*; IOHN MANFREDO in *Fauencia*; ISMADETIO in *Sanſeuerino*; NICHOLAS BOSCARETO in *Eſio*: and in like manner others in other townes and cities.

Theſe matters paſſing in this maner in *Germany* and in *Italy*, Pope BENEDICT being dead (who had held that ſtoole the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres and three moneths) in his place was choſen in *Auinion*, in the moneth of May in the yeere of our Lord 1342 Pope CLEMENT the ſixth, in whoſe time were great alterations, aſwell in the cities in *Lombardy*, as in *Tuſcane*. The Emperour ſought to come to ſome compoſition and agreement with the new Pope (as write the Germane authors) but there was no peace to be expected, for the Pope alleaged that the Emperour ſued not for peace in ſuch humble and ſubmiſſiue manner as he ought to haue done. But CVSPINIAN, NAVCLERVS and MVCIVS write, that by meanes of the French king who fained to be a good mediatour betweene them, the Emperour ſent his Agents to Pope CLEMENT, with full authoritie, to accept of any condition of peace that he would propone vnto them; to which the Pope gaue a certaine note in writing, wherein they in the name of the Emperour, were inioyned to confeſſe the Emperour to haue erred, and to haue been a ſchiſmatike, and diſobedient to the Church: and moreouer that the Emperour ſhould preſently renounce his right to the Empire, together with the poſſeſſion thereof; and that he ſhould not intermeddle therein without the Popes leaue and permiſſion; and that the Emperours perſon together with his ſonnes ſhould be at the Popes diſpoſing: all which Articles the Emperours Ambaſſadours accepted and graunted in his name; whereat the Pope wondred. But theſe rigorous and terrible Articles and conditions being brought to the Emperour, hee holding them for vniuſt and intolerable, ſent the copie of them to the Princes and cities of the Empire; and therewith ſummoned a generall Diet or Parliament to bee held in *Franckford*, wherein with ſharpe and graue ſpeeches, he complained of the Pope; and there ſhewed what his Ambaſſadours without his knowledge or conſent had yeelded vnto; alleaging theſe demaunds to be made but onely to ruinate the ſtate of the Empire, with other matters which he thought might cauſe greater indignation againſt the Pope, and moue the princes the more to fauour his proceedings: And his words wrought ſuch effect in them, and the Popes demands ſeemed ſo diſhoneſt

The intolerable pride of Pope Clement the ſixt.

neſt and ſo intolerable, that they adiudging the ſame to be reiected and not to be allowed, made great offers to the Emperour for the defence of his perſon and eſtate: yet ſome were of a contrarie opinion, which affirmed that the Pope ought to be obeyed, and that the matter ought to be referred to him, as it was ſworne and promiſed. He which held this opinion, was IOHN king of *Bohemia* and his ſonne CHARLES, which were diſcontent with the Emperour for ſome other cauſes: but the Councell reſolued to ſend Ambaſſadours to Pope CLEMENT, to ſhew him that the conditions graunted could not be perfourmed, without giuing them authoritie to graunt any other, or to treate of any other matter: which Ambaſſadours went, and what enſued thereof wee will tell you; which was, that the Pope holding himſelfe for deluded; was ſo enraged that he againe proceeding againſt the Emperour, ſent to all parts copies of the fulminations and cenſures giuen by Pope IOHN, with a relation of his offences, including the ſame within the compaſſe of hereſie; and alſo that he had choſen and enſtalled another Pope; and that he was not according to due order choſen Emperour, but by deceit and briberie; and that he neuer was Emperour, neither ought ſo to be called; and that he gaue Biſhopricks and prelacies at his pleaſure, placing ſuch as pleaſed him, and diſplacing ſuch as were preferred by the Pope; and that hee making mariages, diſpenſed (like a pope) with ſuch as were married within prohibited degrees of Conſanguinitie, as he had done by his ſonne LEVVES and the Counteſſe of *Tirol*, being kin vnto her, within an vnlawfull degree, and ſhe hauing an husband aliue, which was the ſonne of the king of *Bohemia*: for which cauſe the pope ſending his generall edicts againſt him, enioyned the electors, vpon paine of excommunication, to meete and to chuſe a new Emperour; excommunicating all ſuch as followed the Emperor LEVVES or obeyed him. So as the Popes edicts, & the Emperours contradictions cauſed many inſolencies and riots in *Italy* and in *Germany*: And as the king of *Bohemia* and his ſonne were his aduerſaries, ſo they procuring the good will of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, by bribes and large promiſes, ſought to procure a meeting, & ſo to chuſe an Emperor. And as at that time there were two which pretended to be Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, the one called HENRY DE VIERNER (whom the Pope condemned and depriued for that he defended the Emperours cauſe) the other was called GERLASSE of *Naſſaw* (whom the Pope had appointed to haue the others place.) This GERLASSE to ſhew his authoritie, and to accompliſh the Popes commaundement, warned the princes electors to meete in the citie of *Rens*, in the yeere 1346: where met the Duke of *Saxony*, the king of *Bohemia*, the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Treuier*, and *Colen*; and ſo by reaſon of the popes decree, alleaging the Empire to be voide, they choſe the king of *Bohemia* his ſonne CHARLES for Emperour; LEVVES being then in *Bauiere*, buſie in leuying forces to ſtay the ſame. And the new elect CHARLES would preſently haue gone to haue been crowned in *Aken*, but could not; for that citie held for the Emperour LEVVES, and was ſufficiently fortified. Pope CLEMENT being aduertiſed of the election of CHARLES (as a thing done by his commaundement and againſt LEVVES) preſently confirmed and approued the ſame, and procured the French king to aide and aſſiſt him, which he promiſed to doe with all his power: but in the meane time befell a ſtrange accident which marred all, which was, that ſhortly after EDVVARD the third king of *England* came into *France* with a mightie armie, and beſieged the citie of *Paris*; and PHILIP the French king raiſed his whole power to fight with him, whereof the king of *Bohemia* and his ſonne CHARLES (who was newly choſen Emperour) hauing

Warres betweene Philip king of France and Edward the third king of England, wherein in a battaile fought betweene the two kings, the king of Bohemia was slaine.

intelligence, they with more haste then good speede, with all their forces came in person to his aide; the more to binde him to perfourme what he had promised them against the Emperour; and it followed that they ioyning in battaile against the English (which as all writers affirme was very cruell and bloudie, and continued sixe houres) the king of *England* in the end had the victorie, and many great personages of the vanquished were slaine; amongst which was IOHN king of *Bohemia*; and the French king, and the new elect Emperour CHARLES escaped by flight. Through the losse of this battaile, the French king had so much to do to defend his owne countrie, that hee could yeeld CHARLES no reliefe or succour at al against the Emperor LEVVES, which made his case the more doubtfull: but as he had the popes fauour and the fauour of those which chose him, so was *Germany* divided; some holding with him, others with the Emperour LEVVES: so that LEVVES his raigne ended as it began, with competencies and factions. But yet he forgat not to raise forces and to seeke aide and friends, which with his life lasted but a while: but before that we will declare his end, I will briefly relate a strange case happened in the citie of *Rome*, which shall neither be impertinent, neither vnworthie to be rehearsed, which was this.

Rome at that time being gouerned in the popes absence by two Senatours, as the popes Vicars or Lieutenants; one of which was of the familie of the Colonnois, the other of the Vrsins; a certaine man borne in *Rome* of meane parentage whose name was NICHOLAS RENZO, who being of a great heart and high minde, yet of no greater calling then a Notarie publique, in such manner wonne the good will of the people, which repaired vnto him, that he perswaded them to recouer the auncient libertie of *Rome*, which (as a man well read in histories) he laid open vnto them, and was not abashed to tell them that it was requisite for the good of the common wealth, to alter the manner of the gouernment, and to reforme and reduce the same to the pristine rule and order: for sith that *Rome* was a free citie and Ladie of the whole world, they ought and were bound in dutie againe to recouer her libertie. To these speeches together with many other to the like effect, the common people (as light of beliefe, and desirous of nouelties) willingly gaue eare; and he found such fauour and good liking amongst them, that the matter encreasing, he seised on the Capitoll, and without that any man durst make head against him deposed the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants from the gouernment, and intitling himselfe NICHOLAVS SEVERVS (the fauourable Tribune of peace, libertie, and iustice, the noble and excellent redeemer and restorer of the sacred Romane Common-wealth) he made and ordained Senatours, and setled the gouernment of *Rome* in such manner as it was in the time of the ancient Romanes, with so great obedience in all men, as if he had come from heauen for the same purpose. And he presently established such peace and iustice in the citie, and made the same to be obserued and executed in such manner, as the like had not been seene in *Rome* in fiue hundred yeeres before. The fame whereof was presently spred into many parts, and all the townes neere to *Rome* became obedient thereto, and so did many other that were farre off: and all the tyrants and princes hearing of so strange an accident, and of the title, and the enterprise which this man vndertooke, sent Ambassadours to him, and making great offers, sought his grace and friendship. And the matter was so carried in the beginning, that it it seemed that in short space *Rome* would againe haue become Lady of great part of the world. And as the report of such accidents is euer greater then the effect, so these newes being carried out of *Italy*, caused euery where such feare that ma-

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ny altred their determinations: And this NICHOLAS as a proud vaine man (nothing considering that vpon so weake and feeble a foundation he could not possibly build any great edifice) making *Rome* to be the head and Lady of all the world, wrote his letters with the aforesaid proud titles, to the Pope, requiring him to make his residence in *Rome*; and to the Emperour LEVVES and his competitor CHARLES, commaunding them within a certaine prefixed time to make their appearance before him and the Romane Senate, and to shew by what title they held the Empire: the like he wrote to the princes electors, and to other princes. These letters being seene and read (notwithstanding that they were held for vaine and friuolous) did put the Pope in a great perplexitie, seeing that *Rome* and the territorie thereof in his time was vsurped. But this vanitie continued not aboue seuen or eight moneths: for as it was grounded but vpon the fauour of the common people, so it soone waxing cold, and they repenting of what they had done, began to murmure and so to forsake him: whereupon he foreseeing his fall, departed from *Rome*, and went to CHARLES, the Emperours competitor; thinking to haue found fauour, and to haue made some league with him; but he made him to be apprehended, and sent him to *Auinion* to the pope, who commaunded him to be detained prisoner: what ill end he had we will tell you, which truly is a pleasant discourse, as you shall see in the end, and so haue all the glories and vanities of the world, although some last longer then some. What I haue spoken is written by BLONDVS, PLATINA, NAVCLERVS, and al the Historiographers. PETRARCHA in some of his Epistles saith and affirmeth, that all the time that this man commaunded, there was such peace and quietnes; and iustice was so duly executed in *Rome* and in part of *Italy*, that it seemed that the golden age was come againe: whereupon he made that excellent Sonnet which beginneth:

Spirto gentil che quella membra reggi.

But now to returne to our Historie, *Germany* being thus diuided, some holding for the Emperour LEVVES, and others for the new chosen CHARLES, who was alreadie King of *Bohemia*, this controuersie betweene these two was ended, through the sudden death of LEVVES, which happened vpon the seuen and twentith day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1347, in this manner: He riding that day ouer the fields on hunting, was taken with so cruell an Appoplexie that he fell from his horse and died suddenly, when he had raigned 33 yeeres, the first nine in contention and competency with FREDERICK, who was called Emperour: it was also suspected that he was poysoned. This Emperour hauing bin twice married, had fiue sonnes, and one daughter, which from their father enherited sundry Lordships and estates. At this time the Genowaies and the Venecians made most cruell warre one against another; the like did the English and the French. The Kings of *Spaine* wholy applied themselues to warre against the Moores. *Anno Dom.* 1347.

In *Constantinople* raigned IOHN PALEOLOGVS, called CALOIOANNES, son of ANDRONICVS the younger, who had much to doe with CATACVZENVS (whom his father left for his tutor) about the Empire; sometime the one preuailing, and sometimes the other: by reason whereof they both are accounted Emperors; but in the end CALOIOANNES PALEOLOGVS was sole Emperour, as hereafter shall be declared.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND CVIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

CHarles hauing no competitor, went to subdue those countries which held with Lewes. Many were of opinion that the Empire was voide, wherefore some of the Electors met at Franckford and chose successiuely two Emperours, which would not accept thereof. In the time of this Charles, was that memorable pestilence through all Europe in anno Dom. 1348, and the slaughter of an infinite number of Iewes. Afterwards the electors chose one Gunther for Emperour, who comming against Charles, died before any battaile. Charles hauing agreed with the electors which were his enemies, was freed from all his competitors, and came afterwards into Italy to be crowned, where he behaued himselfe with such humanitie, that there was no Lord or common-wealth that did not acknowledge him for their Emperour: and so contented with money to pay his souldiers, giuing priuileges to sundry cities in Italy, he returned into Germany, wherein he maintaining peace and iustice, sued to make his eldest sonne Wenceslaus king of the Romanes, which he obtained for money. After all these things falling sicke, he died, when he had valorously raigned two and thirtie yeeres.

WHen the Emperour LEWES died, his competitor CHARLES (who in his life time was called Emperour) was in his kingdome of *Bohemia*; and so soone as he was certified of his death, he with the greatest power that he could raise left his kingdome, to the end to make himself Lord of such townes as held for the deceased Emperour LEWES, and comming to *Ratisbone* was therein without any contradiction receiued as Emperour; and thence

thence went to *Nurembergh*, and was there likewiſe receiued, and generally in all the other cities whither he came; for he releaſed al the actions which he had againſt them, and promiſed to procure the Pope to abſolue all thoſe which had continued in the ſeruice of LEVVES: but he afterwards comming to *Baſil*, they would not receiue him, except he firſt obtained for them the Popes pardon, and a releaſe from all the curſes pronounced againſt their citie, for that it held for the late Emperour: and while as they treated hereof, there came a Legate from the Pope, who hearing that LEVVES was dead, ſent his Legate to CHARLES with authoritie to abſolue them and all the reſt: and although that in this citie and in others, there was great doubt and contention, about the oth and the forme of the confeſſion which the Pope had commaunded to be made before they ſhould be abſolued; yet in the end abſolution was giuen, and the Emperour with great ſolemnitie was receiued into the citie, and into ſome other places. And notwithſtanding that in the beginning he had ſo good ſucceſſe with ſome cities and princes, yet with the moſt of the reſt he ſped not ſo well: for thoſe which had perſeuered firme and loyall to the Emperour LEVVES, and had been enemies and made warre againſt CHARLES, would not accept him for Emperour; but holding for voide, pretended a new election to be made; eſpecially thoſe electors which conſented not to his election; which were HENRY Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, (whom the Pope had depriued, and in his place had ſet GERLASSE of *Naſſaw*) LEVVES Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, ROBERT Counte Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Bauiere*; all which alleaged that CHARLES his election was neither lawfull, nor of any worth, for that it was not made in *Franckford*; and alſo for that the eſtates were not aſſembled by the Counte Palatine, neither were they preſent, or ſent their Agents or Proctors: all which things (they ſaid) were requiſite in a lawfull election: and HENRY the new Duke of *Saxony* and ſome cities ioyning with them, alleaged alſo that thoſe which choſe him were for money bribed and ſuborned by CHARLES and his father IOHN king of *Bohemia*; and alſo that he was not crowned in *Aken* as hee ought to haue been: for which cauſes (although in my opinion the greateſt was the paſſion and enmitie which they bare againſt him) in the beginning of the yeere 1348, the aforeſaid princes met in the citie of *Franckford* (notwithſtanding that CHARLES vſed all his power and policie to haue ſtopt the ſame) where declaring the empire for voide (the Biſhops of *Colen*, *Treuier* and the other Biſhop of *Mentz* being abſent) by the common conſent of thoſe which were preſent, they choſe the king of *England* (for that he was deſcended from the Germane bloud) for Emperour, to whom they preſently ſent their Ambaſſadours to the ſame effect: but hee after that he had well conſidered of the matter, refuſing their offer, ſent to them, deſiring to bee held excuſed: And they ſeeing themſelues fruſtrate of their hope, choſe FREDERICK Marquis of *Miſnia*, who was a man of great iudgement and very valiant; who ſtanding in doubt whether hee ſhould accept it or no, and conſidering well thereof (for CHARLES being thereof aduertiſed, to the end that he ſhould not accept the election, ſent him a great ſumme of gold and ſiluer, and therewith gaue him to vnderſtand of the inconueniences that thereof would enſue) made the like anſwere as did the king of *England*: ſo as for that time without agreeing vpon any other, theſe princes ſtill perſeuering diſobedient to the Emperour CHARLES, departed from *Franckford* without chuſing any Emperour at all. The chiefeſt cauſe of their departure was the plague of peſtilence in that countrey, which in that time was ſo great and ſo vniuerſal through all parts of Europe, that the like there-

Anno Dom. 1348.

Edward the 3. king of England being choſen, refuſed to be Emperor.

General plague through all Europe.

of before that time had neuer beene ſeene nor heard of; for the Hiſtoriographers affirme it to haue continued aboue one whole yeere, beginning in the yeere 1348, and ending in *anno* 1350; which raged in ſuch extreme manner that where it did leaſt harme the tenth perſon eſcaped not. BLONDVS ſaith, that hee heard his grandfather GASPAR BLONDVS affirme with an oth, that many townes in *Italy* were therewith ſo throughly diſpeopled, that not any one remained therein aliue. During the time of this calamitie, there was a generall peace, without that any could or durſt make warre againſt other, except a little which was made againſt the Synagogues of the Iewes: for the common people tooke a conceit, and it was alſo beleeued, that the Iewes had poiſoned the waters, and cauſed this plague; whereupon (the princes and gouernours being no way able to let the ſame) the Iewes were euery where torne in peeces, and an infinite number of them were by the Chriſtians ſacked and robbed, in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spaine*. At this time alſo the French king gat the countrey of *Daulphine*, and the citie of *Vienne* the head thereof; which now belong to the princes of *France*; which hee bought of HVNIPERT Lord thereof, and Daulphin of *Vienne*, who hauing no heires to ſucceede him, ſold his eſtate and became a Frier: firſt giuing to the poore all the money for which he ſold it; which he laid vp in heauen. And for as much as that eſtate was ſubiect to the empire, the Emperour gaue his conſent to the ſale, vpon condition that it ſhould belong to the French kings eldeſt ſonne, and that hee therefore ſhould acknowledge the Emperour for his ſoueraigne Lord, which (I know not the cauſe) at this day is not obſerued.

In the yeere 1350 our Lord mittigating his ire, and the plague ceaſing, Pope CLEMENT in this yeere by the conſent of his Cardinals ordained that the Iubile which Pope BONIFACE the 8 had granted to be held in *Rome* euery hundredth yeere, ſhould be held that yeere; and thencefoorth euery fiftith yeere, conſidering the ſhortnes of mans life; ſo as an infinite number of people repaired to *Rome* to the Iubile. After the daunger of the plague was paſt, men preſently being free frō the feare thereof, returned to their wars & deſſention, principally the aforenamed foure Princes electors, HENRY Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, LEVVES Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, RODVLPH Duke of *Bauiere* & Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and HENRY Duke of *Saxony*: all which rebelled againſt the Emperour CHARLES, and ſtood very well vpon their guard; and the one aiding and aſſiſting the other, they againe met at *Franckford*, and after many conſultations, choſe GVNTHER Earle of *Swarzemburgh*, who was an excellent and very valiant man of warre. This man with the aide of thoſe which choſe him, and of his friends and parents, with a great number of very good men of warre, came to *Franckford*, where attending his enemies comming, he kept the field the ſpace of ſixe weekes (for ſo they write was then the manner of the new choſen Emperors). And that time being expired, he was receiued into the citie, and ſworne and obeyed for Emperour. And notwithſtanding that the Emperour CHARLES had leuied a very great power, yet being vnwilling to hazard his whole fortune in one battaile, would not fight with GVNTHER: but ſome mouing the Princes of his faction, they all meeting in the citie of *Spire*, it was concluded that he ſhould employ his whole power to make head againſt GVNTHER, and by force of armes to defeat him. With this reſolution the Emperour CHARLES with his army tooke his way towards *Mentz*, and the one drawing neere to the other, the warre began betweene them two, which men thought would haue proued very terrible and cruell: but through the death of GVNTHER peace enſued: before which time ſome

Gunther Earle of Swarzemburgh choſen Emperour againſt Charles king of Bohemia.

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write it was concluded; for ſo ſoone as GVNTHER fell ſick, ſome impaſſionate Princes ſought to reconcile them: the cõditions of the peace were, that GVNTHER ſhould renounce the Empire to CHARLES, and that CHARLES ſhould giue him two walled cities in *Turinge*, together with their confines. But in time of this treaty (as moſt writers affirme) GVNTHER died, poiſoned by his Phiſition; who being to giue him a purging potion, and taking but the aſſay of it, died together with GVNTHER the next morrow; which made men to thinke, that without the knowledge of the poore Phiſition poyſon was put into the decoction; ſo as GVNTHER dying in the time of the parle of peace, CHARLES remained ſole Emperor, and in good ſort compounded with thoſe which were his aduerſaries, who being weary of chuſing Emperours, the controuerſie ended, to the contentment of all men. And foraſmuch as the plagne was in *Aken*, he was with great ſolemnitie crowned in another citie; and going afterwards in his progreſſe, he viſited many cities, to which he gaue ſundry priuileges. In time of this proſperitie he had a ſonne whoſe name was WENCESLAVS, of whom we ſhall haue cauſe to ſpeak hereafter: and he applying himſelfe with great care to maintaine peace and iuſtice, there yet reſted for him to goe to be crowned in *Italy*, whereof Pope CLEMENT the ſixth was very deſirous, but in his time it could not be, for he died within few daies after. At this time the Viſcounts hauing made themſelues Lords of *Milan*, whereof great power in many other cities, the chiefeſt of which was IOHN Viſcount Archbiſhop of *Milan*, a man feared through all *Italy*; who by the Popes permiſſion vnder the title of his Vicar, or Lieutenant, made himſelfe Lord of *Bologna*, for which he was to pay yeerly 12000 ducats of gold. Pope CLEMENT being dead, INNOCENT the ſixt was choſen; in beginning of whoſe Papacie was fought the memorable battaile by ſea betweene threeſcore galleys of the Genowaies, vnder the command of PAGAMO DORA; and foureſcore of the Venecians, the Kings of *Arragon*, and the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, which were in a league together againſt them; which battaile was fought in the ſtreight of *Conſtantinople*, and laſted from the break of day vntill the euening, in which the Genowaies had the victory, but with loſſe of many of their people: and the yeere following which was in the yeere 1354, the Venecians and Catalonians repairing their fleete, againe fought with the Genowaies, neere to the Ile of *Corſica*, wherein the Genowaies were ſo pitifully ouerthrowne and with ſo great loſſe, that one and fortie of their galleys, with all the people in them, were ſunke in the ſea; by meanes of which ouerthrow their power was ſo much weakned, that they became ſubiect to IOHN Viſcount Archbiſhop of *Milan*, vpon condition that he ſhould protect them; yet there enſuing other alteratious, they afterwards committed themſelues to the protectiõ of the French king. At this time alſo was a treaty between the Emperor and the Pope, concerning the Emperours comming into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*, he making preparation for the ſame. There befell in *Rome* alſo another great accident, although not ſo much ſpoken of, like to that of NICHOLAS RENZO who would haue raiſed *Rome* to her ancient rule and dignitie, and was called the Enfranchiſer of *Rome*, which was, that another Notary publike, called FRANCIS VARONCELLO, imitating the ſaid NICHOLAS, incenſed the people, and with the ſame title of Romane Tribune, depoſed the two Senatours, IOHN VRSINO, and PETER DE COLONNA, which gouerned as the Popes Vicars: whereof the Pope being aduertiſed, and fearing that the matter would haue proceeded, to auoid a further inconuenience, thought it beſt to releaſe NICHOLAS RENZO, whom his predeceſſor CLEMENT had left in priſon; and thinking (as we ſay) to

A nauall battaile betweene the Genowaies and the Venecians.

driue out one naile with another, ſent him to *Rome* againſt FRANCIS; and he vſed ſuch meanes, through the helpe of the Romane Nobilitie, that by force of armes he expelled FRANCIS VARONCELLO out of the Capitoll and ſlew him in the fight: but after this victory, the ſaid NICHOLAS with a deſire to vſurpe, perſecuting the Colonnois fell at variance with the moſt principal men of *Rome*, and in the end was ſlaine, and ſo *Rome* was deliuered from both the one and the other: and then one GVIDO IORDAN (by the Popes conſent) was made Gouernor, and afterwardes there were two.

While theſe matters were in hand, it was agreed betweene the Pope and the Emperor (as write the Italian authors) that ſo ſoon as the Emperor by the Cardinals ſhould be crowned in *Rome*, without making any longer ſtay, ſhould returne into *Germany*. The Emperor and Empreſſe accompanied with many Princes and a great army, in the yeere 1355 came into *Italy*, with intent only to be crowned, and to fauour and further the popes proceedings, which hee did accordingly, which made his iourney eaſie: for being come into *Italy*, and ſeene to vſe no violence, or to oppreſſe any man, neither to depriue or diſpoſſeſſe any man of his goods or lands, hee was very honorably receiued by the Lords of CARRARA in *Padoa*, and afterwards by the GONZAGAS in *Montoa*, and by thoſe of the houſe of ESTE in *Ferrara*, and by the Viſcounts in *Milan*, and by the moſt of the Lords of *Italy*, which did him homage, and acknowledged him for their Emperour; and he left them in their lands and eſtates: and comming to the citie of *Milan* was crowned therein with the Iron Crowne, and from *Milan* went to *Piſa*; whither came ſolicitors to him from *Florence*, and from many other cities, which acknowledging him for their Emperour, and ſuing for peace and his fauour, furniſhed him with money for the paiment of his ſouldiers; and ſo departing from *Piſa*, he went peaceably to *Rome*, where they attended his comming, and was ſolemnely receiued by the Cardinals Legats which came to crowne him, together with the Senators, the Popes Vicars, and with all the Clergy and Romane people: and ſo vpon Eaſter day, which was the morrow after his comming, he together with his wife the Empreſſe, was after the accuſtomed manner by the aforeſaid Cardinals crowned with great pompe. His coronation being ended, euen ſo in peace and quietly as he came, without offending or grieuing any man he departed from *Rome*, contenting himſelfe with their ſeruice and the money which they had giuen him, which (ſome write) amounted to a very great ſumme; and ſo hee returned into his countrie, more peaceably and with leſſe tumult, then euer any Emperour that came into *Italy* before him had done.

The Emperour Charles came into Italy.

At this time king IOHN of *France* being in a battaile taken priſoner by the king of *England*; after foure yeeres impriſonment, was vpon certaine conditions of peace ſet at libertie. This king had by inheritance the Duchie and Countie of *Burgundy*, which after his deceaſe he gaue to his ſecond ſonne PHILIP, whoſe offſpring enioyed the ſame; from whom lineally deſcended the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, by his grandmother, who was Ladie of that eſtate. What enſued after the Emperours returne into *Germany* is briefly and confuſedly written, and the Annales of *Germany* treate of ſome matters of ſmall importance, and that very prepoſterouſly; wherefore I will write onely what thereof ſhall ſeeme moſt agreeable, vntill we come to the end of his life. Firſt this prince is commended for his wit and humanitie, and to haue been diſcreete and iuſt in miniſtring iuſtice, and to haue been learned in the tongues, and well ſeene in hiſtorie, and indifferently well in other Arts and Sciences, whereby he made no ſmall beneſit in his

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actions. And as he was much affected to his countrey *Bohemia*, ſo (as write Pope PIVS QVINTVS and other authors) in *Prage* he erected ſundrie ſtately edifices; and made the Church and Archbiſhoprick of that citie Metropolitane, exempting it from the Church of *Mentz*; and erected an Vniuerſitie in that citie, wherein Arts and Sciences are read; and all his whole life time had ſo great a care to adorne that citie and kingdome, that the reſt of *Germany* murmured againſt him for it, and ſo doe the Hiſtoriographers which write thereof. In thoſe daies ſome ſedition and tumults aroſe in the citie of *Nuremburgh*, which in the end he pacified, although with ſome difficultie. It happened alſo that EBERARD Earle of *Wittembergh* made an Inſurrection againſt this Emperour, and had a great armie and many followers; but all was pacified and CHARLES raigned peaceably. In the yeere following, which was in the yeere 1362, died Pope INNOCENT the fixth, and in his place was choſen Cardinall WILLAM of S. *Victor*, a Monke of S. BENNETS order, and was called VRBANE the fifth. *Anno Dom.* 1362.

This Pope hauing determined to come into *Italy*, ſent to entreate the Emperor to doe the like, which he principally did, for feare of the Viſcounts Lords of *Milan*, and of the greateſt part of *Lombardy*; which the Emperour at his entreatie perfourmed, at which his comming I finde it not written that he came by *Milan*, for that BARNABY and GALEAS Vicounts were not his friends; but by *Padoa*, and from *Padoa* to *Bologna*, and thence to *Piſa*, and ſo to *Rome*, where he found the Pope: what they did there, I finde not written, either through negligence or for that it little imported; one thing BLONDVS, PLATINA, and others recount, that it was vnknowne what was become of the heads of S. PETER and S. PAVL, and that the Pope and the Emperour made great ſearch for them, and at laſt found them and ſet them where they ſtand (as they ſay) this day. After this, the Emperor hauing been but three moneths in *Italy* returned into *Germany*; and after his departure the Pope went to *Marſelles* in *Prouence* in *France*, and thence to *Auinion* where he died; after whoſe deceaſe PETER DE BELFORT Cardinall of S. MARY the new was choſen, and called GREGORY the eleuenth.

The Emperour in the ſame yeere ſummoned a Councell to be holden in the citie of *Franckford*, where after much diſcourſe, he entreated the princes Electors to make his ſonne WENCESLAVS, King of the Romanes, and his ſucceſſor; which was not onely ſolicited by entreatie, but by great gifts, and large promiſes; which were ſo exceſſiue, that (as PIVS QVINTVS writeth) he promiſed an hundred thouſand Ducats to euery Elector: and as the ſumme was greater then hee was able to pay, he gaue in pawne for the ſame many townes and lands of the Empire, which they hold vntill this day. This they write to be the cauſe of the weakning of the Emperours power which were his ſucceſſors; which ALBERT CRANTZ alſo confirmeth in his hiſtorie of *Saxony*, alleaging that this Emperour morgaged ſixteene Imperiall townes in *Sueuia*, to the neighbour princes, which, together with the imbecillitie and retchleſnes of his ſonne WENCESLAVS who ſucceeded him in the Empire, ſo decaied and weakened the power of the Emperours in *Germany*, that they neuer recouered their former vigour: this was imputed to haue been a great ouerſight in ſo wiſe a prince, notwithſtanding that in all his other actions he gouerned with great policie and wiſedome. Yet many Imperiall cities, through ſundrie accidents which happened, without his commaundement or leaue, warred vpon the Earle of *Wittembergh*, which warre laſted many daies, and many men were ſlaine of either partie; wherewith the Emperor being much diſpleaſed, and fauouring and aſſiſting the Earle therein, beſieged the citie

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of *Vlme*, where hee punished some for example sake. In this meane time, some cities in *Italy* belonging to the Church of *Rome*, discontent with the gouernment of the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants, rebelled against him: whereupon, the Pope knowing the great detriment which his Church receiued through his absence, resolued to returne with his court to *Rome*: for which purpose (vnder another pretext) in the yeere 1376, he caused certaine galleys to be rigged and armed in in the riuer *Rodanus*, wherein embarking himselfe he sailed into *Italy*: and so the Papall court after it had seiourned in *France* the space of threescore and ten yeres and somewhat more, and the most part of that time in the citie of *Auinion*, returned to *Rome*. The Emperour hauing raigned now 32. yeeres, and being busie in pacifying the cities in *Germany* which warred against the Earle of *Wittembergh*, was in the yeere of our Lord 1378, taken with an infirmitie, whereof he dying, left two sonnes legitimate; the eldest of which was called WENCESLAVS, who was alreadie king of the Romanes, and succeeded his father in the kingdome of *Bohemia* by inheritance, and in the Empire by election: the others name was SIGISMVND, who afterwards by the right of his wife was king of *Hungary*, and in processe of time came to be Emperour also. This Emperour CHARLES in a Parliament which he held in the yeere 1376, made a law called *Bulla aurea*, wherein he instituted an order to be obserued by the Electors in chusing the Emperour, and in the preheminences amongst themselues, and in all the other ceremonies of the Empire.

Touching the Emperors of *Constantinople* (of whom I am bound to make euer some mention) I finde so great confusion in the histories of those times, as there was in that empire; wherein were factions and warres: but in summe, in the time of CHARLES the fourth in *Germany*, the discord in *Constantinople* betweene IOHN PALEOLOGVS CALOIOANNES, and his father in law IOHN CATACVZENVS (both which were called Emperours) was the cause that AMVRATH king of the Turks (hauing taken all that the Christians held in *Asia*) vnder colour to helpe and succour CATACVZENVS, passing *Hellespont*, came into *Europe*, and tooke *Gallipoli*, and other cities in that coast, and afterwards the citie of *Adrianople*: and he passing forwards, there came against him LAZARVS DISPOTE of *Seruia* (which in ancient time was called the vpper *Misia*) and MARKE DISPOTE of *Bulgaria* (which is part of the ancient lower *Misia*) and many other princes; which in a battaile about the yeere of our Lord 1363. being ouerthrowne, AMVRATH became Lord of great part of the Christians lands in *Europe*; and his sonne BAIAZETH succeeding him conquered more; and so the empire of *Constantinople* daily decreased. And afterwards in the time of the Emperour WENCESLAVS, CALOIOANNES being now old, and hauing dispossessed CATACVZENVS, dying, a sonne of his called EMANVEL PALEOLOGVS succeeded him.

The first comming of the Turkes into Grecia.

THE

THE LIFE OF WENCESLAVS ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CIX. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

IT seldome happeneth that the sonnes imitate their fathers goodnes, chiefly among princes. But Wenceslaus would verifie this rule in himselfe, for being without any contradiction chosen Emperor, he came to be so vnlike his father in goodnes, that he left of himselfe as much infamie, as his father did glory: neither did hee pacifie the warres which in Germany were kindled in his fathers time, but suffered them to proceede; which was the cause of much euill in that countrie. In his time sprang the great schisme which continued fortie yeeres. The Turkes in his time made great conquests vpon the Christians: and Iohn Galeas made himselfe in his time Lord of Lombardy. The electors seeing the small care that this Emperor tooke to bee crowned; for the defence of Christendome; to set his hand to the good gouernment of the Empire, especially in the affaires of Germany, and that he led a base and licencious life, deposed him, as vnprofitable and of no worth. When he had vnworthily raigned Emperor two and twentie yeeres, he afterwards died a priuate Lord.

ALthough that the desire to come to an end of this historie (being neere thereunto) doth incite and animate me to make haste; yet there are so many matters to be written off, and the moderne Historiographers haue so copiously set downe the same, that I am constrained (euen against my will) to prosecute the remainder more at large; wherein I presume to be held excused, for the pleasure and profit which the reader shall receiue thereby: wherefore

fore to auoyde prolixity, I ſay, that WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia*, and eldeſt ſonne of the Emperor CHARLES the fourth ſucceeded his father in the Empire; who prooued very vnlike to his father; for he grew to be vicious, retchleſſe, and of little worth. But yet in the beginning as he was young, and men were in good hope of him; being choſen in his fathers time King of the Romanes, he was preſently without any great contradiction obeyed for Emperor, and was ſo two and twentie yeeres, and in the end loſt it, as you ſhall heare. His brother SIGISMVND being of more ſpirit and fifteene yeeres younger then WENCESLAVS, LEVVES King of *Hungary* married him to his daughter (who was alſo by his mother King of *Poland*) and thereby SIGISMVND came afterwards to be King of *Hungary*, as we will declare, of whom in the hiſtory of WENCESLAVS we ſhall make eſpeciall mention, for in proceſſe of time he came to be Emperor; for by reaſon of the inſufficiencie of WENCESLAVS, little is to be written of him, ſo that of theſe two and twentie yeeres that he held the name of Emperor, the leaſt that is to be ſaid, is of him; but yet neuertheleſſe paſſing it vnder his name, we will briefly relate what paſſed in the countries ſubiect to the Empire in his time, wherein he ſhould haue borne the greateſt ſway, if he had not been ſo remiſſe and negligent as he was; for although it ſeeme little to the purpoſe, yet it ſhall be expedient for the liquidation of ſuch matters as follow. Firſt for the warres betweene the cities of *Germany*, and the Earle of *Wittembergh*, which his father before his deceaſe ſought to haue extinguiſhed, his ſonne had no ſuch care: for in his time it encreaſed; and *Germany* from the beginning of his raigne, vntill the end thereof, endured want of both peace & iuſtice. In his time alſo happened a ſchiſme in the Church of *Rome*, for in the ſame yeere that the Emperor CHARLES the fourth died in *Germany*; in *Rome* died pope GREGORY the eleuenth, who as I ſaid returned the Papall court to *Rome*, and after his deceaſe the Cardinals aſſembling themſelues in the Conclaue to chuſe him a ſucceſſor, of which thirteene were French-men, and foure Italians, whither all the Romane people running, deſired them to chuſe an Italian, and no French-man; and the French Cardinals vſed all meanes to haue had a French-man; and the reſt an Italian: and notwithſtanding that the greateſt number were French, yet diſagreeing amongſt themſelues, one BARTHOLMEVV a Neapolitan, and Archbiſhop of *Barri* was choſen pope, who tooke for his name VRBANE the ſixth. The French Cardinals preſently repenting, alleaged that what they had done was for feare of the Romane people; whereupon ſome of them departed from *Rome*: yet VRBANE notwithſtanding was conſecrated, and generally obeyed, and thoſe which had abſented themſelues returned, and ſo they continued three monthes, which being expired, through ſome diſcontentments which they conceiued againſt him (and as PLATINA writeth, for that he ſhewed himſelfe ſeuere and rigorous againſt the abuſes and pride of the clergie) eight of the French Cardinals, faining that they left *Rome* by reaſon of the heate, went to *Fundi*; where being fauored by Queene IOANE of *Naples* which ſold the citie of *Auinion* to the pope, they alleaging and publiſhing the election of VRBANE to haue been made by violence, that he was no pope, and that the Sea was voide; they amongſt themſelues in *Fundi* choſe a new pope and called him CLEMENT the ſeuenth; whom Queene IOANE and all the kingdome of *Naples* obeyed and held for pope; and ſo began the ſchiſme, which laſted fortie yeeres. Through the warres and diſſention betweene princes, Chriſtendome was diuided into two factions; for beſides Queene IOANE of *Naples*, the French King fauored

pope

pope CLEMENT, and perſwaded the King of *Caſtile* to doe the like. All *Italy* (excepting *Naples*) obeyed pope VRBANE; ſo did the Emperor WENCESLAVS, *Germany*, *England* and *Portugall*; and the one and the other alleaged ſuch reaſons, and ſo great and ſo worthy perſonages tooke part with the one and the other, as made the matter very doubtfull. This ſchiſme (as I ſay) continued long, notwithſtanding that thoſe which were choſen died, for the Cardinals of either party choſe a ſucceſſor, and held the chaire for voide, as hereafter ſhall appeare. Pope CLEMENT went into *France*, where with the aide of the French King, and of the Queene of *Naples* and of *Prouence*, hee held his court in the citie of *Auinion*, and VRBANE remained in *Rome*; and they two warring, either of them by all meanes poſſible ſought the others deſtruction. Pope VRBANE ſent his Ambaſſadors to complaine to the Emperor WENCESLAVS, of what was happened, and to perſwade him to come into *Italy* in his behalfe, againſt the Queene of *Naples*, which then was widow of LEVVES Duke of *Tarent*, after that ſhe had killed her firſt husband: but he giuing them good words tooke little care for the matter, but yet he and his brother SIGISMVND ſent to pope CLEMENT at *Auinion*, admoniſhing him to leaue the name of pope and to ſubmit himſelfe to Pope VRBANE. Pope VRBANE finding himſelfe much grieued againſt Queene IOANE, for that through her aſſiſtance the ſchiſme began (that kingdome being ſubiect and held of the Church of *Rome*) ſent to treate with CHARLES Nephew of LEVVES King of *Hungary* (who as ſome ſay) was ſonne of her huſband ANDREVV King of *Naples*, whom ſhe had made away) to come into *Italy* with an armie; promiſing him (as a ſchiſmatike and diſobedient to his Church) to depriue Queene IOANE, and to make him King of *Naples*, whereto CHARLES and his Vncle LEVVES King of *Hungary* willingly gaue eare; which LEVVES was father in law to SIGISMVND the Emperors brother; who being very glad thereof gaue him aide and counſell therein. CHARLES at what time he was called to the kingdome of *Naples*, made warre againſt the Venecians; for he and his Vncle the King of *Hungary* and *Poland*, fauored the Genowaies; betweene which, and the Venecians in thoſe daies were very great and cruell warres; many princes aſſiſting both the one and the other partie; in which warre many great exploits were performed, chiefly by Sea, ſometimes the one partie preuailing and ſometime the other. But at this time the Genowaies had the Venecians at ſuch aduantage, that they with a mightie fleete of Galleyes by Sea beſieged the citie of *Venice*; and their partakers and friends made very ſharpe warre againſt them by land; ſo as the citie was likely to haue been taken and deſtroyed by them. We may ſay that that was the moſt cruell warre that vntill then euer was in the world, for therein was artillery firſt vſed by the Venecians; which was about the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, three hundred, eightie two, or a little after. The inuention of this peſtilent ſcourge of mankinde, was attributed to the Germanes; ſome ſay that a Monke, who was a great Philoſopher inuented the ſame, not to the end to haue killed men therewith, but with a deſire to haue experimented the qualitie and naturall force of things. Others ſay, that it was one PETER a great Magitian; but it importeth little to know who it was, for beſides the ordinarie Hiſtoriographers which I follow in this place, many others write thereof.

Artillery firſt vſed in the warres. Anno Dom. 1382.

Venice eſcaping from being taken in this warre, and many other matters ſucceeding; the Duke of *Sauoy* treated, and ſet downe articles of peace betweene thoſe two Common-wealthes, which peace was concluded. So as to returne to

my diſcourſe, CHARLES being called to the kingdome of *Naples*, went into *Hungary*, where being furniſhed with men and other fauours by his Vncle King LEWES, and the Emperor WENCESLAVS, he came into *Italy*, and to be briefe (leauing what befell him vpon the way) he went to *Rome*, and was very honorably receiued by the pope, and thence tooke his way towards the kingdome of *Naples*; and comming to blowes with Queene IOANES armie, he ouerthrew and ſcattered the ſame; and comming to the citie of *Naples*, tooke it, and the Queene retyring to *Caſtel noue* was therein beſieged, and ſo CHARLES in ſhort ſpace made himſelfe Lord of the whole kingdome, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, three hundred, eightie and two. Queene IOANE being beſieged, ſent to the French King; to her countrey of *Prouence*; and to pope CLEMENT, for reliefe; and foraſmuch as ſhe had no iſſue, ſhe adopted LEWES Duke of *Aniow*, Vncle to the French King for her heyre; which LEWES with a puiſſant armie of French men, and with all the fauour that pope CLEMENT and the countrey of *Prouence* could yeeld him, went to relieue her: which was ſo great that what is written thereof ſeemeth incredible, for they write that he came with aboue thirtie thouſand horſe. Being come into the territorie of *Bologna* in *Italy*, warring vpon ſuch as were his aduerſaries, and ſpreading a report that hee came to ſet Queene IOANE at libertie; to ſupplant pope VRBANE; and to place pope CLEMENT (of which both the one and the other in any mans iudgment was eaſie to haue been done) in the midſt of his iourney (which was very leaſurely for the the great number of people which came with him, and being hindred by King CHARLES of *Naples* and pope VRBANE) he was taken with ſo vehement a ſickneſs, that within very few daies it killed him, and his armie without a Leader being diuided and diſperſed, returned to their countrey: and ſo was King CHARLES deliuered from this feare, who hauing by ſundrie practiſes gotten Queene IOANE into his power, commaunded her ſecretly to be drowned, and ſo ſhe dying (bearing penance for the death of her husband) CHARLES remained King and abſolute Lord of *Naples*, with whom the pope fell at variance, and other matters followed. While theſe matters paſſed in *Italy*, there was neither peace nor quietnes in *Germany*, through the negligence and little care of the Emperor WENCESLAVS; who making his abode in his kingdome of *Bohemia*, gaue himſelfe wholy ouer to his pleaſure. About this time died the Earle of *Flaunders*, and PHILIP Duke of *Burgundy* ſonne to King IOHN of *France* enheriting his eſtate, the houſes of *Flaunders* and *Burgundy* were vnited. It happened at that time alſo, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, three hundred, eightie and three, that LEWES King of *Hungary* and of *Poland* dying, left onely two daughters, of which one called MARY was married to the Emperors brother SIGISMVND; who by her enherited the kingdome of *Hungary*: and the other was married to the Duke of *Auſtrich*, with the title to the kingdome of *Poland*. King LEWES being dead, and SIGISMVND being but fifteene yeeres old, after that he and his wife were crowned, his mother in law Queene ISABEL had the gouernment of the kingdom, who following the counſe of the Earle of *Gara*, (a fauorite of hers) gouerned with ſuch rigor and ſeueritie, that the greateſt part of the ſubiects murmuring againſt her, roſe and rebelled, and as SIGISMVND was but a childe, and ſhe a woman, and the Emperor vnable to relieue them, the rebellion could not be pacified: whereupon the principall men of that kingdome, ſent for CHARLES King of *Naples*, alleaging that the enheritance of the kingdome of *Hungary* appertained vnto him, and to no other; for that he was a man,

The death of Lewes Duke of Aniow.

Ioane Queene of Naples drowned.

The vniting of the Countie of Flanders to the Duchie of Burgundie.

and

and neereſt of blood vnto King LEWES deceaſed. King CHARLES thirſting after another kingdome, and hoping of the like good ſucceſſe in *Hungary* as he had in *Naples*, accepted the offer; and making preparation for his iourney, leauing the gouernment of *Naples* to his wife with the greateſt ſtore of men and money that he could get (for that he would not compaſſe *Italy* about) ſailed along the Adriatick Sea (now called the Gulph of *Venice*) and landing at a place in *Slauonia*, ſubiect to the kingdome of *Hungary*, was there ſo well receiued, and in like manner by all thoſe of that kingdome, that the young King SIGISMVND, doubting of the power of his friends which held with him, leauing his wife and his mother in law the widow Queene in *Hungary*, fled to his brother the Emperor, who then was in *Bohemia*: and the Queene mother being a ſubtill woman, ſent a meſſenger to welcome King CHARLES into the countrey, and to tell him that ſhe repoſing her truſt in his goodnes, would yeeld her ſelfe and her daughter into his power, for that ſhe aſſured her ſelfe his comming to be for the good of that kingdome. King CHARLES gaue ſuch credit to her ſpeeches, that he came to the place where ſhe was, and holding himſelfe for abſolute Lord, and taking vpon him the gouernment of the King, was not ſo carefull for the ſafetie of his perſon, as reaſon required; for he one day comming to the Queenes lodging, was there by the Queenes direction and ſome her fauorites traiterouſly ſlaine, by the hands of one BLASE DE FORBAC: ſo as this King, not contented with the kingdome of *Naples*, came to loſe his life for the kingdome of *Hungary*, and the two Queenes, mother and daughter hauing made away their enemie, wrote to the Emperor, to ſend his brother SIGISMVND into that kingdome; and they in the meane time had the gouernment; for as it ſeemeth, there was then no open contradiction. And the Queene being more confident then ſhe ought to haue been conſidering what ſhe had done, went from the place where ſhe made her abode, to goe in progreſſe into the countrie, carrying her daughter with her; and paſſing one day careleſly with a ſmall guarde; a great Lord of *Hungary*, called IOHN BAN DE HORVBACH (which had been of the aduerſe partie) meeting her vpon the way apprehended the two Queenes, mother and daughter, and ſo many as were with them; and there in her preſence ſlew BLASE FORBAC, who murthered King CHARLES; and made the old Queene and others of her company to be drowned in a lake of water which was there by: and hauing thus cruelly reuenged the death of King CHARLES, he carried the ſorrowfull young Queene MARY, priſoner to a Caſtle. When King SIGISMVND was certified of this great and ſtrange diſaſter, moued with iuſt ſorrow for his mother in law and his wife, he with the aide of his brother the Emperor, entred *Hungary*, where, by the moſt part he was receiued and obeyed; moued thereto with compaſſion to ſee his wife impriſoned: which when IOHN HORVBACH, the cruell reuenger of King CHARLES his death vnderſtood; repenting of what he had done, or fearing to be brought to ruine for the ſame, he ſo practized with the Queene, whom hee held priſoner, that ſhee promiſed and ſware to obtaine his pardon of her husband; whereupon ſhe being ſet at libertie, went preſently to *Buda*, where her husband was, and there they both were againe crowned, and receiued for King and Queene, which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, three hundred, eightie and ſixe. But SIGISMVND notwithſtanding his wiues oathes and promiſes, in ſuch manner perſecuted IOHN DE HORVBACH, that after many conflicts, hauing gotten him into his power, he commaunded him to be ſlaine: and ſo he remained King of *Hungary*, wherein

King Charles of Naples murthered in Hungary.

The Queene of Hungary drowned.

he raigned many yeeres after the chaunces and changes of fortune before recited, in that kingdome, and in *Naples*, such as if they haue been read with attention are as strange as most that the passed in the world; yet afterwards ensued other as great or greater, as shall appeare.

SIGISMVND hauing brought that kingdome to subiection, and throughly established himselfe therein; in reuenge of matters past, he at a Parliament held at *Buda* (as writeth PIVS QVINTVS, who before was called ENEAS SILVIVS) beheaded two and thirtie of the most principall Lords of that kingdome, which had been his enemies and warred against him: which truely was cruell and seuere iustice, notwithstanding that they had deserued it: for which cause, the parents and friends of those which were executed did euer after so much hate him, that they brought him into many troubles and extremities, for it is a farre more safe course to pardon, and to vse moderate iustice, with clemencie: then to extend the rigor and extremitie of the lawes. In the kingdome of *Naples* raigned LADISLAVS sonne of King CHARLES, although not without trouble by those which held for LEVVES Duke of *Aniow* (sonne of that LEVVES which died in that action as is before declared) who challenged the kingdome of *Naples*, and Queene IOANES other dominions.

Summum ius, summa iniuria.

IOHN GALEAS Viscount, sonne of GALEAS in those dayes made himselfe Lord of all *Lombardy*, by putting his Vncle BARNABY to death by treason, with whom hee had in his fathers time diuided the countrie, in this manner. BARNABY held *Placencia, Cremona, Parma, Lodi, Brescia, Bergamo* and other places thereto appertaining: and his Nephew IOHN held *Pauia, Vercelli, Nouarra, Tortona*, and the rest betweene that and the Alpes; the citie of *Milan* was for them both, conditionally that they should peaceably gouerne the same. But as soueraignetie can endure no company or equallity, so IOHN GALEAS to make himselfe Lord of the whole, found a meanes in a Castle to apprehend his Vncle, and father in law, who trusted him as his owne sonne, wherein either of poison or other infirmitie, he died prisoner: and he made himselfe Lord of *Milan*, and the other cities, notwithstanding that BARNABY had one sonne called ASTROGIO, and another called CHARLES Viscount, who afterwards troubled his kinsman all that hee might. But the ambition and power of IOHN GALEAS rested not here; for as at that time there were warres betweene ANTHONY DE LA SCALA Lord of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and FRANCIS CARRARA, Lord of *Padoa* and other townes; he in such manner fauored the partie of FRANCIS CARRARA, that expelling ANTHONY DE LA SCALA, GALEAS tooke those townes to himselfe, and possessed the same: and after that he had subuerted the enemie, he bent his weapons against his friend, and besieged FRANCIS CARRARA in *Padoa*, and entring it by force, tooke the poore old man prisoner; and so for that time made himselfe Lord of those cities, and was the most mightie and redoubted man in all *Italy*: so as this was the right and title of the first Dukes of *Milan*: yet vntill that time they were not called Dukes, for this GALEAS was called Earle of *Vertues*, vntill that the Emperour WENCESLAVS gaue him the title of Duke, as hereafter we will declare. The Lords which were thus deposed, left sonnes behinde them, with which hee afterwards had warres and troubles, and many accidents happened, which I must of force recount, for the better vnderstanding of my principall intent: but this for the present shall suffice, to bring that to light whereof we purpose to discourse, which is of the raigne of the Emperor WENCESLAVS, for that it concerneth the state of the Imperiall

townes

townes and lands of the Empire in *Germanie*, and *Italy*, whereof the Emperour tooke not such care as hee ought to haue done, and cared not to bee crowned in *Rome*, neither to come into *Italy*. And as for *Germany*, he gouerned it so retchlesly, that the warres betweene the cities of the Empire, and the Dukes of *Wittembergh* ceased not; sundrie princes fauoring both the one and other partie, and all the rest was out of order: whereupon they began to consult of deposing him from the Empire, which was afterwards effected; and the Bohemians which were his owne subiects discontented with his gouernment, held him seauenteene weekes prisoner; and he being afterwards vpon certaine conditions released, fell to his old manner of liuing; at the end whereof, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie and nine, Pope VRBANE the sixth died in *Rome*, hauing been so eleuen yeeres, and Cardinall PETER TONACELLO a Napolitane, was by the Romane Cardinals chosen for his successor, and called BONIFACE the ninth: yet in *Auinion*, CLEMENT the seauenth was held and obeyed for pope in all *France*. This BONIFACE vsed such policie that getting the absolute gouernment of *Rome*, he suppressed the power and libertie of the people; and making and establishing officers at his pleasure, fortified and garrisoned the Castle Saint *Angelo*, which of long time had lien desert, an habitacle for Goates and other beasts: otherwise he was not greatly commended, for the contention betweene these two Popes opened the gate to symony and many other abuses. And Pope BONIFACE afterwards sent a Cardinall Legate to crowne LADISLAVS King of *Naples*, sonne of King CHARLES slaine in *Hungary*: and Pope CLEMENT in *Auinion* a little before gaue the same title to LEVVES Duke of *Anion*, sonne of the other LEVVES his fathers riuall; so as many things passed betweene these two princes, which I omit: but King LADISLAVS preuailing in the yeere following Pope BONIFACE his election, Pope CLEMENT died in *Auinion*, and the Cardinals which followed him, chose one PETER DE LVNA a Spanyard to be his successor, a very excellent learned man, if he could haue been restrained from the ambition to haue bin Pope, who was called BENEDICT the thirteenth.

IOHN GALEAS Viscount being of great power, sent the Archbishop of *Milan* for his Ambassadour, to entreate the Emperour to giue him the title of Duke of *Milan*, and to approoue his right thereto: which the Emperor without the consent of the princes of the Empire graunted, more for the desire of the money, which was presented him, then for any right or reason that might induce him thereto, and all things happened to IOHN GALEAS so much accordingly to his desire, that he came to be one of the most puissant and redoubted princes in Christendome.

The schisme betweene the two Popes, and the warres in *Italy* and *Germany* in those daies, together with the Emperors retchlesnes and insufficiencie, were the cause why the Emperor and Empire of *Constantinople* could not be relieued or succoured, which at that time were mightily oppressed by BAIAZETH the fourth, King of the Turkes; who with a puissant armie comming into *Europe*, ouercame and slew in battaile MARKE DESPOTE of *Bulgaria*, and ouerranne all his countrey: and within three yeeres after, returning into the prouinces of *Græcia*, tooke and conquered cities and prouinces: and passing forwards marched through all *Walachia*, which in auncient time was called *Dacia*; and so came into *Hungary*, whence he returned with great spoyle, remayning Lord (besides what he held before) of the prouinces of *Macedonia*, of the greatest part of *Thra-*

Baiazeth King of the Turkes came into Europe.

cia, of *Theſſalia*, of the prouince of the auncient *Athenes* and other countries; and comming victorious beſieged the Imperiall citie of *Conſtantinople*: whereupon SIGISMVND King of *Hungary*, with the aide of his brother the Emperor (but with much more and farre better from ſundrie other Chriſtian princes; chiefly from *England*, and *France*, whither he ſent to ſue for the ſame, and alſo from the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*) came to ſeeke the great Turke, with 100000. men, whereof twentie thouſand were horſemen: whereof BAIAZETH being aduertiſed, raiſed his ſiege from before *Conſtantinople*, and with three hundred thouſand men came to meete him; and the two armies vpon Michaelmas day in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, three hundred, ninty and ſeauen, fought a bloody and cruel battaile, wherein the king of *Hungary*, and the other princes & nobles which were with him were ouerthrowne, and as it is written a very great ſlaughter was made of the Chriſtians, through the fault of the French, which charged before their time; and the King of *Hungary*, and the Maſter of the order of the Knights of the *Rhodes*, eſcaping by flight, the greateſt part of the French were either ſlaine or taken priſoners. After this victory, BAIAZETH returned to the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*; at which time if the great TAMORLAN (which was one of the moſt mighty and moſt victorious Captaines that euer was in the world) had not riſen in *Aſia*, he had taken the citie, and at that time had wholy ſubdued that Empire: wherefore hee leauing in *Europe* the beſt garriſons that he could, went to the defence of *Aſia*, wherein he was in a battaile ouerthrowne and taken, and in TAMORLANS power died priſoner; which (for that time) brought ſome reſt to Chriſtendome. King SIGISMVND eſcaping from this infortunate battaile, came to *Conſtantinople*, and thence ſayling to the Ile of *Rhodes*, came into *Dalmacia* or *Slauonia*. In the time of this his peregrination many of his kingdome of *Hungary* publiſhing him to be either dead or taken priſoner, aduanced the Colours of LADISLAVS King of *Naples*, proclaiming him King by the right of his father CHARLES, of whom we made mention, and of his death being ſlaine after his comming into *Hungary*, for the ſame purpoſe that his ſonne was now ſent for: but SIGISMVND afterwards appearing with the aide of the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, and other his friends, recouered his kingdome; although that afterwards hee was againe impriſoned, and fell into great troubles; the occaſion whereof was the malice and hatred which many of his kingdome bare him, for the cruell execution done in the beginning of his raigne, as then was expreſſed. Theſe matters being paſt, and other which for that they concerne not the hiſtorie of the Emperors, I ouerpaſſe; the princes electors of the Empire, and the reſt, ſeeing the inſufficiencie and little care that the Emperor tooke to repreſſe and pacifie the warres and controuerſies betweene the cities amongſt themſelues, and among the princes; and that he gaue himſelfe to his pleaſure and vaine delights, by reaſon whereof he was little regarded; reſolued to meete, and to depoſe him, as daungerous, and vnprofitable for the Empire; and to chuſe another Emperor; alleaging him to be altogether vnfit for the gouernment; that he deſired not, neither ſought to be crowned; that he had without reaſon, order, or equitie giuen the title of Duke to IOHN GALEAS the tyrant of *Milan*; that he had put many men of Sacerdotall order to death, and ſome prelates; that he was vicious, and no good Chriſtian; that he tooke no care to reſiſt the Turkes; and finally, that he was a man vnprofitable for the Chriſtian Common-wealth; with many other matters which they laid to his charge; and putting their reſolution in effect, they met for that purpoſe in the citie of *Franckford*, in the yeere of our

A battaile betweene the King of Hungary and the Turke, wherein the Chriſtians were ouerthrowne.

The great Turke ouerthrowne and taken by the mighty Tamorlan.

But the chiefeſt cauſe was for that he fauored the doctrine of Iohn Huſſe and Ierom of Prage, which then began to take roote in Bohemia.

our Lord, one thouſand, foure hundred, pope BONIFACE being the chiefeſt author therof, who publiſhed him for depriued and vnworthy of the Empire, in the 22. yeere of his raigne. Here is ſome difference betweene the authors, for ſome write that ROBERT whom ſome call RVPERT, Countie Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Bauiere*, was choſen in his place; without making mention of IODOCVS Marquis of *Morauia* coſin germane to the Emperor WENCESLAVS (being his fathers brothers ſonne) who ſome ſay, was choſen before ROBERT, and liued but a little while after: others (which I rather beleeue) ſay that there was controuerſie betweene the electors; ſome chuſing IODOCVS, and others ROBERT, and that IODOCVS dying, the contention ended. Howſoeuer it was, it is true that IODOCVS liued but ſixe moneths after this election; and of him nothing is written worthie to bee recited. So as (according to all writers) ROBERT by common conſent, after the deceaſe of IODOCVS, remained ſole Emperor; and his election was ratified by pope BONIFACE. Onely CVSPINIAN in this place maketh mention of one FREDERICK Duke of *Bruinſwick*, who (as hee ſaith) was alſo choſen before ROBERT, and was ſlaine before that hee could be crowned, through the treaſon of a certaine Earle, by the counſell and procurement of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*; and that ROBERT was choſen afterwards. I know not what authors he followed therein, for I finde it written by him onely. It ſuffiſeth that ROBERT, whom the Germanes call RVPERT (WENCESLAVS being depoſed) remained Emperor: whereof WENCESLAVS made great account, for in truth he that tooke ſmall care to preſerue it, it is no maruell though it grieued him little to loſe it; for he contented himſelfe with his kingdome of *Bohemia*, which he enioyed a long time after, and gouerned the ſame ſo retchleſly, that his brother SIGISMVND King of *Hungary*, by the conſent of his ſubiects apprehended him once, beſides another time, that they themſelues apprehending him, deliuered him to the cuſtody of ALBERT Duke of *Auſtrich*, who held him for a ſpace priſoner in *Vienna*, whence being afterwards releaſed, hee returned to his kingdom, in poſſeſſion wherof, he afterwards liued ninteene yeeres, and died being of the age of ſeauen and fiftie (as writeth pope PIVS QVINTVS, otherwiſe called ÆNEAS SILVIVS) without leauing either ſon or daughter by two wiues to which he was married. And he raigning in *Bohemia*, the religion began to ſpring, wherof hereafter mention ſhal be made, which was the ground of that which at this day is profeſſed in *Germany*, and in the greateſt part of Chriſtendome, which (as it ſeemeth) this King fauored. This was the end of Emperor WENCESLAVS his Empire.

Anno Dom. 1400.

The Emperor VVenceſlaus depoſed from the Empire.

All this while IOHN PALEOLOGVS raigned in *Conſtantinople*, who was alſo called CALOIOANNES; yet BLONDVS is of opinion, that ANDRONICVS, ſonne of this CALOIOANNES, raigned at this time; wherein (as I coniecture) he is deceiued; for the authors which particularly write the liues of the Greeke Emperors, make no mention of ANDRONICVS in this place, but of IOHN CATACVZENVS, with whom CALOIOANNES contended for the Empire. A little after the depriuing of WENCESLAVS, EMANVEL PALEOLOGVS ſucceeding his father CALOIOANNES, the Empire of *Conſtantinople* decayed and came to ruine; for BAIAZETH the great Turke tooke many prouinces and countries thereof, as we haue already declared, yet it had ſome reſt in thoſe daies, by reaſon of the calamitie brought vpon the Turks by the great TAMORLAN; but it continued not long, for TAMORLAN being dead, CALAPIN ſonne of BAIAZETH, recouered and reformed the kingdome and Empire of the Turkes, and againe moleſted and perſecuted the Empire of *Greece*, and the Kings of *Hungary* alſo.

Calapin the great Turke.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CX. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ROBert being in the time of Wenceſlaus made Emperour, tooke ſpeedy order to make it known to the world that that dignitie was not giuen him for nought, and therefore made himſelfe to be crowned; and hauing ſuppreſſed the troubles of Germany went to be crowned in Italy, and to protect the Florentines againſt the Duke of Milan; but his comming was no leſſe diſhonorable, then vnprofitable; neither were the Florentines warres with the Duke of Milan aſſwaged, but through the death of the ſayd Duke: for the Emperour departing without hauing defended them, or without putting their aduerſary in any feare, applyed himſelfe to the affayres of Germany, wherein he was much troubled about the ſchiſme in the Church of Rome: and deſiring to aſſemble a Councell, the Popes not conſenting thereto, hee was a long time in doubt; but in the end reſoluing to haue a Councell held in ſuch a place, as whither both the Popes without ſuſpition might come, he fell ſick and dyed, in the tenth yeare of his raigne.

THE Emperor WENCESLAVS being in ſuch manner (as I ſaid) depriued, and ROBERT Duke of *Bauiere* choſen in his place, the new Emperor elect accompanied by the electors and ſome other princes, went to the citie of *Colen*, and there was crowned by the Archbiſhop thereof; and his election and coronation was confirmed and ratified by pope BONIFACE, and ſo through all *Germany* he was held and obeyed for Emperor: but not with ſuch obedience and reuerence, as ſome of his predeceſſors had been; for the remiſſe behauiour,

behauiour, and little worth of WENCESLAVS, and the morgages and sales made by his father CHARLES, had giuen such libertie and exemptions, that the Empire scarcely retained the authoritie and reputation in the Imperial countries, and with the princes of *Germany*, as ought to haue been giuen. But as ROBERT was a wise and prudent prince, and of himselfe very mightie and of great power, so in the tenne yeeres which he raigned, he made a great reformation in all matters, and set therein the best order that was possible, aswell in the controuersies and warres which were in the land, as in the excution of iustice and good gouernment. *Italy* then flamed with warre and sedition; in the kingdome of *Naples* LADISLAVS sonne of CHARLES before named, with the aide of Pope BONIFACE, warred against those which held for LEVVES Duke of *Anion*, sonne of the other LEVVES who held some cities and townes in that kingdome, with the title and right which he inherited from his father, and from Queene IOANE, being inuested in that kingdome by CLEMENT, which in *Auinion* was called Pope: and LADISLAVS his power encreasing, he in the end preuailed. The mightiest man in all the rest of *Italy*, was IOHN GALEAS Viscount Duke of *Milan*, who (as I said) was an haughtie minded man; who not contented to bee Duke and Lord of so great estates, and of so many cities as he was, thought to haue been a King, yea an Emperour, and Lord of all *Italy*; and at that time made cruell warre against the Florentines, which onely durst and were able to make head against him, they being assisted by the sonnes of BARNABY which had been tyrant of *Milan*; and by the sonnes of those which had been tyrants or Gouernours of *Padoa*, which he had deposed, and others which he had wronged and dispossessed; and by many others which stood in feare to be dealt withall in the like manner.

The matter standing vpon these termes, and the election and coronation of the Emperour ROBERT being published, the Florentines sent to entreate and to perswade him (for sith he was Emperour he was bound thereto) to come into *Italy*, to free the countrey from so cruell and pernicious a tyrant, as was Duke IOHN of *Milan*, (who had vsurped so many townes of the Empire, and of the Church also) and therewith offered to giue him towards his charges vpon the way the summe of two hundred thousand Florines, whereof one hundred thousand presently in hand, and the rest the first day that hee with his armie should enter into the tyrant Dukes countrey; wherein they would assist him with the greatest power that they were able to make, both of foote and horse. These Ambassadours being arriued, in *Germany* were very well entertained by the Emperour, who presently accepting their offer and seruice, promised to come into *Italy*, aswell for the enterprise of *Milan*, as to be crowned in *Rome*: and he thereupon presently began to prouide all things necessarie for his iourney.

The Duke of *Milan* hauing intelligence hereof, little regarded the deuices and policies which his predecessors had vsed with the former Emperours, which were to procure peace with them, and to obtaine their grace and fauour, to beare themselues as their vassals & subiects; but he as a mighty absolute Lord, with great resolution mustered vp his men, and prepared and prouided armour and Artillerie (which then was vsed) and all things els needfull for the warres: so that great preparation was made of both sides; and all *Italy* and *Germany* were very attentiue to see the issue of this gteat motion. The Emperour staied longer then he, or those which expected his comming, thought hee would haue done: for he hauing determined to come in the beginning of the yeere 1401, came to the citie of *Trent* (which is at the entrie into *Italy*) in the end of harueſt following, accompa-

nied

nied by the Duke of *Auſtrich*, the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and ſome other princes, with many Captaines of *Germany* and of *Italy*. And to performe the conditions made with the Florentines, he came with his armie within ſight of *Breſcia*, which held for the Duke of *Milan*: but the Duke had in that citie, and the marches thereof, ſo many good men of warre to make head againſt him, that they made no doubt to offer him battaile; and the Dukes Cauallerie were ſo excellent good horſemen, that in all skirmiſhes and encounters whereſoeuer they met, they had the aduantage of the Germanes, and ſlew many of them: and they one day comming to ioyne with their whole forces in a battaile, the Emperour and his people were ouerthrowne, neere to the Lake *Benaco*, now called *Garda*: and being thus broken, he retired to *Trent*, where he ſtood in great doubt & perplexitie, to think whether he ſhould returne into *Germany*, or reinforce his army to returne into *Italy*; where the Duke of *Auſtrich* and the Archbiſhop of *Colen* leauing him returned home, wherwith the Emperor was ſorie that he was readie to haue done the like; but perſwaded by FRANCIS CARRARA, ſon of CARRARA the tyrant of *Padoa*, and by other Italian Captaines; and thinking it a ſhame for him to returne, without further triall of his fortune, he went with his armie (which he had reinforced) ſo farre as *Triuigi*, and thence to *Padoa*; where by meanes of CARRARA he was receiued; whither came to him foure principall Ambaſſadours from the Florentines, which alſo ſent two Captaines with certaine troupes of horſe and foote; one of which (as ſaith BLONDVS) was SFORZA ATENDVLO, which afterwards was an excellent and very famous captaine, and was father of that FRANCIS SFORZA, which was one of the beſt Captaines in the world, and afterwards Duke of *Milan*. This SFORZA ATENDVLO was borne in a village called *Catiniola*, of meane parentage and very poore. With theſe Ambaſſadours, ROBERT had long treaties and diſcourſes, concluding, that the Duke of *Milan* was of ſuch power, that neither he nor they had forces ſufficient to defeate him or pluck him downe from his throane: wherefore he held it beſt for him to returne, and that they ſhould ſeek new aide and reliefe: beſides this he demanded ſo great a ſumme of money for the paiment of his ſouldiers, that it ſeemed not to be raiſed.

The Emperour Robert ouerthrowne in Italy by the Duke of Milan.

The Florentines fearing their deſtruction if the Emperour ſhould leaue them and ſo returne, left no meanes vnſought to detaine him: wherefore two of the Ambaſſadours returned in poſt to *Florence*, to conferre with their citizens about this matter; and the other two remained with the Emperour, who for that it was winter, and no fit time to make warre (hauing a great deſire to ſee that citie) went to *Venice*, where he was moſt ſumptuouſly receiued and entertained. The Florentines in the meane time hauing heard their Ambaſſadours, reſoluing what anſwer they would make to the Emperour; determined to procure the friendſhip of the Venecians, and to make a league with them, and with the Pope, and to giue the Emperour great aide of men and money: herewith the Ambaſſadours returned to him to *Venice*, relating to him the determination of their citizens. The Emperour complained of them to the Venecians, for that they had not giuen him that pay which they had promiſed: and they excuſing themſelues, alleaged that hee came not with ſuch power as was requiſite, neither had entred the territorie of *Milan*. Finally, many treaties and ſpeeches paſſed, as well with the Emperour as the Duke of *Milans* Ambaſſadours, which came thither to defend their cauſe before the Venecians; the Florentines ſtill inſiſting to ſtay the Emperour in *Italy*; who giuing them ſometimes hope, and ſometimes making the matter doubtfull, came from *Venice* to *Padoa*, where he lay all the reſt of the winter: and the moneth

neth of Aprill being come, in the yeere of our Lord 1402, in the third yeere of his raigne, he perceiuing that the Venecians would be but lookers on, and newtrals, and would not helpe the Florentines; and that LADISLAVS king of *Naples* had enough to doe with LEVVES of *Anion*; and that Pope BONIFACE (notwithstanding that the Duke of *Milan* had taken many townes from him) as little durst attempt ought against him; resolued with himselfe to returne into *Germanie*, and did so, although with losse of reputation: whereby it appeared that the Empire was not of such power as in former time; wherewith the Florentines were infinitly sorie, and vsed all possible meanes to haue staied him. And although I shall make some digression, yet I will declare what end the warre betweene the Duke of *Milan* and the Florentines had, and how it was interrupted by the death of the said Duke. *Anno Dom.* 1402.

The Emperour being departed out of *Italy*; the Duke of *Milan* thinking presently to haue accomplished his desires, and to haue made himselfe Lord of *Florence*, sent his Generall, called ALBERICO Earle of *Cuno*, with all the force which he had leuied to make head against the Emperour, to assault *Bologna*, which was gouerned by IOHN BENTIVOGLIO, a friend and confederate with the Florentines. And with the Dukes army went the Marquis of *Montoa*, his friend and confederate, and PANDOLPHO MALATESTA Lord of *Arimino*: the Florentines to the reliefe of BENTIVOGLIO, sent their best Captaines and men of warre, amongst which was FRANCIS CARRARA son of FRANCIS CARRARA Lord of *Padoa*. BENTIVOGLIO herewith and with his owne forces tooke the field, with a determination to fight with the Duke of *Milans* power, which refused not the same, wherein IOHN BENTIVOGLIO and his partakers being ouerthrowne, hee escaped by flight, and the CARRARI were taken prisoners: and ALBERICO presently besieging the citie of *Bologna*, and battring it in many parts, by one of which, part of his people, by the permission of some within the citie began to enter; but BENTIVOGLIO resoluing to die honorably Lord of *Bologna*, charged those which were entred, and fought with such obstinacie, that being vnknowne he was there slaine, and cut in pieces. So soone as it was knowne that he was dead, the citie without any more resistance was entred, and so the Duke of *Milan* had that citie. This victory strake such a feare into the Florentines, that they holding themselues for lost, would haue accepted any conditions of peace, had they bin neuer so hard; and sent to desire the Venecians to purchace the same for them: but the Duke of *Milan* which now assured himselfe to be Lord of *Florence*, refusing to heare them commanded his army to march forwards; and being in the heighth of his greatnes; that God which onely is able, and vseth to abate mens pride, measured his thoughts; for hee was suddenly taken with a pestilent feuer, whereof within fewe daies after he died: and notwithstanding that his death was kept secret, yet it was soone discouered, and the Florentines were freed from the great feare of the seruitude which they expected. I know well that I haue spent much time about this man; but I doe it for that it is a notable matter, to see, to how great power this Duke tyrannically, in despite of Kings and Emperours, which were his aduersaries attained: and forasmuch as he was a subiect of the Empire, whereof this History is, it may be said to be the substance of the same History. *Bologna taken by the Duke of Milan.*

I say then that this Prince IOHN GALEAS Viscount Duke of *Milan* was tall of stature, of a gentle and comely gesture, indifferently well seene in the liberall Arts and Sciences, very well spoken, of a quicke and sharpe wit, hardy and valiant in armes, and therewith very politike and subtill in his actions: but hee was so ambicious

ambicious and desirous to raigne, and to commaund, that to attaine thereto, he setting aside the feare of God, made no question to attempt any meanes iust or vniust whatsoeuer, so he might obtaine his purposes; which were so many and such, that I cannot describe them. It is certaine that he acquired much of what he desired, for before his death, he was Lord of nine and twentie cities in *Italy*, which were, *Milan, Pauia, Monfrigal, Nouarra, Bercelly, Alba, Aqui, Alexandria, Tortona, Drobio, Placencia, Parma, Rezzo, Bologna, Pisa, Siena, Massa, Grosseto, Clusio, Perugia, Asti, Nocera, Lody, Feltro, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Cromona*, and *Crema*, besides the townes and Castles subiect and appertayning to these cities, which were a great number. He died in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeere 1402. This mighty Duke left two sonnes behind him, the eldest of which was called IOHN MARIA Viscount, and the other PHILIP MARIA Viscount: to the elder, he left by his Testament, the title of Duke, and the citie of *Milan*, with all the townes and cities within the iurisdiction thereof; and out of it the cities of *Bologna, Siena, Perugia*, and *Asti*: to his second sonne PHILIP he left the cities of *Pauia, Verona, Vicenza* and other places; and to a bastard sonne whose name was GABRIEL, he left the citie of *Pisa*. Which diuision made to his sonnes was imputed vnto him for a great ouersight, and was afterwards very preiudiciall to that estate; for the two brothers disagreeing, it came to decay and diminution; for as they were so very boyes, that the eldest of them was but fifteene yeeres old, so there presently began factions and partakings between them, and the widow Ducheſſe their mother in lawe, and their kinred and fauourites, about the gouernment and command. Finally, for that it is long to be recited, the matter grew to that issue, that so soone as the discord was knowne to be betweene the heads, all the members became so out of order, that the greatest part of the cities rose and rebelled against the Duke: some with those which first held them, and others with new Captaines and tyrants, so that what in the time of the Duke was held for the greatest euill (which was to be subiect to one) seemed afterwards to be the least, by reason of the multitude of tyrants, and the many warres and troubles which ensued; for with *Cremona* arose VGOLINO CAVALCABO, and PANDVLPHO MALATESTA with *Brescia* and *Bergamo*; PHILIP ARCELLANO in *Placencia*; PAVLO GVITTIGI with *Luca*; FACINO CANE with *Bercelli, Alexandria*, and other places; the SVARDI in *Bergamo*; FOGLIANO RISCONE in *Como*; GIANINO VENATESE in *Lodi*; GEORGE BENZONE in *Crema*; OTHO VITALE in *Parma*; and others sought to doe the like in other places; as the CARRARESI and those of SCALA, sought to make themselues Lords of *Verona*, and *Padoa*: in such sort that the state of IOHN MARIA the new Duke of *Milan* was in great trouble and daunger also, and what did most hurt was his owne tyrannicall condition, for he (as a proud cruell boy) beheaded sundrie the most principall men of that countrie: he also apprehended his mother, and committed many other insolencies, which in the end cost him his life; whereof being reprehended by a seruant and fauourite of his, which told him that hee was vnlike to his ancestors, he yeelded a reason answerable to his actions, willing him to let him alone, for that house or linage could not be accounted excellent or famous which produced not men of all conditions: Let this suffise for his estate, and now to our purpose.

Cities subiect to the Duke of Milan.

The Emperour ROBERT going into *Germany* (at such time and in such manner as is before said) applied himselfe to the pacifying thereof: for besides the ancient controuersies betweene the cities (as before is recounted) in those daies many great men in *Hungary* through the old hatred which they long before had conceiued

ceiued against SIGISMVND their King, for the cruell execution which he made to be done in the beginning of his raigne, rebelled against him, and they apprehending him committed him in a Castle to the custodie of a widow and her two sonnes, whose father he had put to death. SIGISMVND being thus prisoner, they sent to LADISLAVS king of *Naples* to come and take possession of that kingdom, sith to him it belonged: and notwithstanding that he was not throughly confirmed in the kingdome of *Naples*, yet moued with an ambicious desire to raigne and to commaund, he made the greatest haste thitherward that he could; and leauing *Naples* came into *Slauonia*, where, in a citie subiect to the kingdome of *Hungary*, he was crowned and proclaimed king thereof: but in the meane time SIGISMVND vsed such meanes with the widow and her sonnes, that they released him out of prison; and he being at libertie, with the aide of his friends and many others which he reduced to his seruice, recouered his kingdom: and LADISLAVS being thereof aduertised, without proceeding any further (his hope and purpose failing him) returned to the kingdome of *Naples*: but before his departure, in requitall of his good entertainment, he sold to the Venecians that citie wherein he was harboured. For all these matters (as it appeareth by the histories) his brother WENCESLAVS king of *Bohemia* and deposed Emperour, tooke little care; for he had enough to doe to hold in himselfe in his kingdome; and as little is written of what the Emperour ROBERT did herein, or in the cruell warres betweene the Swissers and the Duke of *Austrich*; the originall and issue whereof were long to be recounted. It should seeme that hee was otherwise busied in the affaires of the Empire; whereof, for as much as it was in peace and quiet, there is no notable matter written; and matters of small importance are not worth the reading: for certainly although it be the blessing of God to liue in peaceable times, and vnder the rule of good kings and princes for the time present; yet the histories of them after their death are nothing delightfull, and men commonly take more pleasure in reading of battailes, alterations of kingdomes, the falles of kings and their estates, then in histories of peace, iustice, and quiet times: and this is the reason why bookes of lies and fables are read with such delight, for that they are full of such fained great accidents and aduentures. True it is that those times were not without matters worthie to be related: but forasmuch as they concerne not the Emperour, I am not to write them in this historie.

The Emperour ROBERT raigning in peace and rest in *Germany*, in the fifth yeere of his raigne Pope BONIFACE died in *Rome*, in the yere of our Lord 1404; and he being dead the Cardinall of S. *Croße* was chosen, and called INNOCENT the seuenth, who before was called COSMO; BENEDICT the thirteenth liuing still in *Auinion*. Before that INNOCENT was chosen, all the Cardinals sware and promised, that whether soeuer of them should happen to be made Pope, should doe his best endeuour to end the schisme in their Church; and this INNOCENTIVS sware the same: but after that he was Pope, he vsed no such care therein as was expected. The Emperour ROBERT for that he was otherwise busied in *Germany*, or else through want of men or money, or both, could not, or would not come into *Italy* at that time; whereto if he had had meanes, occasion was offered him, to haue recouered to the Empire the cities which the Duke of *Milan* and others had vsurped, by reason of the wars and great troubles which were amongst them in those daies: but (as I haue alreadie said) the power and authoritie of the Emperours (for the causes before mentioned) was so much weakened, that they could not prouide for all parts: but the Venecians taking the benefit of the time,

made themselues Lords of *Padoa*, *Verona* and *Vicenza*, with their confines; which before that time held not any citie of importance in the maine land of *Italy*: and so they wholy extinguished the houses and estates of the CARRARI, and of SCALA, which of long time had been Lords of *Padoa*, *Verona*, and other townes. The Florentines at this time bought the citie of *Pisa* of GABRIEL the bastard sonne of Duke GALEAS of *Milan*, who after that he had been Lord thereof the space of three yeeres, being vnable to rule it, sold the same: and the Pisans to defend their libertie, and for the hatred which they bare to the Florentines, resolued (although in vaine) to shake off the yoake of subiection: whereupon the Florentines besieging them, through famine, and the treason of one IOHN SHORTLEG, took the citie, which in former time had been of very great power, and was now made a slaue and subiect to the Florentines, as it is at this day: such is the weakenes and instabilitie of the power and estate of this world. Pope INNOCENT the seuenth being dead, all the Cardinals before the election of a new Pope, made a solemne vow, that he which should be chosen, should endeuour to cause BENEDICT the thirteenth, who was in *Auinion*, to renounce the Papacy, and that BENEDICT doing so, he that was chosen should doe the like, to the end that the schisme in their Church might cease, and that another should be chosen: this was held the fittest meane to end the schisme. After this solemne oth, one ANGELO CORARIA Cardinall of S. MARKE a Venecian was chosen, and called GREGORY the 12; who so soone as he was chosen, confirmed the oth which hee before had made: whereupon a meeting was procured to be had betweene these two Popes, to the end that they both together should haue renounced the Papacie, and that another might be chosen: and many letters and messengers were sent, and they both made shew to be willing thereto. But they could not agree vpon the place of meeting: yet in the end *Saona* was appointed, and one Pope came from *Rome* to *Luca*, and the other from *Auinion* to *Genoa*, but they alleaging many friuolous reasons, neither of them came to *Saona*, whereby it plainly appeared that they had no meaning by their reconciliation to end the schisme. The Cardinals of either side lying neere together, and perceiuing that neither of these two Popes had any meaning to renounce the Papacie, or to perfourme what they both had sworne, by letters and messages passing betweene them agreed to meete together, to call a generall Councell, to denie obedience to them both, and to chuse a new Pope: and so they meeting all together in *Pisa*, after many disputations a Councell was assembled, wherein met three Patriarches and 180. Archbishops and Bishops: the conclusion was, that the two Popes were cited to come to this Councell: whereto BENEDICT which was in *Auinion*, answered, that the question was betweene him and Pope GREGORY, whether of them two should be Pope: wherefore they could not, neither did it appertaine to them to determine the cause; and that he marueiled at their presumption in attempting the same. Pope GREGORY also sent them word that they well knew him to be right Pope and canonically chosen; and therefore they neither could nor ought to call a Councell generall without his authoritie, for it appertained vnto him, and that he would not haue it held in *Pisa*, but in some other place; and that they were bound to goe to that place which he should appoint, which was to *Aquileia*, whither he went. About this controuersie the Emperour ROBERT summoned a Diet or Councell to be held in *Franckford*, whither came a Cardinall from Pope GREGORY, and another from the Councel held in *Pisa*, each defending his cause; and Pope GREGORIE desired that some other place might be appointed, but not *Pisa*. Finally, after

many

many alterations, the Emperour holding with Pope GREGORY affirmed that he onely had authoritie to call the Councell, and to appoint the place: But notwithstanding the Emperours opinion, the Councell of *Pisa* holding neither GREGORY nor BENEDICT for Popes, chose a Franciscan Frier called PETER, Cardinal and Archbishop of *Milan*, who tooke to name ALEXANDER the fifth. This being done, thither came LEWES Duke of *Aniow* and King of *Prouence* (riuall and competitor with LADISLAVS king of *Naples*) who acknowledging ALEXANDER for Pope, was by him inuested: and ALEXANDER gaue him the title to the kingdome of *Naples* against LADISLAVS, who tooke Pope GREGORIES part. The schisme for all this ceased not, but encreased, for in lieu of two Popes now there were three, and each of them held his court apart, and had Cardinals, and many followers; but the new chosen Pope had the greatest and strongest partie: and Pope GREGORY wandring vp and downe remained for a space in *Gaeta*, (for LADISLAVS king of *Naples* was his friend) but in the end he came to *Arimino*, where CHARLES MALATESTA Lord of that citie harboured him; he there continuing vntill the Councell of *Constance*. Pope ALEXANDER went to *Bologna*; but within eight moneths after his election he died in the same citie; and the Cardinals which were with him assembling in their Conclaue in the same citie, chose BALTHASAR COSSA, a Napolitane and Cardinall of S. *Eustace*, who was called IOHN the 24. which election was by some held for violent and made perforce; for this BALTHASAR being a captaine in the warres, and Gouernour of *Bologna*, had the commaund of men of warre and was of great power: but yet in the end he was by the greatest part of *Italy* held for Pope; and so were GREGORY and BENEDICT also in the places where they liued; by reason whereof all Christendome was diuided into three factions. The Emperour ROBERT being herewith discontent, and desiring a redresse, procured that a generall Councell might bee held by the consent and authoritie of all those three which were called Popes; which afterwards in the time of his successor SIGISMVND was accomplished. But he hauing begun this worke was within few daies after surprised by death, in the tenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord 1410, leauing the schisme and diuision in the Church as before. This Emperour had sixe sonnes, the eldest of which, ROBERT and FREDERICK died before their father, so as when he died there remained IOHN, LEWES, STEPHEN, and OTHO, which had diuers titles, and possessed sundrie estates.

Anno Dom. 1410. *The death of the Emperour Robert.*

EMANVEL held the Empire of *Constantinople* in little prosperitie, aswell by meanes of the warres with the Turkes, as other troubles and disorders in that Empire. In his time MAHVMET sonne of CALAPIN was king of the Turks, who in the beginning, and before that EMANVEL was Emperour, came into *Europe* and warred in *Walachia*, but the rest of his time he spent in *Asia*, in recouering that which TAMORLAN had taken from his grandfather BAIAZETH.

In his time IOHN HVSSE began to be of such credit and reputation in *Bohemia*, that he drawing many to be of his opinion, threw down the Images in Churches, denied Purgatorie, the sacrament of Confession, the Popes power, his Indulgences and pardons, Dirges and praying for the dead; praying to our Lady and to Saints; and held many other opinions which at this day are maintained in the greatest part of Christendome.

THE LIFE OF SIGISMVND ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CXI. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Sigismund King of Hungary, after the decease of the Emperour Robert was chosen Emperour, whose election was very gratefull, for that he was a man of great expectation. He being confirmed, procured a Councell to be held in Constance, to cease the schisme which had continued many yeeres: but it behoued him to deferre it for a time, by reason of the warres between the Pope and the king of Naples, who had taken Rome. But Ladislaus being dead the Councell was assembled, whither the Emperour himselfe came in person: in which Councell Iohn Husse and Ierome of Prage were condemned and burned. The two Popes Gregory and Iohn renounced the Papacie, but the third (which was Benedict) would not, so that the Emperour in person going to procure him to renounce it, could not prevaile; for Benedict was resolued to die with that title notwithstanding that he was deprived by the Councell; and that all the Princes Christian together with his best friend the King of Arragon (seeing his obstinacie) reiected him. The Councell being dissolued, the Emperour went to pacifie the troubles in Bohemia, and to suppresse the followers of Iohn Husse, but he neither by peace nor warre could effect the same: and the Papists being seuerall times memorably ouerthrowne, the Bohemians could neuer be subdued by force of armes. But in the end Sigismund was receiued as King of Bohemia: and the Councell of Basil hauing decreed, concerning the opinions of the Bohemians, the Emperour vpon the way going into Hungary died in Zenona, when he had raigned 37. yeeres.

THE Emperour ROBERT being dead and buried, the princes Electors (according to their custome) met to chuse a new Emperour in the citie of *Franckford*: which being made knowne to Pope IOHN, he (with the desire

ſire to ſhew the authoritie of a Pope, to currie fauell, and to get aide againſt king LADISLAVS, who againe would haue made himſelfe Lord of *Rome*) ſent his Legate to deſire and entreate them to make choiſe of SIGISMVND king of *Hungary*: truly his requeſt was reaſonable, for hee was a prince in that time, for his wiſdome and valour beſides his other gifts of nature much eſteemed, for he was tall of ſtature, very well proportioned, of a gentle aſpect, very diſcreet and aduiſed, of a milde and pleaſing conuerſation, and aboue all moſt liberall: and in concluſion ſuch a one as was needfull for the preſent time. The Ambaſſadours from IOHN which was called Pope, were ioyfully heard by the Electors; and all *Germany* fixed their eyes vpon SIGISMVND, as well for the demerits aforeſaid, as for that he was a mightie king, and ſonne of the Emperour CHARLES the fourth; ſo as by common conſent he was nominated and choſen Emperour; and he comming from *Hungary* to *Aken*, was there crowned with accuſtomed ſolemnitie: and his raigne was afterwards very long, and ſo am I to be in writing his hiſtorie. *Sigiſmund choſen Emperour.*

When Pope GREGORY in *Arimino*, and Pope IOHN in *Bologna* were aduertiſed of his election, they ſent him their Ambaſſades and approbations, either of them attributing the authoritie to himſelfe: but SIGISMVND by reaſon of particular former friendſhip, ſeeming to incline to Pope IOHN more then to any of the others, preſently began by meſſengers to treate with him concerning the calling of a generall Councell, for the aboliſhing of the ſchiſme: about the appointing of the place, there was ſome queſtion, but the Emperour appointed the citie of *Conſtance*, whither (as all men thought) that all thoſe which were called Popes, were bound to go, to the end there to make their renunciations. And for as much as the moſt of the townes and cities in *Italy* held IOHN for Pope; and alſo for that LADISLAVS king of *Naples* ſought to haue vſurped *Rome*, and all the Church lands and goods, and in effect, though not in name, vnder colour of taking Pope GREGORIES part to make himſelfe Emperour, Pope IOHN departing from *Rome*, ſent againſt him LEVVES Duke of *Aniow*, and called king of *Naples*. PAVL VRSIN, SFORZA, and other captaines and ſouldiers with the aide of the Florentines which were his friends. Theſe ioyning in battaile with LADISLAVS, ouerthrew him; but they following not the victorie, LADISLAVS gathered his people together, and leuied ſo many others, that Pope IOHN (being then in *Rome*) was glad to make peace with him; and LADISLAVS ſent to yeeld him obedience: but as it appeareth fainedly, for within few daies after he came vnder colour of other occaſions with an armie into the territorie of *Rome*, and entred the citie by force; and Pope IOHN hauing no power to make head againſt him, fled to *Florence*; ſo as the king was lodged in *Rome* with as great ſtate as if he had been Lord thereof; which ſtrake a great feare into the Florentines and their confederates. To Pope IOHN being then in *Florence*, the Emperour SIGISMVND ſent another ambaſſade concerning the generall Councell; and the Pope ſent two Cardinals Legates to the Emperour, which concluded that the Councell ſhould be held in *Conſtance*, to be begun the firſt day of the moneth of Nouember in the yere 1402: which for ſome occaſion was deferred, but yet the Emperour neuer left to procure the ſame. *Anno Dom. 1402.*

The ſtate of *Milan* and *Lombary* was not in peace in thoſe daies, for there were great warres betweene the tyrants which were therein, of which I haue named ſome, but FACINO CANE was of greateſt power of any them; for hee was poſſeſſed of *Alexandria*, *Bercelli*, *Tordona*, and *Nouarra*, and found the meanes vnder the title and name of Gouernour of PHILIP Viſcount brother to the Duke of *Milan*,

lan, to get into *Pauia*; and being poſſeſſed of that citie, kept the young PHILIP in poore eſtate in the Fortreſſe: vnder the ſame pretext he afterwards made cruell warres againſt the other tyrants and cities which were his aduerſaries. At the ſame time the Emperour SIGISMVND ſent a captaine with a good number of ſouldiers to warre vpon the Venecians, wherein (as ſaith SABELLICVS) happened many notable aduentures: but foraſmuch as he ſheweth not the cauſe of this warre, I hold it fit to come to the matters of greateſt importance, concerning the Emperours comming into *Italy*; before which, in the yeere 1412. FACINO CANE dying, left neither ſonne nor daughter to ſucceede him but his wife, who was his heire. At that time was IOHN MARIA Duke of *Milan*, by reaſon of his cruelties and bad conditions ſlaine by his owne ſeruants and familiars, and thoſe which ſlew him taking the city, made ASTROGIO Viſcount ſonne of BARNABY Viſcount, whom the mightie IOHN GALEAS father of this IOHN MARIA, to haue the dominion of *Milan*, put to death by treaſon (being his Vncle) as is before declared: which the other brother PHILIP (who was in *Pauia*, and now of age and of power to execute any great attempt) vnderſtanding, he by the counſell of his friends tooke the widow of FACINO CANE to wife, notwithſtanding that ſhe was much older then himſelfe, by which marriage, beſides *Pauia* which was his owne, he made himſelfe Lord of thoſe townes which FACINO CANE had poſſeſſed. And his power and courage herewith encreaſing, he reſolued to ſee if he could get *Milan* and the reſt, which his father and his brother had enioyed, and thereupon went preſently thither; ASTROGIO not hauing yet gotten the Fortreſſe, for it defended it ſelfe againſt him; and hauing intelligence with ſome within the citie, and aſſiſted by certaine captaines which had ſerued FACINO CANE, he entred *Milan*, and expelling ASTROGIO, ſuddenly made himſelfe a Duke; and in proceſſe of time hauing good ſucceſſe, was a great and very redoubted prince, of whom we ſhall ſometimes make mention. Theſe matters before ſpoken of, together with the tyrannie and power of king LADISLAVS of *Naples* (*Italy* being out of order) were the cauſe why the Councell appointed to be held in *Conſtance* tooke not ſuch effect as the Emperour SIGISMVND deſired: for Pope IOHN, which had appointed the ſame, durſt not goe out of *Italy*, leauing his competitor GREGORY and the king of *Naples* with ſuch power therein: wherefore the Emperour reſolued to come thither, to make ſome concluſion with Pope IOHN concerning the Councell, and to aſſiſt him againſt the king of *Naples*, to the end that the Councell might be the more commodiouſly held, which he preſently put in execution: and as the land was diuided into factions and parcialities, ſome were glad of his comming, and ſome were ſorie. And the Pope being certified thereof came from *Florence* to *Bologna*, and thence to *Placencia*, whither came the Emperor, where they two met and ſtaied a moneth. But what forces the Emperour brought with him, in what manner they were receiued into thoſe cities, or what happened in peace or warre, is not diſtinctly written: but that he was in *Lodi*, and in *Cremona*, and afterwards in *Mantoa*; where the Marquis gaue him moſt ſumptuous entertainment. In theſe places they treated of the recouerie of the citie of *Rome*, and other places which were vſurped by the King of *Naples*; which ſeemed very expedient to be done, to the end that the Councell might be held: and on the other ſide it ſeemed that the matter ought to be deferred, conſidering the Kings great power, with whom the Florentines at that time (more for feare then for any good will) had made peace, and (to the end that he ſhould draw his forces out of their frontiers) were to giue him a great ſumme of money:

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for which Pope IOHN was very sorie, for this made his warre more doubtful then before. But that feare was soone ouer past, for LADISLAVS feeling himselfe sick, went to *Naples*, & there died Lord of *Rome* and of all the territorie thereof, besides his kingdome of *Naples*. When he died, he left neither son nor daughter, and but one sister whose name was IOANE, which presently succeeded him in his kingdome: in whose little time, and after her death in that kingdome, were great wars and troubles about the succession. LADISLAVS being dead, the citizens of *Rome*, crying libertie, reduced themselues to the seruice of Pope IOHN, and so did the most part of the other townes; and he sent his Legates to them; for Pope GREGORY although he had a better title, yet he had not so great power to doe it: for he with his Cardinals liued poorely in *Arimino*: yet some Princes and people acknowledged him. Pope IOHN hauing taken the best order for his busines that he could in *Italy*, resolued to goe to the Councell in *Germany*, whither the Emperour to the end to make prouision of all things necessary (hauing already proclaimed the Councel through all parts of Christendome) was already gone: so as after the comming of Pope IOHN and the Bishops, Prelates, and Ambassadours from the Christian Princes, into *Germany*, the Councel generall (according to the appointment) began in *Constance*, vpon the fifth day of Nouember in the yeere 1414. The first session thereof was vpon the sixteenth day of Nouember in the same yeere: and so began this Councell, which continued three yeeres, and was one of the greatest and most solemne, and wherein were the greatest number of Princes, Ambassadors and Prelats, that euer was held by the Church of *Rome*: for writers affirme that with the Emperor, and with the other Princes, Prelates, and Ambassadours, there came 40000. persons. What matters passed, and what was ordained and done in that Councell, plainly appeareth in an Instrument which at this day is extant; the summe whereof (which is to our purpose) is.

That vpon Christmas euen ensuing the moneth of Nouember, wherein the Councell began, the Emperour accompanied by the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Wittembergh*, and other Princes came to *Constance*, where he was solemnly receiued; and afterwards in Imperiall pompe and habit was present at the sessions of the Councell. After New-yeeres day came the Duke of *Bauiere*, and then the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Slesia*. Thither also came Cardinals Ambassadours from Pope GREGORY in *Arimino*, which with authoritie from him approued the Councell: but BENEDICT which was in *Arragon*, would neither come nor send. The Councell being solemnised and ordained in this manner, Pope IOHN in the second session, which was in the second of March the same yeere, promised and solemnly sware to renounce the Papacie, in case that GREGORY and BENEDICT would doe the like: this he did to purchase grace and fauour with the Emperour, to the end that he might continue Pope still, whereof (as all writers affirme) he was vnworthy, for his great vices and insolencies, which were made manifest to the whole Councell. And he standing in feare of what after ensued (his owne conscience accusing him) fled in disguised attire into the Duke of *Austrich*, who fauoured him, and tooke his part. Whereupon many Ambassadours were sent from the Emperour and the Councell to Pope IOHN, and from him to them. And the Emperour and the Councell proceeded against the Duke of *Austrich*, for that he was of counsell with the Popes flight, and had (notwithstanding their prohibitions and warnings to the contrary) harbored and protected him: and the Emperour confisking his goods, the Swissers tooke certaine places from him. Whereupon the Duke perswaded Pope IOHN to depart,

The Councell of Constance.

and to returne to the Councell; where after many citations made and notified vnto him, he ſubmitting himſelfe to the Councell, and approuing what by them was or ſhould be determined, as it appeareth in the twelfth ſeſſion, was by their ſentence pronounced for *non Pontifex*: and the Duke reduced him to *Conſtance*, where he voluntarily renouncing the Papacie, was apprehended, and committed to the Countie Palatine, in whoſe cuſtodie hee liued miſerably the ſpace of three yeeres; what befell him afterwards you ſhall vnderſtand.

After this, CHARLES MALATESTA Lord of *Arimino*, where Pope GREGORY lay, came to the Councell with ſufficient authoritie from him to renounce his right to the Papacie: by vertue whereof he publikely renounced the ſame in the 14. ſeſſion, ſaying, that Pope GREGORY in the commiſſion which he gaue him ſaid, that for the vnion and vniuerſall reformation of the Church, and for redreſſe of the ſchiſme, it was requiſit and expedient that he and the reſt which pretended to be Popes, ſhould renounce the Popedome, and that the Councel there aſſembled ſhould chuſe ſuch a one as might be for the good of the Chriſtian commonwealth: and notwithſtanding that hee was right Pope and canonically choſen, yet he now, as he euer before had offered to doe, did renounce and there reſigne the Papacie into the hands of the Councell, approuing what therein by them ſhould be done, or what they had done alreadie. Pope GREGORIES renunciation was highly eſteemed, and he therefore much commended: whereupon the Councell holding the Papall ſeate for voide, made him a Legate and gouernour of the *Marca de Ancona*; which office he enioyed but a little while, for he ſhortly after died, as ſome ſay of ſorrow, to ſee himſelfe depoſed from his pontificall ſeate; and for that the Councell had admitted and receiued thoſe Cardinals which had ſerued him, and were made by him, and had confirmed to them the reuenues which he had giuen them. What appertained to Pope IOHN and Pope GREGORY being ended; it yet reſted to deale with BENEDICT which was in *Arragon*, to whom many ambaſſades and admonitions had been ſent, that hee ſhould either come or ſend to the Councell, for that no Pope ſhould be choſen vntill the ſchiſme were throughly ended: what was done therein we will preſently declare. But firſt I will ſhew you that amongſt other matters which in this Councell were ordained and determined, a famous Bohemian whoſe name was IOHN HVSSE, was therein for certaine opinions which he held, condemned and burnt by the decree and ſentence of the Councell; and after him IEROME of *Prage*, who was a follower of his. This being paſt, the Councell ſent to BENEDICT in *Arragon* and to the King thereof, to treate with them, to the end that BENEDICT ſhould renounce the Papacie; and beſides this, to treate of a meeting to be had at *Nizza* betweene the Emperour and the King, where they might conferre of the matter: in the end, in the ſixteenth and ſeuenteenth ſeſſion it was concluded, that the Emperour in perſon ſhould with the Ambaſſadours, from the Councell take the paines to goe to Pope BENEDICT, to the end to procure him to renounce the Papacie.

The burning of Iohn Huſſe and Jerome of Prage.

Whereupon he reſoluing to put their determination in effect, departed from *Conſtance* in the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, foure hundred, and fifteene. And foraſmuch as at that time there were very great warres betweene the King of *England* and of *France*, the Emperor going in perſon to each of them, ſought to haue reconciled them, but he failing of his purpoſe, concluded with them, to requeſt and require pope BENEDICT in *Arragon* to renounce the papacie; which if he refuſed to doe, that then they through all

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their dominions, ſhould commaund that none of their ſubiects ſhould obey him. And he paſſing forwards (for that the King of *Arragon* by reaſon of his infirmitie could not goe out of his kingdome to meete him in *Nizza*, or in *Narbone*) was content to goe to *Perpinian*, whither the King of *Arragon* and pope BENEDICT were alreadie come, where he and the Ambaſſadors which came from the Councell were by the King very honorably receiued, and after that the Emperor had viſited the King and conferred with him about the matter, he went to ſee pope BENEDICT, whom with the beſt ſpeeches and reaſons that he could deuiſe, he perſwaded him to yeeld to the Councels determination. To the firſt, BENEDICT gaue very good words, but generall without any concluſion, and did the like to what the Councels Ambaſſadors proponed. Afterwards there were other meetings betweene theſe princes and this pope about the ſame matter, but to no effect; for BENEDICT notwithſtanding the King of *Arragons* entreatie, and the Ambaſſadors from the King of *France*, for the ſame purpoſe deferring the concluſion with delaies, departing from *Perpinian*, went to *Colibre*, where imbarking himſelfe in a Galley, without any ſtay (notwithſtanding that the King and the Emperor by their letters deſired the contrary) he went thence by ſea to *Peniſcola*, which is a little towne (but very ſtrong) in the countrie of *Valencia* in *Spaine*; whither both the Emperor and the King of *Arragon* ſent vnto him, but he perſiſting obſtinate, the King vpon the fifth of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, foure hundred, and ſixteene, reiecting him, denied him to be pope. This being publiſhed, the Emperor and the Ambaſſadors tooke their way towards *Conſtance*, and in his returne (as I geſſe) was his iourney to the Kings of *England* and of *France*, concerning pope BENEDICT, for by the hiſtories it appeareth not when it was, but it ſeemeth to be at his returne, for he came not to *Conſtance* vntill the beginning of the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, foure hundred, and ſeuenteene, hauing ſpent one whole yeere vpon the way betweene *Spaine* and *Conſtance*; being one yeere and a halfe after his departure from the Councell to goe this iourney. Thoſe which write that he ſpent three yeeres therein are to be excuſed, for he tooke part of all three yeeres, to wit 1415. 1416. and 1417. The Emperor and the Ambaſſadors being returned, and the Councell hauing at large heard their relation, reſolued to proceede againſt pope BENEDICT, as againſt a rebell, and one whom they neuer had held for pope; and his accuſation was notified vnto him, with a new charge to renounce, but he (perſiſting in his obſtinacie) was denounced for no pope, but an heretike, a ſchiſmatike, and a ſcandalous perturber of the vnity and vniuerſall peace of the Chriſtian Church and Common-wealth: and the kingdomes of *Caſtile*, *Nauarre*, and *Portugall*, which vntill then had been at his deuotion, reiected him. The Councell (by reaſon of the renunciations made by IOHN and GREGORY, and BENEDICT being depriued) holding the papacie for voyde, determined to chuſe a new pope, and appointing fiue prelates of fiue ſeuerall nations, to wit, French, Engliſh, Spaniſh, Italian and Dutch, to which together with the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and to the Cardinals which had choſen the other popes, the Councell gaue order to chuſe a pope; all which agreeing together, choſe Cardinall OTHO DE COLVNNA, and he was called MARTIN the fifth. This MARTIN being choſen (to auoyde all occaſion of ſcruple) ordained that euery tenth yeere a Councell ſhould be held, and that the firſt ſhould begin at the end of fiue yeeres, and that all the benifices giuen by the three popes before that IOHN and GREGORY renounced, and BENEDICT was depriued, ſhould be confirmed. After

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this in the fiue and fortith seſſion, in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, foure hundred, and eighteene, three yeeres and a halfe after the beginning of this Councell, it was diſſolued, and the pope tooke his way towards *Rome*, and all the reſt towards their countries. At this time the Emperor made the Earles of *Rene*, and of *Sauoy*, Dukes, and ſo haue their ſucceſſors been euer ſince. This being ended, the Emperor went to pacifie the troubles in *Bohemia*, wherein the followers of IOHN HVSSE and IEROM of *Prage* which were burnt at the Councell of *Conſtance*, were of ſuch power that they pulled downe ſome Churches and Monaſteries, which did more abound in *Bohemia* then in any kingdome in all Chriſtendome, without that the King knew any meanes how to redreſſe the ſame. I ſay King, which had been Emperor and liued vntill this time, who holding not himſelfe to be in ſafety in the citie of *Prage*, retyred himſelfe to a moſt ſtronge Caſtle, about fiue miles from thence, and he being there the Huſſites roſe in a great tumult. Which King WENCESLAVS perceiuing, ſent to his brother the Emperor (as at other times he had done) for aide, about the time that the Councell brake vp at *Conſtance*; but he was ſo reſolued to goe to the warres againſt the Turkes which warred vpon him in *Hungary*, or peraduenture, in hope to be reuenged for the battaile which he loſt againſt them before that he was Emperor, which I write not for that it maketh nothing to my purpoſe: and he did what he ought not to haue done, for therein he had ill ſucceſſe, and in *Bohemia* worſe, for preſently after this, King WENCESLAVS dying without leauing any ſucceſſor but his wife the Queene, the Emperor was ſent for to take poſſeſſion of that kingdome: but he to renew the warre againſt the Turkes, wherein moſt commonly he had ill ſucceſſe, would not come; thinking to entertaine the matter by Gouernors which he ſent thither: wherein he erred, for that occaſion being loſt, the troubles encreaſed; and there aroſe one IOHN CISCA, a man of a noble houſe and very expert in the warres, whom the Huſſites made their Captaine, to whom out of *Prage* and other parts thereto adioyning, came 40000. of the Huſſites, which not content with the ſubuerting of Monaſteries and pulling downe of Images, poſſeſſed themſelues of the fortreſſes of that citie, and being maſters of the field, tooke the towne of *Pelezina*, and other townes and Caſtles. CISCA before the comming of the Emperors Gouernors, was growne ſo mightie, that they were conſtrained to make peace with him and with the Huſſites, to the end that they ſhould giue vp *Prage* and other Caſtles, which they deſired to haue vntill the Emperors comming, which was ſhortly after; wherewith farre greater accidents enſued, when peace and quietnes was hoped for; as we will declare after that we haue made ſome relation of the ſtate of the Empire in *Italy*, wherein they now knew no Emperor but in name onely; and likewiſe of the comming, and ſucceſſe of the new Pope.

Ciſca Captaine of the Huſſites in Bohemia.

The Councell being diſſolued, Pope MARTIN notwithſtanding that he was diuerſly counſelled, (by ſome, that he ſhould continew in *Germany*, and by others, in *France*) remained firme in his reſolution to goe into *Italy* and to *Rome*, alleaging that he which gouerneth the Ship ought to ſit in the poope, and not in the prowe, neither in the midſhips. In concluſion, he departed from *Germany* the ſame yeere that he was choſen, and came directly to *Milan*; for Duke PHILIP (who by his policie and valour was growne very mightie) was his friend. At that time PHILIP was buſied in the warres againſt PANDVLPH MALATESTA, which withheld *Bergamo* and *Breſcia* from him, and againſt GABRINO FONDVLO, who held *Cremona*, and againſt other Lords which held other places which had

had been his fathers, the mightie IOHN GALEAS; and were loſt in the time of his brother IOHN MARIA; in which warres PHILIP had ſo good ſucceſſe, that he recouered all thoſe eſtates, and was afterwards one of the moſt puiſſant princes of the world, and was Lorde of *Genoa* alſo. He poſſeſſed the ſtate of *Milan* vntill that he died, which were two and thirtie yeeres, in which time he had great warres with the Venecians and Florentines, and with other princes; wherefore of neceſſitie we muſt ſometimes make mention of him. From *Milan* the Pope came to *Florence*, but could not goe to *Rome*, for that one BRACCIO MONTONIO (an excellent Captaine and of very great power) in the time of SEDE VACANTE, and of the Councell, had taken the citie of *Perugia*, and the territorie thereof, and many other townes in the iuriſdiction of *Rome*: and many others of his condition ioyned with him, ſo that there was no ſafe paſſage for the Pope to *Rome*, wherein the ſaid BRACCIO MONTONIO had a ſtrong partie. But at the interceſſion of the Florentines which were mediators betweene them, BRACCIO MONTONIO afterwards ſubmitted himſelfe to the Pope, and rendred ſome townes which he had taken; and the Pope made him his Generall againſt *Bologna* which rebelled; which by him and by GABRIEL Cardinall of Saint CLEMENT was reduced to the Popes obedience. In thoſe daies (but ſomewhat before this time) BALTHASAR COSLA which had been Pope IOHN (who renounced his Papacie in the Councell at *Conſtance*, of whom Pope MARTIN ſtoode in no ſmall feare that he would haue attempted ſome alteration by taking vpon him as Pope, and would haue renewed the ſchiſme) came into *Italy*, and finding fauour and entertainment amongſt ſome his friends, would not intermeddle in any matter, but of his owne accord without any ſafe conduct or other agreement, at ſuch time as no man thought thereof came voluntarily to *Florence* where the Pope lay, and comming into his Palace, kiſt his foote and acknowledged him for Pope, Saint PETERS ſucceſſor, CHRISTS Vicar, whereupon Pope MARTIN made him a Biſhop, and a Cardinall: but he within few moneths after dying, was in *Florence* moſt ſolemnly buried, by the procurement (principally) of COSMO DE MEDICIS, a rich and noble citizen thereof, and chiefe of the houſe and family of the DE MEDICIS, whoſe principall beginning (as it it written) was through the treaſure and richeſſe which he enherited from this BALTHASAR COSLA, otherwiſe called Pope IOHN. Pope MARTIN knowing what troubles were in the kingdome of *Bohemia*, ſought by his Buls and Edicts to haue pacified the matter, but ſeeing it was come to blowes, the friendſhip betweene him and the Emperor SIGISMVND was ſoone after broken. In thoſe daies came to *Rome* LEWES Duke of *Anion*, Lord and King of *Prouence*, ſonne of the other LEWES deceaſed, to receiue of the Pope the title and inueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, againſt Queene IOANE, ſiſter and heyre to King LADISLAVS; being called thither by the Pope for the ſame purpoſe, through her ill gouernment and tyranny, but chiefly for that ſhe ioyned with BRACCIO MONTONIO, and made warre vpon him; and for other matters too long to relate. The Pope proceeding againſt her and holding her vnworthie to enioy the feudatorie lands of the Church, ſent for Duke LEWES, offering him the kingdome of *Naples*: but Queene IOANE being thereof aduertiſed, adopted ALONZO King of *Arragon* (who was alſo King of *Sicilia*) whom ſhe called to her aide, and to the ſucceſſion in that kingdome, who came accordingly. And the Queene afterwards (according to her naturall condition) falling at oddes with him, and reuoking the adoption which ſhe

Warres for the kingdome of Naples.

ſhe had made of ALONZO, adopted the ſame LEWES whom the Pope had called. Hereof grew the warres betweene LEWES and ALONSO, for the kingdome of *Naples*; and after the deceaſe of LEWES, with his brother RENE, which warres continued many yeeres; but in the end ALONSO hauing the victory, obtayned the ſoueraignty of that kingdome.

This which I haue ſaide, paſſed in *Italy*, wherein the Emperors were now of ſmall power: and in *Germany*, the warres which the Turke made in *Hungary* being aſſwaged, the Emperor determined (although late firſt) to come into *Bohemia*, to take poſſeſſion of that kingdome; whither if he had preſently come, it is very likely that the troubles therein had been pacified: for at his comming to *Bruna* which is in *Morauia*, Ambaſſadors came to him from *Prage* to ſubmit themſelues and to ſue for pardon; which hee entertained and heard, and proponing certaine tollerable conditions, graunted them a generall pardon; the newes whereof were very ioyfull to the inhabitants of that citie and kingdome: to the Huſſites, to ſee themſelues pardoned of their offences; and to the reſt, in hope to liue in peace. But all this was mard, for that the King came not preſently to take poſſeſſion of that citie which is the head of that kingdome, where they peaceably attended his comming; but he would firſt goe to *Vratiſlaue*, the chiefe citie of *Sleſia*, a prouince to the Eaſt of *Bohemia*. Therein, as well as in *Prage* (in time of the inſurrection of the people) the gouernors which were left there by WENCESLAVS were ſlaine: and the Emperor to puniſh the offence, did iuſtice vpon the principall heads of that rebellion. As the newes thereof was publiſhed in *Prage*, and as their offences were equall or greater, this vnſeaſonable puniſhment ſtrake ſuch a terror into the people, that they fearing the like rigor, without any further conſideration, roſe vp in armes; and reſoluing to refuſe him for their King, wrote their letters, thereby inciting the reſt through all the kingdome to doe the like; publiſhing that hee had determined to commit great crueltie amongſt them. This tooke ſuch effect, that in the moſt and beſt part of that kingdome, the people tooke armes: and as the greateſt part of thoſe of *Prage* were Huſſites (the reſt ioyning with them) they all together ſent for a Captaine of the Huſſites, a man of great power, whoſe name was CISCA, whom they put into *Prage* for defence thereof againſt the Emperor, who was comming againſt it. Hereof enſued in that citie and kingdome many encounters, skirmiſhes, battailes, and bloodſhed by fire and ſword, ſuch as neuer were ſeene or heard of, and ſuch as I am not able to recount: the moſt effectuall whereof may bee ſeene in the third booke of ÆNEAS SILVIVS, called afterwards Pope PIVS QVINTVS, in his Hiſtorie of *Bohemia*: for my part I will reſt ſatisfied with briefly mencioning the moſt notable matters that paſſed. The Emperor accompanied by the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Auſtrich*, with many other very good men of warre both of Foote and Horſe, came neere to the citie of *Prage*: whereof the Fortreſſe called *Vicengrade* was at his deuotion.

CISCA and his people very reſolutely battered the ſame, but their chiefeſt hope was to take it by famine. The Emperour comming thither relieued the Fortreſſe, and entring it, was therein crowned King of *Bohemia*, the Fortreſſe being victualled and garriſoned, he preſently beſieged the citie; which ſiege continued ſixe weekes; in which time in all the skirmiſhes and encounters which happened, it pleaſed God that CISCA and his followers had the better: the like befell in a manner in all parts of the kingdome, betweene the Huſſites and the Imperialiſts. Whereupon the Emperor raiſing his ſiege from before *Prage*, came

The Emperor making warre againſt the Huſſites beſieged the citie of Prage.

came to *Cutna*: and CISCA leauing the citie, ioyned with the Taborites, so called after the name of a citie founded by them and so called: and being victorious, and not contented to make defensiue warres, taking the field, tooke some townes and Castles from his aduersaries. Many other conflicts after this ensued, which I omit: and the matter came to this issue, that the Emperor with his whole power came to a strong Monasterie which held for CISCA, with a determination to batter and to take it; and if CISCA came to the reliefe thereof, to fight with him: for his armie was such, that he nothing doubted of the victorie. But there befell a strange accident, which was, that CISCA resoluing to come to the reliefe of that Castle, and so to fight with the Emperor, and being come to the point to haue ioyned, the Emperors troupes but vpon the sight of their enemies, without making any resistance, or shewing the mindes or courage of men, suddenly ran away, & the Emperor was driuen to doe the like, not daring to stay in any part of all *Bohemia*: so as CISCA and his people being masters of the field, besieged many strong holds & Castles, which he took perforce: at the assault of one of which, as he had but one eye, that one was shot out with an arrow; but his credit and reputation was so great, that he continued in the gouernment and command of the armie, which was led by a blinde Christian: a thing neuer seene nor read in any historie: for notwithstanding that he was blind, yet he still procecuted the wars.

The Emperor comming to fight with the Hussites at the sight of them, his people fled without one blow striken.

The Emperor (notwithstanding these desasters) was not dismayed, but leuying his whole power and sent for the Princes of the Empire, which he appointed to enter *Bohemia* by the West; and he with his Hungars would enter it by the East. Thither came with many men of warre, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, the Marquis of *Brandenbrugh*, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and some other Princes and Prelates, which began the warre, and besieged and tooke some townes: the Emperor stayed longer then he had appointed, but comming with his armie, he began on his side, and notwithstanding that CISCA was blind yet he tooke the field against him; and comming to ioyne in battaile, the Emperors men were striken with such feare of CISCA and of the Hussites, that they were presently ouerthrowne, and many principall men of them were slaine; and the infortunate Emperor in the warres being driuen to flie, CISCA followed the execution of the victorie. The matter standing in this estate, the nobles and principals of *Prage* and of all *Bohemia* (desiring to haue a King, that might oppose himselfe against SIGISMVND) sent to yeeld themselues and their kingdome to VITOLD Duke of *Lituania*; for which CISCA was sorrie, and the Duke to be a King, accepting their offer, sent a Captaine called TORIBVT with his power; who being gladly receiued into the citie, began to shew the power of a new King, and to batter such Castles and Fortresses as were his aduersaries. But this Duke within short space after, at the entreatie of the King of *Poland*, comming to a composition with the Emperor, gaue ouer his enterprise and title to the crowne of *Bohemia*. It followed that the Emperor gaue the prouince of *Morauia* to his sonne in law, one of the Dukes of *Austrich*, to the end that he should defend the same; and he returning to the warre against the Hussites, there happened betweene CISCA and the Imperialists another great battaile; wherein CISCA hauing the victorie, nine thousand of the Imperialists were slaine. The Emperor seeing the power of CISCA to be so great, that without his good will he could not be King of *Bohemia*, sought to be at peace with him; and to that end made him many large promises and offers: at the time of the parley thereof, and at a point to haue made a conclusion, CISCA died of the plague: after

The Emperor ouerthrowne the second time by the Hussites, and their blind Captaine Cisca.

A third battaile wherein the Emperor was ouerthrowne and 9000. of his people slaine by the Hussites.

whose death the Hussites were diuided into seuerall factions, of which some were called Hussites, and some Taborites; so as they were at variance amongst themselues; but against the Imperialists they euer ioyned and were friends. After many other accidents, Pope MARTIN sending his Legate into *Germany*, enioyned and commaunded the Emperor to renew the warre against the *Bohemians*; and the Duke of *Saxony* entring the countrie vpon the one side, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* vpon another side, and at another place the Archbishop of *Treuiere*, either of them with the best power that they were able to leuie; all which meeting together in *Bohemia*, and beginning the warre, and knowing that the Hussites came to fight with them (a matter seeming incredible, yet true although strange and shamefull) were striken with such feare, that without seeing or hearing any enemie, both Captaines and Souldiers setting all shame apart, abandoning the field ranne away in such manner, that neither entreatie nor authoritie sufficed to withhold them; and the Hussites pursuing them, tooke all their baggage and their artillery; and not content therewith, sallying forth of their kingdome, made warre in other parts, out of which, in consideration of a great summe of money they returned home againe. The Pope vnderstanding in what estate the affaires of *Bohemia* stoode, resolued to giue a Croysade, and to send a new Legate against the Bohemians, notwithstanding that in *Italy* was as little quietnes; but great warres aswell in the kingdome of *Naples*, as in *Lombardy* and in other parts. And to that effect sent IVLIAN Cardinall of Saint *Angelo*, to be his Legate against the Hussites; and to the end that the time being expired, he might sit in his place in the Councell appointed to be held in *Basill*. This Cardinall comming to the Emperor, it was decreed, that a new armie, and new forces to a greater number then before should be leuied against the Hussites; whither came FREDERICK Marquis of *Brandenburgh* (who was chosen Generall) and the Dukes of *Bauiere*, and of *Saxony*, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, *Treuiere*, and *Colen*, and many Bishops, other Prelates and Princes, together with the companies of the cities, and so many others that they amounted to the number of fortie thousand horse, but not so many foote (for it seemeth they were not so requisit for that warre) which with this power entred the kingdome of *Bohemia*, the Cardinall Legate going with the armie. But the Hussites were so accustomed to the bearing of armes, and were therewith so valiant, that they drew themselues to one head, with a determination to fight with the Imperialists; and the one armie being opposite to the other, so as no man doubted but that the Imperialists (considering their multitude and the goodnes of their Captaines and Souldiers) would haue had the victorie; there happened the most strange case that euer was seene in the world; whether through treason or practise in the armie, or through some vaine and cowardly feare or imagination, or through the secret iudgement of God who was not pleased that the matter should be decided by armes, there fell a sudden feare in the campe, and a rumor that they were not to stay there: whereupon they all began presently to march, leauing behinde them all that they brought, and many, their armes and furnitures: and the whole armie (without that any admonition, threatning, or entreatie, made by the Princes and Commaunders, could any way preuaile with them) themselues fled, and they did the like, without seeing, or fighting with any enemie: and so they flying out of the land, the Hussites made great bootie of what their enemies left and could not carrie with them.

At a fourth inuasion the Imperialists ran before they saw any enemie.

A wonderfull discomfiture.

So great an army being so shamefully ouerthrowne, the Emperor intended not (for

(for that time) to raise any other; but the time being expired that the Councell should begin, the Cardinall Legate went to *Basil*, and the Emperour by reason of the aide and assistance promised him by PHILIP Duke of *Milan*, resolued to goe into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*. At this time died Pope MARTIN, and after his decease a Cardinal called GABRIEL CONDALMARCO was in March in the yere 1431. chosen, and called EVGENIVS the fourth: in the beginning of whose Papacie many insolencies (as saith PLATINA and other writers) were committed in *Rome*, betweene the Pope and the Colonnois. EVGENIVS approoving the Councell appointed by Pope MARTIN, commanded it to be begun in *Basil*, wherein the Cardinall of S. *Angelo* being President, the first session was held vpon Friday the seuenth of December: whereof before that we make any relation, which shall be but little (notwithstanding that it continued long, and that therein was much controuersie and contention with the Pope) wee will describe the iourney which SIGISMVND made to his coronation, which was in this manner. Vpon assurance of the promises and offers made by the Duke of *Milan*, SIGISMVND with small troupes of Germanes and Hungars came into *Italy*; and comming to *Milan*, the Duke being not there, he was by the Dukes commaundement very honourably receiued, by a Captaine of his called NICHOLAS PICHININO, and other principall men, and there according to the custome was crowned with the crowne of Iron: but the Duke came not to see him; yet he afterwards by letters and delaies temporized with him many daies, in *Parma*, and in *Placencia*, without furnishing him with such things as hee had promised against the Florentines, which as enemies to the Duke stopped his passage to *Rome*, which to that effect maintained an armie in the field: and moreouer perswaded the Pope to prohibit his comming to *Rome*, certifying him, that by the instigation of Duke PHILIP he came against him. The Emperour without speaking with the Duke, in the best manner that he could came to *Luca*, and notwithstanding that the Pope and the Florentines sought to stay him, yet he after some accidents which happened betweene the souldiers of the one and other side, came to *Siena*, wherein hee staied sixe moneths, in which time he came to a composition with the Pope, many ambassades passing betweene them in the meane season, so as he peaceably departing towards *Rome* was therein solemnely receiued, and with great solemnitie crowned by the hands of the Pope, vpon the last day of May in the yeere of our Lord 1432, and after some treaties hee tooke his leaue to returne into *Germany*; and by the way was entertained in *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, by their Lords and Dukes: (the warres continuing in *Italy* as before) wherein passed many great matters: the principals were the Florentines and Venecians which warred against the Duke of *Milan*, who now was Lord of *Genoa*, which he tooke by meanes of dissention and discord betweene the inhabitants. Whilest the Emperour was in *Italy*, in the Councell at *Basil* many matters were treated of, but had not yet taken such effect as they desired, for the Hussites persisting constant in their opinions; the Councell sent thither certaine learned men, such as well knew the countrie, which by flatterie and faire meanes sought to haue seduced the Bohemians; in whom they sometimes found hope of peace, and at other times signes of warre: and so the case continuing as doubtfull as before, it pleased God that by secret meanes vnknowne to man, there grew some suspition and iealousie betweene the Nobilitie of that kingdome (whereof one MENANDER was the chiefe) and the Taborites and the Hussites (notwithstanding that some of the Nobles were Hussites) but in the end it grieued them all to be gouerned by PROCOPIVS, a man of base parentage

The Emperour Sigismund crowned in Rome by the Pope.

tage (which being Generall of the Taborites commaunded all) and by another PROCOPIVS called the younger, captaine of the Huſſites. After that they had long murmured at the matter, they ſummoned a Parliament to be held by all the eſtates of the realme, vnder pretext to ſet ſome order in the gouernment; for they were diſcontent with the violences and inſolencies daily committed. Finally, the Parliament was aſſembled, and a Noble-man and nobly deſcended, although of but meane eſtate, whoſe name was ALCION, was nominated and made their Gouernour, and he preſently vndertooke the gouernment. And although that hee had the title and outward ſhew, yet all was done by the order and direction of MANAHOR the chiefe of the Nobilitie. Herewith the Huſſites and the Procopii were ſo much diſcontent that the matter came to blowes: I cannot deſcribe all that paſſed, for there were many very notable matters, but I will tell you the iſſue thereof. When the Emperour comming out of *Italy* into *Germany* was vpon his way towards *Baſil*, he well knew that betweene the Pope and the Councell there was great diſcord: for the Pope perceiuing that the Councell began to treate of many matters againſt his authoritie and dignitie, commaunded it to bee diſſolued, and to be paſſed to *Bologne*; and the Councell reiecting his commaundements, would not accompliſh what hee required, but made other acts and ſtatutes to his diſgrace. Whereupon many matters paſſed, and the Emperour came to the Councell, and there hearing the matter debated, made a reconciliation betweene them: and the Pope againe ratified the Councell, yet they afterwards fell further out then before, as you ſhall heare: for thoſe of the Councell refuſing to make an end, continued the Councell a long time in deſpite of the Pope; but the Emperour by his authoritie in the beſt manner that he could took vp the matter; and vnderſtanding of the warres betweene the Nobilitie and the Huſſites in *Bohemia*, holding the ſame for the moſt aſſured meane for him to recouer that kingdome, went from *Baſil* to *Vlme*, where he was aduertiſed of a battaile fought betweene them, wherein the Lords had the victorie; and therein were both the PROCOPII (Captains of the Huſſites and Taborites) ſlaine, with many thouſands of others; and a great number were taken priſoners; and they found the meanes afterwards to kill or burne all thoſe which were taken, or eſcaped from the battaile. The Emperour vnderſtanding hereof, ſent his Ambaſſadours into *Bohemia*, by gentle meanes to perſwade the Nobilitie to obey and receiue him for their King, for that of right it appertained vnto him, as to the ſonne and brother of the Kings of *Bohemia*. And it pleaſed God to worke ſuch an alteration in the hearts of the Bohemians that they ſent their Ambaſſadours to *Ratisbone*, whither the Emperour was gone from *Vlme*, to which they gaue order to receiue him for their King and Soueraigne Lord: and they agreed with him concerning his comming into *Bohemia*; and hee there ratified the conditions concluded by thoſe of the Councell with the Bohemians, concerning points of religion, which in ſumme was, that the Bohemians wholy ſubmitted themſelues to the Church of *Rome*, and that they beleeuing as it did, forſooke all matters in queſtion, except communicating vnder both kindes of bread and wine; which was graunted them vpon this condition, that the matter ſhould be referred to the determination of the Councell: And all other matters concerning Church rents and goods, and other eccleſiaſticall benefices were concluded and agreed vpon.

Diſſention betweene the Pope and the Councell of Baſil.

Theſe matters being ended, the Emperour within fewe daies after peaceably entring *Bohemia*, was with feaſting and great ſolemnitie vpon the fourth day of Auguſt in the yeere of our Lord 1436. receiued into the citie of *Prage*: he had not

been

been there but a fewe daies ſpace, but there was ſo great an alteration, that it ſeemed a new world, and another kind of people: for notwithſtanding that there remained ſome of the ſect and remainder of the Huſſites, yet the greateſt and moſt common were Papiſts: the Temples which had been ſpoiled and ruinate were new built, and thoſe which were defaced were repaired, and the Altars were decked with Images and reliques, and the Monkes and Friers returned to their Conents and Cloiſters: finally all was reſtored to the former order of the pretended Heretikes, which would not be conuerted, ſome fled for feare of impriſonment, and to others a time was limitted wherein they ſhould recant: and againſt ſuch as perſiſted conſtant, the Emperor proceeded: for his ſucceſſe herein Pope EVGENIVS ſent him a Roſe of gold, who at that time commanded the Councell at *Baſil* to be diſſolued and a generall Councell to be held at *Ferrara*; where they expected the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*: but the Councell of *Baſil* holding themſelues to be aboue the Pope, would not obey him neither be diſſolued. The Emperour being now threeſcore and ten yeeres olde, and tired with warres and troubles both before and after that hee was Emperour (which were more then I haue recounted) began to waxe feeble and ſickly, and perceiuing death to approch, he was aduertiſed that his wife (conſidering him to be old and could not liue long, and that he had but one daughter, which was married to ALBERT of *Auſtrich*) ſought ſo ſoone as he ſhould be dead, to marrie with the King of *Poland*; and that the Bohemians ſhould take him and her for King and Queene: for redreſſe hereof, and being ſomewhat iealous of the Bohemians for matters paſt, he ſent for the Noble-men of *Hungary* which came with him into *Bohemia*, to which in ſecret (aduertiſing them of what paſſed) he recommended his daughter and ſonne in law, and made them to promiſe to take them for their King and Queene after his deceaſe. And notwithſtanding that he was ſo ſicke, yet he made himſelfe to be carried out of *Prage* towards *Hungary*, where he deſired to die; but being vnable to reach thither, he was carried to his daughter and ſonne in law in *Morauia*, who by his gift poſſeſſed that prouince, which came to meete him in the citie of *Zenomia*, whither alſo came his wife the Empereſſe, which there by his commaundement was apprehended. The Emperour within few daies after, in the 37. yeere of his raigne, vpon the day of the conception of our Lady, in the yeere of our Lord 1437. dyed: and ſo ended this prince both his life and troubles; who although he had infortunate ſucceſſe, eſpecially in armes and warres, yet hee failed in nothing that belonged to a wiſe and valiant Knight. He was twice married, firſt to MARY daughter of the King of *Hungary*, by whom he had that kingdome; the ſecond time with BARBARA daughter of the Earle of *Cilia*, by whom he had his daughter ISABEL which was his heire, and married to ALBERT one of the Dukes of *Auſtrich*, who then was Lord and Marquis of *Morauia*.

The death of the Emperour Sigiſmund.

The ſtate of *Italy* when SIGISMVND died was ſo confuſed and out of order, that except I ſhould relate the whole, I cannot expreſſe the ſame in ſuch ſort as it may be vnderſtood. Duke PHILIP of *Milan* being an enemie to Pope EVGENIVS, fauoured the Councell of *Baſil*: and the Florentines and Venecians ſupported the Pope againſt him. There were other warres amongſt them, wherein the moſt famous Captaines, were FRANCIS SFORCE before named, and NICHOLAS PICHININO. ALONSO King of *Arragon* (Queene IOANE and LEWES being dead) contended with RENE, LEWES his brother, about the kingdome of *Naples*: a little before that LEWES died, King ALONSO, and his brother the King of *Nauarre* being taken in a battaile by ſea, and with them many

other Lords by the fleete of the Genowaies, were carried prisoners to Duke PHILIP of *Milan*, who then was Lord of *Genoa*; who shewing his magnificence, released them, and set them at libertie: which the Genowaies tooke in so ill part, that they reuolting made themselues free from the Duke.

In those daies were cruell warres between the Kings of *England* and of *France*; and amongst the French was a woman which bare armes like a souldier, and afterwards (as a Captaine) wrought wonders therein, and defended and recouered many castles for the French: this woman was called IEANNE LA PVCELLE.

After the decease of EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople*, his sonne IOHN PALEOLOGVS raigned, who was alreadie vpon the way to come to the Councell in *Italy*.

THE LIFE OF ALBERT THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND CXII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

And of IOHN PALEOLOGVS in *Constantinople*.

THE ARGVMENT.

SIgismund being dead, his sonne in law Albert was peaceably choosen, who was in some doubt to accept the Empire, by reason of the kingdome of Hungary: which being past he accepted the gouernment. For that he liued not long he could not effect so great matters as he proiected. He had warres with some rebels which he luckely ended. But he could not make any peace or vnion betweene the Councels which were held in his time, one in Basil without the Pope, the other in Ferrara where the Pope was in person, which Councell was afterwards ended in Florence. He tooke armes against Amurath King of the Turkes

Turkes in the behalfe of the Dispote of Seruia: but being in a little village vpon his way, he dyed of a Dissenteria, hauing raigned but a small time. His death was much lamented, by reason of the great hope conceiued of his vertue.

THE same day that the Emperour SIGISMVND died, his sonne in law ALBERT Duke of *Austrich* was by all the principall Lords of both those kingdomes which were there with him, together with his wife SIGISMVNDS daughter, to whom in right those kingdomes did appertaine, hailed King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: who from that citie of *Zenomia*, which is in *Morauia*, sent Ambassadours into *Bohemia*, with SIGISMVNDS Will and Testament, and by his authoritie to take possession of that kingdome: and he with his wife, carrying with them the dead bodie of the Emperour, and the widow Empresse prisoner, departed towards *Hungary*; where they were without any contradiction receiued and obeyed; and afterwards with great solemnitie vpon the first day of Ianuary in the yeere of our Lord 1438. crowned; hauing first perfourmed the Imperiall funerals and obsequies. *Anno Dom. 1438.* In the meane time his Ambassadours which were in *Bohemia*, assembling the principall Lords of that realme in the citie of *Prage*, shewed the testament of the deceased Emperour and their King; and alleaging many effectuall reasons, perswaded them to chuse ALBERT, as well for that he had married the onely daughter and heire of their King, as also for that he was of the house of *Austrich*; betweene which and *Bohemia* there was an ancient couenant, that whensoener there failed an heire in any one of these houses, one should be chosen out of the other. Finally, the Ambassadours vsed so good meanes, that it was by the assemblie concluded, that ALBERT and his wife should be their King and Queene; and so in their absence they were sworne vnto, and receiued for such; notwithstanding that some of the principal Barons were against the same, amongst which many were the Empresse kinsmen; of which the chiefest were TASCON and ALCIOSTERREMBERGH, which were consenting to the practise which wee spake of when the Emperour died. These men requiring certaine conditions which might not bee graunted, departed from ALBERTS seruice and obedience; which calling and inuiting others to ioyne with them, chose for their King CASIMIRE brother to the King of *Poland*, and they sending for him to come and to take possession of the kingdom, offred him their aide and seruice in the action. In this meane time, the Electors of the Empire being certified of the death of the Emperor SIGISMVND, met in *Franckford* to chuse a new Emperour; where ALBERT King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and Duke of *Austrich*, was vpon the 20. day of March in the yeere 1438. chosen: and being by the same Princes aduertised of his election, very gladly gaue eare to their ambassade, but yet could not presently accept the gouernment, for that when he was sworne in *Hungary*, he promised the Hungars, that notwithstanding that he were chosen, yet he would not accept the Empire, for that it was not held expedient for that kingdom, that the King thereof should be Lord of any other countries, but should make his aboade in *Hungary* onely; producing the Emperour SIGISMVD for example, whose absence was the occasion of many inconueniences in that countrie. But notwithstanding all this, new ambassades daily arriuing, he caused the principall Lords, and the Burgesses of cities in *Hungary* to meete in the citie of *Viena* in *Austrich*, wherein he found some contradiction, but in the end the Hun-

Albert Duke of Austrich chosen Emperour.

gars being entreated and perſwaded by FREDERICK Duke alſo of *Auſtrich*, they conſenting to his election, and ALBERT accepted thereof; and preſently went to be crowned at *Aken*, which was acceptable to all *Germany*; for hee was held for a wiſe and valorous prince, and ſhewed the ſame in the ſmall time that he enioyed the Empire.

Albert crowned Emperour in Aken.

ALBERT knowing that CASIMIRE brother to the King of *Poland* had accepted the kingdome of *Bohemia*, and that with the aide of his brother, hee leuied forces for that enterpriſe; ſent his Ambaſſadours to the King, deſiring him, that ſith he well knew him to be the right King of *Bohemia*, he would not ſuffer their iuſt friendſhip for any vniuſt cauſe to be broken: whereto the King of *Poland* anſwered, that he could not let his brother to accept that kingdome, which by the naturall ſubiects thereof was offered him, together with other excuſes ſuch as he thought good. And within fewe daies after, the Emperour entred *Bohemia*, notwithſtanding that TOSCON and the reſt of his faction ſent (with certaine proteſtations) to require him that hee ſhould not doe it: but he holding on his iourney was in the moneth of May, in the yeere 1438. crowned in the citie of *Prage*: and TASCON and ſuch others as tooke CASIMIRES part, ioyning themſelues with the men of warre which came out of *Poland*, raiſed an army, and taking the field, and fortified ſuch townes as were at their deuotion, warred vpon the reſt, and the Emperour with the troupes which he brought with him, and others which came to his aide, did the like. And notwithſtanding that others were expected to come to him out of *Auſtrich*, and from other parts, yet he would not ſtay, but went to ſeeke his enemies and to fight with them; but TASCON and the Polacres not daring to giue him battaile, returning, encamped themſelues neere to the citie of *Tabor*, which was enhabited by pretended heretikes, whither the Emperour purſuing them had in his army CHRISTOFER Duke of *Bauiere*, FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, and ALBERT Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, which there pitching their Tents, daily skirmiſhes paſſed betweene them, wherein the Polacres and Bohemians were ſo hardly beſted, that they disbanding, part of them put themſelues into *Tabor*, which is a moſt ſtrong impregnable towne; and ALBERT knowing it to bee ſuch, returned to *Prage*: and the Polacres (fewer in number then they came into that countrie) returned to their houſes; ſo as the Emperour finding no reſiſtance, diſcharged his ſouldiers which were ſtrangers: and ſome Princes which came to his aide, returned to their countries; yet betweene the one and the other kingdomes, ſome roades and incurſions continued, but ſhortly after a truce was taken between them. And foraſmuch as there came tidings of the comming of AMVRATH the great Turke with a great power into *Hungary*, ALBERT was conſtrained to leaue Gouernours in *Bohemia*, and to take his way thitherward, with a determination to leuy forces and to fight with the Turkes, notwithſtanding that he was counſelled by many to the contrary, being feared with the infortinate battaile fought by the Emperour SIGISMVND. But notwithſtanding all their admonitious and perſwaſions, nothing could diuert the Emperour, ſo great a deſire had he to fight: And what more encreaſed his reſolution, was, that the Diſpote of *Seruia*, flying from AMVRATH, came into *Hungary* to implore aide and ſuccour, to relieue and vnſet his ſonne which was beſieged in the citie of *Siuderouia*, ſituate vpon the ſide of the riuer *Danubius*, which the Turke held beſieged, and put it to great diſtreſſe: wherefore the Emperour reſolued to raiſe his forces for that iourney, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1439.

In this time the diſcord betweene the Councel of *Baſil* and the Pope grew to a greater

greater extremitie: for notwithstanding the Popes commaundements and dissolutions (it hauing now continued eight or nine yeres since it first began) they held, and refusing to be dissolued, cited the Pope to make his personall appearance before them. The Pope hereupon summoned a generall Councell to be held in *Ferrara*, which was the yeere before, by his commaundement begun by the Cardinall S. *Crosse*, whither the Pope himselfe came in person. Here was that which neuer before was seene (a schisme of Councels) for those of *Basil* would not giue ouer, yet many which had been there came to *Ferrara*. In the Councel of *Basil* were many disputations and arguments concerning this matter. To the Councell of *Ferrara* came IOHN PALEOLOGVS, Emperour of *Constantinople*, with a great number of Greeke Prelates, notwithstanding that those of *Basil* sought to haue induced him to haue come thither: but a great plague falling amongst them at *Ferrara*, the Pope remoued the Councell to *Florence*; where the Greeks and their Emperour submitted themselues to the Latines, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Trinitie, which they held to haue proceeded but from the Father only: and other matters were there handled, which ANTONINVS Archbishop of *Florence* in his histories, and PLATINA and others write at large. But this notwithstanding those of *Basil* proceeded in their Councel against the Pope; & although the Emperor sought to bring them to an vnity, yet his other affaires were so great (considering the small time that he raigned) that hee could not doe it; and now worst of all, for hee had raised his whole power, and was marching with his armie against the Turke, to vnset the citie of *Sinderouia*. And being past *Buda*, and encamped betweene the riuers *Ticius* and *Danubius*, he was certified that the Turke had taken the said citie, and had put out the Dispotes sonnes eyes: and AMVRATH being aduertised of his comming, retiring with his armie towards *Thessalonica*, a famous citie in *Macedonia*, tooke afterwards many cities in *Epire* and *Thessalia*. The Emperour seeing that he could not recouer the citie, and that the Turke was retired, returned to *Buda*, where hee discharged his armie, and being come thither, what with the scorching of the Sunne, and with the heate of Summer (and as some say, by eating of more Cowcumbers then did him good) he was taken with the flux of his bellie, wherewith growing very weake, departing from *Buda* with a desire to goe to *Viena*, he died by the way, in a little village called *Langstraet*, vpon the 27. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1439, before that two yeeres were fully expired, since that he was first chosen Emperour: his death was much bewailed for the great hope conceiued of him, that hee would haue proued a good prince. The Emperour ALBERT left two daughters, one of which was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other afterwards to the king of *Poland*; and his wife the Empereſſe he left great with childe of a sonne, which in time came to be king of *Hungary*, and of *Bohemia*: but first there ensued much discord and debate betweene the two kingdomes, as hereafter shall be declared. The schisme and contention betweene the Pope and the Councell of *Basil* grew to be so great, at what time the Emperour ALBERT died, that they chose for Pope AMADEVS, whom many called BASILISKE, for that hee was chosen at *Basil*, who was now called FELIX, and had been Duke of *Sauoy*, and been married and had wife and children, and tooke religious orders (as many write) to the end to be made Pope: he was father in law to PHILIP Duke of *Milan*, to whom was imputed the principall cause of his election, for he being the Popes enemie, procured the Councell in *Basil* to make choise of him, and hee himselfe made cruell warre against the Pope, against the Florentines, and the Venecians, PICHININO being

The death of the Emperour Albert the second.

being Generall of his armie. And FRANCIS SFORCE (PICHININO his competitor) was Generall for them, so as there was a greater diuision in the Church of *Rome* then euer had been seene before, for there were now two Popes, and two Councels; and some Princes fauored the one, and others the other, amongst which ALONSO King of *Arragon* being an enemie to EVGENIVS, fauored Pope FELIX: but as it seemed that EVGENIVS had the better title, Pope FELIX his credit daily impaired, yet he held the name of Pope the space of nine yeeres; and afterward Pope EVGENIVS being dead, in the time of Pope NICHOLAS he renounced the Papacie.

In *Constantinople* raigned IOHN PALEOLOGVS, who in those times came to the Councell at *Florence*; who hauing ended such matters as he came for, concerning the vnion of Greeke and Latin Churches, returned to *Constantinople*; where, within a little after he died, and CONSTANTINE succeeded him in the Empire.

THE LIFE OF FREDERICK THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND CXIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ALl the Electors peaceably agreeing in the election of Frederick Duke of Austrich, a young man of the age of fiue and twentie yeeres, he accepted the Empire, and comming to be crowned in Aken, was confirmed by the Pope. He was a louer of peace and a faithfull obseruer thereof in all his actions. He supplanted the schisme, and shewed himselfe a perfect friend to the Pope, and comming into Italy was crowned in Rome, to the great contentment of all the land: Wherein were made most sumptuous and costly feasts by all the cities which receiued him. He afterwards returning into Germany, was much troubled with the commotions which he found therein, by reason of the King of Bohemia, which could not be pacified but by the deliuerie of the King to the Bohemians. In time of this Emperor, Constantinople to the great shame and dishonor to all Christendome was lost, and greater harmes were threatned by the Turke, but a

Croysade

Croyſade being made, the Turke had a very great ouerthrow, ſo as he was conſtrained to alter his determination. This Emperor had ſome controuerſie with his brother about the Duchie of Auſtrich, but in the end the title reſted in the Emperor: who to his ſonne Maximilian gaue the title of Archduke of Auſtrich, and made him King of the Romanes. He euer ſought to maintaine peace, by reaſon whereof he was called the peaceable Emperor. And being now old, and his ſonne Maximilian ſwaying the gouernment, it pleaſed God to take him out of this world, when he had ruled the Empire three and fiftie yeeres.

THoſe which haue trauelled a long iourney, and being come neere to their waies end; through the deſire they haue to attaine thereto, and to reſt their wearie bones, make commonly greater haſte then at any time before; ſo I deſiring to do the like, and to make a quicke diſpatch in writing the hiſtory of the Emperors remaining yet behinde; being tired with the long iourney which I haue trauelled, and to the end to obtaine reſt, after ſo long watching and ſo much paines taken in that which is paſt; in the end of my iourney the Emperor FREDERICK preſenteth himſelfe, and after him his ſonne MAXIMILIAN, whoſe liues were ſuch and ſo long, that all the time and paper which I haue ſpent might haue bin employed in writing the liues of them two: of FREDERICK, for that he was naturally more enclined to peace, and procured the ſame, and raigned fiftie and odde yeeres; in which long time ſo many matters paſſed, that they require a long diſcourſe: and of MAXIMILIAN, for that his acts were ſo great, and ſo many accidents happened in his time, that if they all ſhould be written, this volume would hardly containe his hiſtorie. Which (when I had thereof well conſidered) did put me in a great perplexitie, for feare to be tired or foundred before I ſhould attaine to the end of my iourney: but ſetting all feare apart I will proceede, and thus it was.

So ſoone as the death of the Emperor ALBERT was publiſhed, the Princes Electors of the Empire aſſembling in the citie of *Franckford*; about two or three daies before the new yeere 1440. choſe for Emperor FREDERICK Duke of *Auſtrich*, a young man of the age of fiue and twentie yeeres, who a little before came from *Ieruſalem* where he had been in Pilgramage. This FREDERICK was the ſonne of Duke ERNESTVS of *Auſtrich*, deſcended in line maſculine from the Emperor ARNVLPH, aboue named. So ſoone as he vnderſtoode of his election, he accepting the ſame, prepared himſelfe to goe to *Aken* to be crowned; before which I hold it expedient to recount in few words what happened in the kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, after the death of the Emperor ALBERT; ſith they were prouinces of the Empire: and foraſmuch as beſides this, they ſerue for our purpoſe, for the liquidation and better vnderſtanding of that which followeth.

Frederick Duke of Auſtrich choſen Emperor.

The widow Empereſſe (as before is ſaid) at the time of her husbands deceaſe was with childe: and ſo ſoone as he was dead, the Lords of *Hungary* aſſembling together conſulted about the chooſing of a new King, for ſith the Empereſſe before had alreadie two daughters, they thought not that ſhe now would haue had a ſonne: whereupon after many doubts they chooſing VLADISLAVS King of *Poland* for their King (yet ſome ſay it was the Kings brother) ſent to aduertiſe him thereof. In the meane time that the Ambaſſadors were vpon their way, the Empereſſe was deliuered of a ſonne, who was named LADISLAVS; which when they ſaw, they then would that they had not ſent to the King of *Poland*: yet they held it more expedient for the good of the land to haue him

for

The King of Poland chosen King of Hungary.

for their King, for that he was of age and of power to protect their countrie, and to gouerne the same, which would be wanting in the infant; and they in like manner were of opinion that the Bohemians would haue made him their King also. Standing in this doubt, the King of *Poland* (to take benefit of the time) in the greatest haste that hee could make, came into *Hungary*, and was in *Buda* by those which desired to haue him so receiued for their King. In the meane time, the widow Queene with her new borne sonne, together with the Earle of *Cilia* and great part of the nobilitie, went to ALBA REGALIS, where vpon Whitsonday the young child was crowned King by the Archbishop of *Strigonium*. This solemnitie being ended, and fealtie sworne to him by those which were present, as to their Lord and King, the Queene with her sonne fearing the inconstancie of the Hungars, by the counsell of some her friends presently tooke her way towards *Viena*, and committing him to the protection of his Vncle the new Emperor, together with the crowne of that kingdome, which she had in her power (which is there held for the best right to haue the possession thereof) she returned into *Hungary*, to see if she might haue the gouernment thereof, during her sonnes minoritie. Some say that she sent the young King to the Emperor, but howsoeuer it was, the Emperor as his Vncle had the wardship of the childe, for to him appertained the tutell and protection of the house of *Austrich*. In *Hungary* was great contention about who should be King, but those which tooke part with VLADISLAVS King of *Poland* being assisted by IOHN AVNIADES VAIVODA (a very famous Captaine for the great victories which he had obtained against the Turkes) for that time preuailed: and the young LADISLAVS, although crowned, remained a long time dispossessed in the Emperors keeping. In the kingdome of *Bohemia* was no lesse hurlie burlie: for so soone as the Emperor ALBERT was dead, they in like manner treated of the chusing a new King; and they hauing appointed a day for that purpose, before that that time came; the widow Empereresse was deliuered of her sonne LADISLAVS, and she presently vpon her deliuerie sent into *Bohemia*, to enforme the Bohemians of the equitie of her cause, and to put them in minde that she was the daughter of the Emperor SIGISMVND, King of *Bohemia*; and that she and her husband ALBERT had enioyed the same, wherefore they should not now depriue her sonne of his right. The Ambassadors doing what in them lay, found fauour and assistants; but TASCON and the rest which had been ALBERTS enemies, were of such authoritie, that notwithstanding that they confessed that the childe LADISLAVS had right to the crowne, yet they alleaged that he ought not to be King before that he was foure and twentie yeeres of age, and their sentence preuailing, they chose ALBERT Duke of *Bauiere* for their King, who shewing the greatnes of his minde, would not accept it: a rare example of magnanimitie, and seldome seene. The Bohemians meeting againe agreed to send to entreate the Emperor FREDERICK; that seeing he had charge himselfe with the protection of the person of the young King, that he would also be pleased to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Bohemia*: and TASCON which was one of the Ambassadors, counselled him to haue made himselfe King thereof; which was a matter easie to haue been done. This Ambassade was deliuered to the Emperor at such time as he was departing towards *Aken* to be crowned (for he was but newly chosen) his answere hereto he referred vntill his returne; which then was, that whereas they had offered him the kingdome of *Bohemia*, he would not shew himselfe so vniust a tutor, as to bereaue the pupill of his right: and that he could

could as ill take vpon him the gouernment of the countrie, for he had otherwiſe enough to anſwere for before God, for what he had alreadie done, and therefore would vndertake no other charge: for that they amongſt themſelues might finde ſufficient men enough to haue the gouernment. Thoſe which came with this Ambaſſade being returned, the Lords of *Bohemia* appointed a new meeting; and choſe for Gouernors vntill that LADISLAVS ſhould come to age, TASCON and MENANDER; which were heads and leaders of the contrarie faction: to TASCON repaired all the reputed heretikes of time paſt. Within a little while after, TASCON dying, POGIABRA'CCIO ſucceeded him, who after the deceaſe of MENANDER, had the ſole gouernment; and many other matters befell in the time that LADISLAVS, by reaſon of his nonage was in the Emperour FREDERICKS protection: and the Hungars and Bohemians oftentimes ſought to haue the keeping of him vntill he came to full age. This for the preſent may ſuffiſe to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*.

The Emperor FREDERICK ſpent the time from Ianuary vntill Iuly, in prouiding for the affaires of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and to make prouiſion for his coronation, which ſhould be ſolemnized in the moneth of Auguſt, in the citie of *Aken*, at which time Cardinall LEVVES being ſent by the Councell at *Baſil*, came thither to opproue and authoriſe his election. About whoſe comming, there was great adoe, for the Biſhop of *Liege* who was an enemie to the Councell of *Baſil*, and to Pope FELIX, holding with EVGENIVS, put him out of the towne: but TRODORICVS Archbiſhop of *Colen* (who held with thoſe of *Baſil*) made him to be receiued in againe, whereupon Pope EVGENIVS depoſed him from his Prelacie, vntill that afterwards he was through the Emperors entreatie by his Ambaſſadors reſtored. The coronation being ended, the Emperor returned into *Auſtrich*, wherein he was at great controuerſie with his brother ALBERT about the diuiſion of eſtates thereof; with whom FREDERICK ſeeking to come to an agreement, procured peace and concord through all *Germany*; for he was euer enclined to peace and a louer thereof. Whileſt the Emperor applied himſelfe hereto, in *Italy* in thoſe daies (or a little before) after great warres and infinit conflicts paſt, a peace was concluded betweene Duke PHILIP of *Milan* of the one ſide, and the Venecians and the Florentines of the other. And FRANCIS SFORCE who was Generall of their armie marrying the Duke of *Milanes* baſtard daughter, had *Cremona* and other places with her for her dowrie: this peace was made in the yeere 1442. A little before this, in the ſame yeere, ALONSO King of *Arragon* wholy expelling his competitor RENE out of the kingdome of *Naples*, remained in full poſſeſſion thereof. About this time, VLADISLAVS King of *Poland* (who was alſo in poſſeſſion of *Hungary*) after many aduentures paſt in the warres againſt the Turkes fighting a battaile with them, was therein infortunately ſlaine; hauing been King of *Hungary* but foure yeeres onely.

The Emperor Frederick crowned in Aken.

King VLADISLAVS being ſlaine in this manner, the noble men and Burgeſes of cities aſſembling, choſe the childe LADISLAVS their right Soueraigne, for their King; who (as I ſaid) at the age of foure moneths was crowned in *Alba Regalis*; and they hauing proclaimed him for their King, ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſade to entreate the Emperor to permit them to haue the cuſtodie of him, to the end that they might crowne him: whereto the Emperor (commending their doings) anſwered, that there needed no election, ſith he was their naturall Lord; neither was there any neede to crowne him; ſith he was alreadie crowned. And

ſeeing that he was but an infant, and wanted a tutor, vntill that he ſhould come to age, he willed them to chuſe them Gouernors; and he would take care for his perſon vntill he ſhould be of yeeres fit to gouerne. With this anſwere the Hungars being greatly diſcontented, reſolued to haue that by force which by faire meanes they could not obtaine: and IOHN HVNIADES being choſen for their Gouernor, came into *Auſtrich* to warre vpon the Emperor, for that he gaue them not their King; but he there finding ſufficient reſiſtance, miſt of his purpoſe. About the ſame time, the Bohemians in like manner ſued to haue him; to whom the Emperor gaue the like reaſons and excuſes as he had done to the Hungars, and ſo diſpatched them for that time. Whileſt theſe matters paſſed, after moſt cruell warres, betweene *England* and *France*, a truce for a time was taken betweene them, and the Dolphin of *France* whoſe name was LEVVES, in the time of this truce, without any reaſon or occaſion that might mooue him thereto, leuied a very mightie armie, and entring *Germany*, beſieged and tooke the citie and ſtate of *Wittembergh*, and other townes of leſſe qualitie, no man knowing the cauſe thereof: yet Hiſtorians ſet downe ſundrie: ſome ſay that he came by the Emperors procurement againſt the Swiſſers, which at that time were enemies to the houſe of *Auſtrich*. NAVCLERVS writeth, that he publiſhed, that he came to recouer thoſe lands which in auncient time appertained to the houſe of *France*. PLATINA, and other Italians write, that the Dolphins comming was by the Popes inſtigation, to ouerthrow the Councell at *Baſil*; which in my opinion is moſt likely to be true, for he preſently marched againſt *Baſil*; and the Swiſſers (which were in league with that citie) ſent 4000. choſen men to the reliefe thereof, but they could not enter it without firſt meeting with the Dolphin, which within ſight of the citie fighting with his whole armie were all ſlaine, not one eſcaping; but they ſold their liues very deere, for they fighting in a manner all one whole day from the morning vntill night, were not broken, vntill they had ſlaine twiſe ſo many of their enemies as they were. After this battaile the Emperor ſent to require the Dolphin to make no warres in the lands of the Empire, and began to prouide for the defence thereof. Some report it after this manner, and others after another; the concluſion was, that the Dolphin hauing done much harme in many places, returned to his fathers kingdome.

A memorable battaile fought by the Swiſſers againſt the French neere to Baſil.

At this time died IOHN PALEOLOGVS Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and for that he had no ſonne, his brother CONSTANTINE PALEOLOGVS ſucceeded him. Many matters paſſed in thoſe daies in *Italy* which I haue not time to relate. King ALONSO of *Arragon* poſſeſſing the kingdome of *Naples*, and defending the cauſe of Pope EVGENIVS (with whom he was in great grace) was by him inueſted, and confirmed in his kingdome. Pope EVGENIVS being dead, Cardinall THOMAS SARZANO (who lately was Legate in *Germany*) was choſen, and called NICHOLAS the fifth; to whom ſo ſoone as he was conſecrated, the Emperor ſent to acknowledge obedience, and he ſought to haue eſtabliſhed a generall peace through all *Italy*; but the treatie of peace and the concluſion thereof was interrupted by the death of the great & puiſſant PHILIP Duke of *Milan*; who might iuſtly be called great, for he was great of minde, of bodie, of power, of eſtate, and of farre greater wit and vnderſtanding then any of his auncеſtors: which PHILIP died the thirteenth day of Auguſt, in the yere of our Lord 1447. in the two and fiftith of his age, and the two and thirtith of his raigne: when he died hee left neuer a ſonne, and but one baſtard daughter, whoſe name was BLANCH, who (as I ſaid) was married to FRANCIS SFORCE. The Duke being dead,

The death of Iohn Paleologus Emperour of Conſtantinople.

The death of Pope Eugenius whom Nicholas the fifth ſucceeded.

The death of the mightie Philip Duke of Milan.

dead, the citie of *Milan* crying libertie and Empire, made choyse of twelue men to gouerne it; but therein was a ſuddaine alteration, for many ſought to haue been Lords thereof. The Milanoies (as I ſaid) deſired their libertie; and King ALONSO of *Naples* and *Arragon* pretended thereto title of enheritance; for Duke PHILIP by his Will and Teſtament made him heyre to all his dominions. The Emperor (with better right) alleaged that eſtate to appertaine to the Empire (principally, in default of heyres) and that therefore that eſtate was to returne to the Empire: but he had not time to come into *Italy*, by reaſon of the great feare and danger of the comming of the Turkes into *Hungary*; which, as Emperor, and tutor to the young King, he was to defend. FRANCIS SFORCE hauing married the baſtard daughter of Duke PHILIP, pretended title to the Duchie of *Milan* by the right of his wife. CHARLES Duke of *Orleans* would haue it, for that he was the ſonne of VALENTINA, ſiſter to Duke PHILIPS father; which VALENTINA was married to LEWES Duke of *Orleans*, and brother to CHARLES the ſixth King of *France*: wherefore CHARLES alleaged that Duchie to appertaine vnto him. The Venecians taking for their right the occaſion which was offered, preſently ſeaſed ſundrie townes into their hands, as *Cremona*, *Placencia*, and *Lodi*. All thoſe which pretended title to the Duchie of *Milan*, ſent their Ambaſſadors to the Milanoyes, not that they all did abſolutely make claime thereunto, but with certaine complements and offers to aſſiſt them againſt the Venecians which tooke their townes. The Milanoyes would accept no Soueraigne but the Emperor, whom they entreated to permit them to enioy their libertie, vpon condition whereof they would yeerely giue him a cup of gold in token of their Vaſſellage and ſubiection; and to that effect they diſpatched their Ambaſſadors vnto him: but God in his ſecret iudgement had reſerued that eſtate for FRANCIS SFORCE; which happened after this manner.

Titles to the Duchy of Milan.

FRANCIS SFORCE being certified of the death of his father in law PHILIP, and that the Venecians made themſelues Lords of the land; haſted him to *Cremona*, which was his owne towne, giuen to him for his wiues dowrie; and fortifying, garriſoning, and furniſhing the ſame with all things needfull, hee went to *Pauia*, whither being called by the inhabitants, he became Lord thereof. The Milanoyes made him Generall of their armie againſt the Venecians, and he accepting the charge, hauing good ſucceſſe, ouerthrew them in battaile: and being victorious (imitating OCTAVIVS CÆSAR) made peace with them, which they gladly accepting, in their agreement bound themſelues to aſſiſt him with certaine troupes of men of warre: and he reſoluing to put in execution what he had purpoſed (which was to make himſelfe Lord of *Milan*) bent his forces againſt the townes and cities of *Lombardy*; ſome of which he tooke by force, and other by faire meanes, and in the end beſieged the citie of *Milan* it ſelfe: and after many accidents, was receiued into it; and ſo with the title and right of warre, was called (as was his father in law) Duke of *Milan*, and afterwards comming to be Lord of the whole eſtate, was a mightie and a valorous Prince, and liued many yeeres Lord thereof.

In the ſame time that theſe matters paſſed in *Milan* and in *Italy*, the Emperour FREDERICK after the diſſolution of the Councell of *Baſil*, ſought by all meanes to roote out the ſchiſme betweene the Popes, for FELIX was ſtill called Pope and obeyed by the Sauoiſins: but the Emperors counſell and authoritie ſo much preuailed with him, that he came to obedience, and renouncing the Papacie, was by

Pope NICHOLAS made a Cardinall, and his Legate in *Sauoy*, and in certaine other prouinces. Shortly after enſued great warres in *Germany*, betweene many of the Imperiall cities, and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who was aſſiſted by the Earle of *Wittembergh*: the warre was ſuch that in the ſpace of two yeeres that it laſted, they in the plaine fields fought nine ſeuerall times, and fortune fauouring ſometime one, and ſometime the other, much harme was done before that the Emperour could redreſſe the ſame: vntill that at length, by his interceſſion and commaundement, a peace was concluded betweene theſe princes and the cities: and he hauing ſetled this concord, reſolued to come into *Italy*, for the great deſire he had to be therein crowned, wherein ALONSO King of *Naples* and *Arragon* was his allie and great friend; the Venecians were alſo his friends, for as he loued peace, ſo he euer ſought to maintaine the ſame. He hauing reſolued to goe his iourney, and agreed to marrie with the Ladie ELENOR daughter to the King of *Portugall*, it was decreed that ſhe (he being there) ſhould come into *Italy* by water; and that the nuptials ſhould there be ſolemnized. Whereupon he leuied an indifferent armie of foote and horſe, and prouided all things neceſſary for his iourney: and departing from *Germany*, carried with him LADISLAVS the young King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, not without griefe to both thoſe kingdoms, which very inſtantly deſired to haue had the gúard of him: by reaſon whereof a great number of the Nobles of both thoſe kingdomes, together with many Lords of *Suenia* and of *Auſtrich* accompanied him: with which (although in warlike maner) in the beginning of Ianuary in the yeere of our Lord 1452. he came into *Italy*: and comming into the countries ſubiect to the Venecians, Ambaſſadours with ſhew of ſingular loue and affection came to entertaine him: which of free coſt furniſhed his whole armie with victuals ſo long as he was within their iuriſdiction. And keeping on his way by *Treuigi* and by *Padoa* to *Ferrara*, was there by BORSIO their Duke highly feaſted; and in all parts was entertained with great loue and good will. From *Ferrara* hee came to *Bologna*, (notwithſtanding that FRANCIS SPORCE inuited him to come to *Milan*, there to be crowned with the Crowne of Iron) and following his way towards *Rome*, accompanied with the Cardinall which came to receiue him there he went to *Florence*, and was therein moſt ſumptuouſly entertained, and had the like in *Siena*, whither hee preſently went: at his being there, he was certified that the King of *Portugals* daughter, to whom he was to be married, ſhe being but ſixteene yeeres old, was arriued by ſea in the citie of *Piſa*, and hee ſtaying for her there, ſhe with many gallants in her traine was brought to *Siena*; where the Emperour, accompanied with the King of *Bohemia* and other Princes and men of account, went to meete her. The Emperour was alreadie by his deputie betrothed to her, but he deferred the Nuptials vntill he might receiue her at the hands of the Pope. The Emperour being come to *Rome*, was ſumptuouſly entertained and feaſted by Pope NICHOLAS, who vpon the ſteps comming into S. PETERS Church clad in his pontificalibus, attending his comming, receiued him; the Empereſſe and the King of *Bohemia*, and they kiſſing his foote, hee gaue them his hand; and comming into the Church, and hauing made their prayers, and other ceremonies accuſtomed, they went thence to their lodgings; and vpon the fifteenth day of March in the yeere 1442, the Emperour was married to the Empereſſe, and was the ſame day with the Iron crowne, which ſhould haue been done in *Milan*, crowned King of *Lombardy*: and three daies after in the ſame Church, with the ceremonies and ſolemnities accuſtomed, was crowned Emperour of *Rome*, and the Empereſſe in like manner. The feaſts

The Emperours going into Italy.

Henricus Mucius lib. 29.

The Emperour Fredericke crowned and married in Rome by Pope Nicholas.

feasts at the coronation being ended, the Emperour leauing King LADISLAVS in *Rome* went to *Naples*, whither afterwards came his wife the Empresse, to see King ALONSO who was her vncle, where they were continually for the space of fifteene daies sumptuously feasted. From *Naples* the Emperour by sea, and vp the riuer *Tiber* returned to *Rome*, thence to take his iourney towards *Germany*; wherein he was aduertised, that the Hungars & Bohemians had caused some commotions, for that the Emperor detained their King from them; the chief motors were VLRICH Earle of *Cilia*, & another VLRICH a man of great power. The Empresse tarrying 8. daies longer in *Naples* then the Emperor did, went from thence by land to *Manfredonia*, and from thence by sea to *Venice*, for she knew that the Emperour would go to see that citie before his returne into *Germany*. The Emperour in his iourney took *Ferrara* in his way, where in reward of the seruice done him by BORSIO Duke of *Ferrara*, at his comming & going, he made him Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, & gaue him the title and soueraignty of those cities, and being there, GALEAS SFORCE Viscount, son of FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan* came to see him, and brought him gifts & presents from his father. The Emperor friendly entertaining him dubbed him Knight, for the good conceit he had of his person. And frō *Ferrara* the Emperor sending his people by land, went downe the riuer *Po* to the citie of *Venice*, where he was receiued with infinite kinds of triumphs, whither the Empresse was already come, and was receiued with no lesse solemnitie: in such feasting and pastimes hee spent there other ten dayes: and then departed, accompanied with the Duke and Senate of *Venice* to the sea side, which sent Pouruours before with order, that in all their dominion, his whole court should be furnished with all things necessary gratis. And so this peaceable Prince passed through *Italy* in peace, and with euery mans loue and good will, which he could not haue done if he had been ambicious and desirous of warre: and if hee could haue done it, it would haue bin to the greater losse of his people and expence of money, and with the peril of his life and burthen to his conscience, as by the histories of other Emperours which came into *Italy* to other intents, it may appeare. The Emperor being departed out of *Italy*, it seemed that peace & quietnes went away with him, for the warres presently began betweene those which theretofore had bin enemies, which so long as he was there was in some sort pacified. The Venecians being in league with King ALONSO, with the Duke of *Sauoy*, and with the Marquis of *Monferrato*, against FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan*, made cruell warre against him, whom the Florentines and LEVVES GONZAGA Marquis of *Mantua* assisted and aided. And King ALONSO, enemie to the Florentines sent his sonne FERDINAND with 8000 horse and 4000 foote to make warre in *Tuscane*. The King of *France* dealt with RENE King of *Prouence*, to passe into *Italy* with 2000 horse, in the behalfe of the Duke of *Milan* and the Florentines, in hope of the enterprise of *Naples*. So as there was most cruell warre waged through all *Italy*, the issue whereof I haue no time to declare. The Pope vsing all meanes to haue pacified the same, desired that they all should haue ioyned together, to haue holpen the Emperor of *Constantinople* against the great Turke, knowing that he purposed to besiege the citie of *Constantinople*: but he could not then effect the same, and so *Constantinople* was not relieued, whō it stood in most need. The Emperor FREDERICK comming into *Germany*, found it in no better peace, then at his departure he left *Italy*; for great part of his countrie of *Austrich* was in armes against him, and had thrust out the Gouernours which he had set there: all which was done for that he had not left the young King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* at his libertie, mo-

VVarres betweene the states of Italy.

ued thereto by the Earle of *Cilia* and by VLRICH a great man in *Bohemia*; who perſwaded them to take LADISLAVS, ſonne of ALBERT Duke of *Auſtrich* for their Lord, to whom that prouince did more properly appertaine; and the Emperour vnderſtanding of their rebellion, came with part of his armie to a towne called *Nieuſtat*, where thoſe of *Auſtrich* came againſt him, and notwithſtanding that the Emperour had good forces, yet they fought with him, and the fight continued foure houres: but ſo many charged the Imperialiſts, that they were conſtrained to retire to a towne called *Nieuſtat*, before which thoſe of *Auſtrich* encamping themſelues with great furie, in the name of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* requiring their King, battered the ſame. When it was knowne that the Emperour was beſieged, great preparation was made through all *Germany* by ſundrie princes which reſolued to vnſet him: and the like was made by the Hungars and Bohemians, which to the contrary required to haue their King. The Emperour foreſeeing the great euils likely to enſue, gaue eare to a parley, wherein it was agreed that he ſhould deliuer the young King LADISLAVS (who was not yet fully 14. yeeres old) into the hands of the Earle of *Cilia*, who ſhould haue the keeping of him vntill Nouember then next comming, in the yeere 1452: and that the Proctors and Deputies of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* ſhould meet in the citie of *Viena*, there to conclude who ſhould haue the gouernment of thoſe kingdomes; with many other promiſes which were neuer perfourmed. Herewith the ſiege was raiſed from before the citie, and the Earle of *Cilia* carried the yong King to *Viena*, where he was receiued with as great ioy, as if he had been the naturall Lord thereof: and ſo preſently without any other compoſion, he gaue offices and dignities as Lord of the land; and was alſo called Duke of *Auſtrich*, by the title before ſpecified. To him came preſently many great men of both the kingdomes, and amongſt them IOHN HVNIADES VAIVODA, who had been Gouernour of *Hungary*; and GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO Gouernour of *Bohemia*. The time appointed being expired, thither reſorted many Princes of *Germany*, and Ambaſſadors from the Emperour: but the young inexperienced King would accompliſh no part of what was couenanted; and being ruled and led by fauourites, in the ſmall time that he liued many diſorders were committed in his houſe and court, which ÆNEAS SILVIVS hath moſt excellently written in his Hiſtorie of *Bohemia*. *Viena*, and the other cities which held for LADISLAVS being ſupported by *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, perſeuered in their rebellion, and ſo continued ſo long as LADISLAVS liued.

Anno Dom. 1453. Conſtantinople beſieged and taken by the great Turke.

Whileſt the Emperour FREDERICK was peſtered with theſe troubles, and the other Princes had warres amongſt themſelues, MAHOMET the great Turke in the beginning of the yeere 1453, with an huge armie beſieged the Imperiall citie of *Conſtantinople*, the head of all the Greeke and orientall Empire (CONSTANTINE the laſt Emperour thereof being within it) which he beſieged the ſpace of more then fiftie daies; in which time (for that it was not relieued) vpon the nine and twentith day of May in the ſame yeere, the citie was by force of armes taken and entred, and the Emperour to the ſhame and diſhonour of all Chriſtendome was therein ſlaine: and in that citie were ſuch cruelties committed, as the like thereof had neuer been ſeene or heard of. For the loſſe of *Conſtantinople* all the Princes in Chriſtendome were very ſorie, but much more when they throughly vnderſtood how great cruelties and murthers the Turke had afterwards therein committed; and that he had taken other townes and prouinces thereto adioyning, and that he therewith threatned *Italy* and *Germany*: whereupon they began

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to consult of defence and resistance to be made against him; but the ambition and dissention which raigned amongst them, gaue no place to the conclusion or perfourmance of any good exploite; as in our daies the like hath been seene in the like necessitie. Yet the next yeere a peace was concluded in *Italy* betweene the King of *Naples* and the Venecians, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Florentines, and those of their league: which being concluded, the Pope rigged vp a great fleete of galleys to make head against the Turkes; but they write that he was euer so sorowfull after the losse of *Constantinople* that he neuer had good day, but falling sicke died, vpon the 25. day of March in the yeere 1455. in the fifteenth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour FREDERICK, and the eighth of his Papacie. *Anno Dom. 1455.* After his decease, Cardinall ALONSO BORIA a Spaniard was chosen Pope, and called CALIXTVS the third. The first thing that he vndertooke was to procure the warre against the Turkes, and to that effect sent out his Bulls, and a generall Croisaide, and therewith sent his Legates into all parts of Christendome, especially into *Germany*; where the Emperour hauing the like care, had summoned a Diet or Parliament, to consult of a redresse. And notwithstanding that many Princes gaue in their names, and offered to serue in this warre, yet the suspition and dissention amongst them was such, that they put nothing in execution: but the Pope neuertheless sent Cardinall IOHN CARAIAVAL for his Legate into *Germany*, who for that it was certainly knowne that the Turke was comming into *Hungary*, with the Emperours aide and fauour leuied men and money: presently hereupon came newes that the Turke was come, and that hee had in his armie (they which say least) one hundred and fiftie thousand men, and that he went to besiege *Belgrado*, otherwise called *Alba Greca*, and more anciently, *Taurinum*; and that he purposed in few daies (taking that citie) to march forwards. *The great Turk entred Hungary.* King LADISLAVS giuing the charge of that warre, with the defence of that citie and kingdome to IOHN HVNIADES, retired to *Viena*: for in truth he was neither of age, neither had power sufficient to fight with the Turke. The Popes Legate with the greatest number of men that he could get came to *Buda*, and from thence before the Turks comming put himselfe therewith into the citie of *Belgrado*: amongst those which came with him, was one IOHN CAPISTRANO, a Franciscan Frier, who with his sermons and exhortations gathered together and brought with him a great number of men, which for their deuice ware the signe of the Crosse. *The Turke besieged Belgrado.* And the Turke comming with his power, and besieging the citie, these men wrought wonders in the defence thereof, being furiously battered. To the relieue thereof, with the power which the Emperour sent, and such others as hee could raise in *Hungary*, which were 40000. foote, and 5000. horse, came IOHN HVNIADES. To be brief, it pleased God, that the succours being arriued, and come to blowes, they had so good fortune that the Turke was ouerthrowne and wounded, and a great number of his people slaine: whereupon he raising his siege and flying, left his Artillerie and baggage behind him. *The great Turk ouerthrowne before the citie of Belgrado in Hungary.* This happened vpon S. MARY MAGDALENS day, in the yeere 1456. All Christendome reioyced, and made bonfires for this so notable a victorie: and *Italy* and *Germany* by this meane were deliuered from the feare which they conceiued, by reason of the late losse of *Constantinople*: for considering the great power of the enemie, they all feared to haue been lost. Within few daies after this victorie, died the excellent Captaine IOHN HVNIADES: and the Turke by reason of this ouerthrow, suffring *Hungary* and *Italy* to rest in peace, made warres in the Ilands, in the Sea called *Archipelagus*, and in other countries bordring vpon them.

The Emperour FREDERICKS raigne was ſo long, and ſo many accidents happened therein, that I ſhall be enforced to be briefer in writing what followeth, then I haue been in what is paſt. After this victorie obtained by IOHN HVNIADES, the Emperour FREDERICK applied himſelfe to the eſtabliſhing of peace in *Germany*, to the end to be able to preuent what might befall: and being buſie herein, the young King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* being of the age of eighteene yeeres died (not without ſuſpect of poyſon) in the citie of *Prage*, where he attended the comming of the French Kings daughter, to whom he ſhould haue been married. The realmes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and that alſo which he held in *Auſtrich*, by reaſon of his death without iſſue and heires were voide; which cauſed much ſtrife in thoſe countries and kingdomes, about the ſucceſſion and election: diuers Princes pretending to haue right to them. In the end the Bohemians tooke GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO (who was Gouernour thereof in the time of LADISLAVS) for their King, a man of a noble houſe and of great valour. The Hungars for their King choſe MATTHEVV the ſonne of the excellent warriour IOHN HVNIADES, aſwell for the loue which they bare to his father, as for the good hope they had of his perſon, being a yonng man of nineteene yeeres old, and then priſoner in *Bohemia* for the death of the Earle of *Cilia*; whom POGIOBRACCIO the new King of *Bohemia* ſetting at libertie, married him to his daughter; and hee afterwards being King of *Hungary*, prooued an excellent and a moſt valorous Prince. In the houſe of *Auſtrich* (the gouernment whereof in right appertained to the Emperour) his brother ALBERT alleaged, that foraſmuch as his brother was Emperor, he ought to enioy the ſame: the like did his coſine SIGISMVND. About this controuerſie, thoſe of *Auſtrich* aſſembling auerred the Emperour to be their principall Lord; and that he according to the cuſtome of *Germany* was to haue regard to the maintenance of his brothers and coſin germanes eſtate: wherfore and for the better preſeruation of the peace, certaine lands and reuenues were aſſigned vnto them. The Emperour vpon this agreement came to *Viena*, and was there receiued and obeyed, but his brother and coſin perſeuering in their purpoſes raiſed Commotions in the countrie; and there were ſome ſharp bickerings about this matter, but by the mediation of LEVVES Duke of *Bauiere*, a compoſition was made betweene him and them, yet they were neuer without iealouſies and contentions, vntill the death of ALBERT: at which time the Emperour without any contradiction tooke poſſeſſion of that eſtate. After this, in the yeere 1458. died ALONSO King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, whom his brother IOHN King of *Nauarre* ſucceeded in the kingdomes of *Arragon*, and *Sicilia*; and in the kingdome of *Naples* ſucceeded his baſtard ſonne FERNANDO, who contended with IOHN, ſonne of RENE, with whom his father was at variance about that kingdome. And in the moneth of Auguſt following died Pope CALIXTVS, and in his place was choſen ÆNEAS SILVIVS a Cardinall and citizen of *Siena*, and was called PIVS the ſecond, who was ſo excellently learned and endued with ſo many graces, that I cannot expreſſe what is written in commendation of him: beſides this, the bookes which he wrote beare record of his wiſedome and litterature; who accordingly firſt tooke care for the defence of Chriſtendome, and for the warres againſt the Turke; and to that effect wrote to the Emperour and the other Princes. The next yeere after his election, hee ſummoned a generall Councell to bee held in the citie of *Mantoa*, to treate of the matter more to the purpoſe, where many Noblemen and Princes Ambaſſadours met, and many matters were deuiſed and ordained, which were neuer put in execution; by reaſon of the warres and

troubles

troubles in *Italy*, and betweene the moſt part of the Princes in Chriſtendom. Particularly in *Germany*, in the yeere 1460. began great debate and ſtrife betweene VDALRICVS Earle of *Wittembergh*, and FREDERICK Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, about a dowrie, and ſome ſuch matter; for which, they came to fight ſundrie times, and many were ſlaine of either ſide, vntill that an agreement was made by the Emperours commandement. After this, another warre enſued, which was of longer continuance and more daungerous. Which was for the Archbſhoprick of *Mentz*; for which DIYETERVS of *Yſenburgh*, and ADVLPH of *Naſſaw* contended: DIYETERVS who was in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the Biſhoprick, being for his contumacie, intruſion, ſimony, and ſuch other matters, by the ſentence of Pope PIVS depoſed; ADVLPH, by the Emperours conſent was by the Pope created: ſo as the one to get poſſeſſion, and the other to defend the ſame, troubled all *Germany*, which the Emperour could not remedie; for their rage grew to that heigth, that his commaundements being contemned; ſome Princes taking part with the one, and ſome with the other, al employed their whole force therein; and there followed many battailes and encounters, and many great perſonages were ſlaine of either party. This warre continued long, but yet in the end by the Emperors order and authoritie the matter was taken vp: but the harmes which were done before that time, could not be remedied as he would haue had them. For he was ſo ill obeyed by his ſubiects in *Auſtrich*, that thoſe of *Viena* ioyning one day with his brother ALBERT, in the yeere of our Lord 1463, roſe and beſieged the Emperour in the fortreſſe of that citie, and battring the ſame would haue taken him priſoner. The King of *Bohemia* who was his next neighbour, deſiring to win his grace and fauour, came to his aide, and reſcuing him, in ſuch manner pacified the rebellion, that the Emperour if it had ſo pleaſed him might haue apprehended his brother ALBERT, but he of purpoſe let him goe: and it pleaſed God that within few daies after Duke ALBERT died, when as without his death there was no meane of peace in the ſtate of *Auſtrich*: he being dead, the Auſtrians together with Duke SIGISMVND wholy ſubmitting themſelues, became ſubiect to the Emperour.

In the yeere 1464, in the 24. yeere of the raigne of the Emperor FREDERICK, died the excellently learned Pope PIVS the ſecond, otherwiſe called ÆNEAS SILVIVS, after whom by the Cardinals after the accuſtomed manner was choſen Cardinall BARBO a Venecian, and was called PAVL the ſecond, who conſidering that the Turkes daily conquered the Chriſtian countries, applied himſelfe to procure a remedy: but the ſame occaſions which hindred others, hindred him alſo, ſo as he could not bring it to paſſe. Yet the Venecians entred into league with MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, whoſe fame and exputation was then very great; and they giuing him a certaine ſumme of money; reſiſtance was made in diuers parts. About this time died FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan*, whom his eldeſt ſonne GALEAS MARIA SFORCE ſucceeded in that Dukedome. About this time alſo died PHILIP Duke of *Burgondy*, and Earle of *Flanders*, whom ſucceeded the moſt valiant and renowned Captaine Duke CHARLES, called CHARLES the Hardy.

Anno Dom. 1464. The death of AEneas Silvius, otherwiſe Pope Pius ſecundus.

In the ſecond yeere after Pope PAVLS election, the Emperour FREDERICK came to *Rome*, where by the Pope he was moſt honorably receiued: the cauſe of his comming, ſome ſay was to performe a vow which he had made; others ſay that it was to conferre with the Pope concerning warres to be made againſt the Turke: but howſoeuer it was, he came and returned in peace into *Germany*, where

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through his meanes peace continued a long time after; at the leaſt there was no notable warre worth the ſpeaking of, either in *Germany* or in *Italy*. In thoſe daies, notwithſtanding that theſe countries were in peace and quiet, yet Duke CHARLES of *Burgundy* had cruell warres with *France*, and with the Swiſſers, and with other Princes. Pope PAVL being dead, SIXTVS the 4. ſucceeded him, who although he was but a Franciſcane Frier, yet they write that he was ſo warlike, that the moſt part of the time that he was Pope he warred in *Italy*. The next yeere after his election which was in the yere 1472, and the 32. of the Emperors raigne, Duke CHARLES of *Burgundy* (of whoſe power and high mind, and of his warres, and the battailes which he fought, wonders are written) procured leaue to ſee, and to ſpeake with the Emperor: and they meeting in *Lutzemburgh*, the Duke requeſted many matters at the Emperors hands, amongſt which this was one that the Emperour ſhould giue him the title of King of *Naples*, and of his Vicar or Lieutenant in *Italy*, for he purpoſed to haue made a conqueſt thereof. The Emperour knowing and diſliking the ambition of this Prince, temporizing in the beſt manner that hee could, anſwered him in generall termes without coucluding any thing, and in a night without bidding him farewell, departed the city; wherewith the Duke was very much diſcontented, and the next yeere following he leuied a very great army, and marching towards *Colen* beſieged the citie of *Nuis*, which he did to the end (as he ſaid) to reſtore to the Biſhoprick of *Colen* the Archbiſhop thereof, who was his kinſman and good friend. The Emperour vnderſtanding that the Dukes meaning was (if he could) to take *Colen*; required him to raiſe his ſiege; which taking no effect he leuied a very great armie, and therewith marched directly againſt the Duke: but as he was ſlacke in his buſines, ſo he needed (conſidering the Dukes power) to haue ſpeedily brought a great armie: but as he came not with ſuch expedition as the cauſe required; ſo the beſieged, and the countrey thereabout endured great extremitie, and the ſiege continued many daies: but he comming at length (though late firſt) and the one armie encamping neere to the other (with the Emperor came the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Treuier*) and being at the point to haue giuen battaile (which as it was thought would haue been very cruell) a treatie of peace was moued betweene them, whereto the Emperour neuer refuſed to giue eare, in ſo much that he was therefore called the peaceable Prince: what the conditions of the peace were, I finde not written by thoſe authors which I haue read, but the effect of what enſued was, that the Duke raiſing his ſiege from before the towne, returned with his armie into his countrie; and ſo the warre ended betwixt the Emperour and him. But the Duke was not without other warres, for he euer deſired and procured the ſame, and thereby enlarged his countries and dominions, vntill that in the yere 1466, in a cruell battaile which he fought with the Swiſſers, he was ouerthrowne and ſlaine. His death was the cauſe that the Emperour and his ſonne MAXIMILIAN warred with the French King, the reliques and ſeede whereof continued long, and happened in this manner.

The death of Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy.

The warlike Duke CHARLES dying in ſuch manner, as I ſaid, left no heire but one onely daughter; whoſe eſtate contained the two *Burgundies*, the eſtates of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Guelders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Artoys*, and many other townes, beſides thoſe which he had taken in *Lorraine*, in *Picardy*, and from the Swiſſers; for his minde and valour was ſo great, that hee durſt hold all the world for his enemie, and made no reckoning to take their townes. But this ſmoke (for ſo it may well be called) being by his death ouerblowne; euen as he had done by all others,

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ſo all men dealt with what was his. The Duke of *Lorraine*, and his confederates the Swiſſers, recouered what he had taken from them. LEVVES the French King ſpeedily leuying an armie, recouered *Picary*, tooke the cities of *Peronne*, *Mountdidier*, *Turnay* and other townes. The Flemmings and Burgonians with thoſe of their partie, in the name of their Soueraigne Lady, MARY daughter of the deceaſed Duke, for their defence put themſelues in armes. The French King alleaged that *Burgundy* for want of heires males, was to returne to the houſe of *France*: and the Duke of *Lorraine* by his commaundement entring *Burgundy*, tooke the greateſt part thereof; and the King ſent to require the Ducheſſe MARY to come into *France* in perſon to doe him homage for the Earldome of *Flanders*, and her other eſtates ſubiect to the crowne of *France*: but ſhe vnderſtanding his meaning, refuſing to come ſtood vpon her guard. Hereabout were many treaties and parleys, and many townes were taken too long to be recited. The Flemmings ſending to the Emperour for aide, offered their Ducheſſe MARY in marriage to his ſonne MAXIMILIAN, who was then one and twentie yeeres old, a young man of a great minde, valiant, a comely perſonage, of a very good conſtitution, and apt for any attempt. The Emperour being very glad of this proffer, graunted their requeſts, notwithſtanding that hee ſaw that he vndertooke a warre againſt *France*, and that he alreadie had warres with MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, who (like the Duke of *Burgundy*) was neuer content with what he had, but thought all too little: and incenſing the Auſtrians againſt the Emperour, took ſome townes from him in *Auſtria* and warred vpon him. The French King hauing intelligence of this treatie of marriage, ſent to the Emperour and his ſonne MAXIMILIAN, with many reaſons perſwading them to deſiſt. This notwithſtanding MAXIMILIAN who was now called Archduke of *Auſtrich*, with many good men of warre, in Iuly in the yeere 1467. went into *Flanders*, and marrying this Lady MARY had with her all her dominions: the warres on the Flemmings ſide againſt the French through his comming, were well reinforced, and he therein fighting oftentimes in his owne perſon, ſhewing the greatnes of his minde, obtained ſome victories, eſpecially one memorable battaile betweene *Turnay* and *Arras*, wherein he alighting from his horſe, put himſelfe into a ſquadron of foote. Afterwards ſome treaties of peace being motioned, a truce was taken for a time; wherein the French King rendring ſome townes, continued in poſſeſſion of what he had taken in *Burgundy*, and ſo for a ſeaſon the war ceaſed. This peace (ſo farre as I can coniecture) was made by the Emperors procurement: by reaſon of warres made againſt him by MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, for which, being otherwiſe troubled with other occaſions of the Empire, he could make no ſufficient prouiſion, and alſo for that the peace with *France* (as preſently ſhall be ſaid) continued but a ſmall time.

At the ſame time GALEAS MARIA hauing been nine yeeres Duke of *Milan*, certaine his ſubiects and fauourites, for his licentiouſnes, and inſaciable luxurie, conſpiring againſt him, ſlew him as he was in S. STEPHENS Church at Maſſe, he being then of the age of 33. yeeres. He left for his ſucceſſor a ſonne of the age of nine yeeres, whoſe name was IOHN GALEAS, who by reaſon of his nonage was vnder the tutele of his mother BONA, and other tutors: but it afterwards ſo happened that his Vncle LEVVES came to be his gouernour, who by that title came to be abſolute Lord of the whole Duchie: his nephew IOHN (ſo long as he liued, which were two and twentie yeeres) holding onely the name of Duke, and LEVVES the poſſeſſion and authoritie; and many matters paſſed, which for that they concerne not my hiſtorie I omit. The truce betweene MAXIMILIAN and *France*

continued

continued little more then one yeere, at the end whereof the French King and he renued the warre, which lasted a certaine space, and some townes were taken of the one side and of the other; vntill that at length through the procurement of the Emperour FREDERICK, a peace betweene them was concluded for seuen yeeres.

The death of Mahomet the great Turke.

At the same time that these matters passed, the great and mightie Turke MAHOMET, hauing done much harme in the Christians countries, held the *Rhodes* besieged little lesse then three moneths; but it pleased God that he could not then take it: this happened in the yeere of our Lord 1480. After this, in the same yeere, he sent a mightie armie by sea, which landing in *Puglia* and in the kingdome of *Naples*, tooke some townes, and amongst them *Otranto*, which they held more then one yeere after: and if through the goodnes of God the great Turke had not died, all *Italy* was in daunger to haue bin lost: but through the death of this mightie tyrant (who in *Grecia* (besides *Constantinople* and *Thracia*) had taken and subdued many prouinces, and an infinite number of cities and townes) those townes in *Italy* were recouered, and Christendome was freed from the oppression which it endured: and the more, for that his sonne and heire BAIAZETH in the beginning of his raigne, was empeached with domesticall warre and dissention. At this time died RENE King of *Prouence* and Duke of *Aniow*, an ancient challenger of the crowne of *Naples*.

In *Italy* was great warre at that time, which beginning betweene the Venecians, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, extended it selfe ouer all *Italy*: which the Emperour FREDERICK perceiuing, and considering how grear daunger all Christendome was in, he procured the Princes of *Germany* to establish some perpetuall peace and concord, to the end to be able to resist the Turkes: the like he practized with the French King, and with his owne sonne the Archduke of *Austrich*, and Duke of *Burgundy*. Whilest he was busie thereabouts, the Ducheese MARY daughter of the braue Duke CHARLES, with whom MAXIMILIAN had so many prouinces, came infortunately to her end; for she (as of custome she vsed to doe) riding on hunting, fell from her horse, and as some say, the horse trode vpon her, or kickt her, whereof she died: others say, that with the fall she was so sore bruised, that she died therof the eleuenth day after, which was vpon the seuenteenth day of March in the yeere of our Lord 1482, when she had been Lady of those countries little more then fiue yeeres. She left at her decease one sonne and one daughter, which were PHILIP, who afterwards was King of *Spaine*, and father to the Emperour CHARLES the fifth; and MARGARET, which afterwards was a Princesse in *Spaine*. When this Ducheese MARY died LEWES the French King was very sick, and lying vpon his death-bed, desired peace; wherewith the Emperour being well pleased; they agreed, that MARGARET (which was a childe of two yeeres old) when she should be of age, should be married to his sonne CHARLES, who afterwards was King, and then twelue yeeres old: and that their fathers and they should keep perpetuall peace: with this condition that either of them should continue in possession of what they held in *Burgundy*. This being concluded, the young MARGARET with great pompe was brought to *Paris*, where her wedding feast was held, although it afterwards tooke no effect, as shall be said.

The death of Lewes king of France.

Within few daies after this solemnitie King LEWES died, and his sonne CHARLES of the age of almost thirteene yeres to succeed him. At the same time, a peace was concluded in *Italy*, and about the same time the Emperour assembled the Princes Electors, and other Princes of *Germany* in the citie of *Franckford*, where

where he desired and obtained of them to make his son MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, which was effected in the 47. yeere of his raigne, vpon the 16 day of February in the yeere of our Lord 1486. and departing thence with a very great court of Princes and Lords, they went to the citie of *Aken*, where he was with great solemnitie crowned with the crowne which sometime was of CHARLES the great; brought for that purpose from *Norimbergh*, where it was kept with great veneration. And the same day, by the consent of all the Princes, he made a law, wherby he ordained vnder great penalties that peace should be kept through all *Germany*, which was obeyed, and in the greatest part of *Germany* obserued a long time after. This being past, the new King of the Romanes came into the prouinces of the Low Countries, whereof his sonne PHILIP was now Lord, whose tutour he was; and being in the citie of *Bruges*, in the yeere 1487. for certaine discontentment, the Burghers rose against him, and in this tumult apprehending his person, with certaine of his traine, they held him prisoner the space of foure moneths: whereof when his father had intelligence, leuying the best forces that he could, he hasted to him, and notwithstanding that his sonne before his comming was at libertie, yet he seuerely punished the Burghers of *Bruges*, and of *Gaunt*, and so the King of the Romans peaceably enioyed the gouernment of the prouinces of the Low Countries: and of that which he held in *Burgundy*, and his father the Emperour being now old and tyred, returned into *Germany*, to maintaine peace and iustice therein, and to prouide for defence to be made against the Turks. For the preseruation whereof, notwithstanding that MATTHIAS King of *Hungary* had taken *Viena* and other townes in *Austrich*, he permitted it, and attemped not by force of armes to recouer the same: but within short space after King MATTHIAS died, without any heires, when he had raigned 37. yeeres. His death being made known to MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, he speedily departed from *Flanders*, and with his fathers aide, leuying an army, in short space recouered *Viena* and the rest which King MATTHIAS had vsurped. Whilest these matters were in handling, LADISLAVS sonne of CASIMIRE King of *Poland* wholy recouered the kingdome of *Bohemia*, for which both he and his father CASIMIRE had warred with King MATTHIAS, from the time that GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO died. After this, both he and MAXIMILIAN pretended to be king of *Hungary*, each of them sought to marry the Queene widow, the Lady BEATRIS of *Arragon*, daughter of FERDINAND King of *Naples*, who was of great authoritie in that kingdom. MAXIMILIAN being somewhat slow in the matter deferred the time; but LADISLAVS making more haste, married her and was receiued for King of *Hungary*, and crowned in *Alba regalis*, and presently betweene him, the Emperour and MAXIMILIAN, a peace was concluded, wherein it was ordained by the consent of those of the kingdome, that if LADISLAVS died without any lawful issue male, that then MAXIMILIAN and his heires should enherite the kingdome. But LADISLAVS raigned two and twentie yeeres after, and his sonne LEVVES succeeded him, who married MARY sister to the Emperour CHARLES the fifth: and FERDINAND brother to the Emperour CHARLES, married his sister ANNE, by which marriage (King LEVVES being in the yeere of our Lord 1526. ouerthrowne and slaine by SOLIMAN the great Turke) this FERDINAND succeeded in the kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: and so the couenant by meanes neuer thought of, came to be accomplished betweene LADISLAVS and MAXIMILIAN; which passed in the yeere 1490.

Lewes king of Hungary ouerthrowne and slaine by the Turke, anno Dom. 1526.

Returning to our historie, I say, that after this agreement, MAXIMILIAN com-

ming to *Norimburgh*, by the consent of his father hee treated of a marriage betweene him and the Ducheſſe of *Britaine*, who after her fathers deceaſe without heires males, ſucceeded in that Dukedome: and CHARLES the French King in like manner ſought to haue her, notwithſtanding that he was alreadie betrothed to MARGARET of *Burgundy*, which was but a child, and whom he had in his power, as hath been declared. The French writers excuſe him herein, and yeeld reaſons for what he did; whereof thoſe Kings are neuer to ſeeke which haue not the feare of God before their eyes. They alleaged that the Kings contract with the young Lady MARGARET was of no force, for that ſhe was vnder age; and alſo for that King CHARLES neuer conſented thereto: and notwithſtanding that he had conſented, yet he was likewiſe vnder age, and afterwards reuoked the ſame. And that the contract of the Ducheſſe of *Britaine* with MAXIMILIAN was of no effect: for the Ducheſſe gaue thereto no ſufficient authoritie, for none of the Ambaſſadours being foure in number, had any authority in ſolidum to make any contract; neither had the Ducheſſe any meaning to doe it: and that which ſhe did was but to temporize with the Britaines, to the end that they ſhould not yeeld themſelues to King CHARLES of *France*. And admitting that the contract had been made by men hauing ſufficient authoritie thereto, not being confirmed it was of no worth, for that the conditions and couenants were not afterwards perfourmed. Finally, by theſe and other reaſons they excuſe him, holding their arguments for true and ſufficient in their opinion. And the French King going into *Britaine*, the Princeſſe MARGARET (who was nothing ſorie for it) returned: for (they ſay) ſhe neuer liked of the match, yet yeelded thereto by the perſwaſion of the Flemmings: and ſo a very furious and cruell warre began betweene the Emperour, his ſonne MAXIMILIAN, and the French King. And foraſmuch as his father was now old, MAXIMILIAN had the ſole gouernment, and had alreadie vndertaken the charge: but after ſome bickerings, a peace was made between them; whereto MAXIMILIAN by reaſon of the great and exceſſiue charges of the warre, and for ſome other reſpects, was conſtrained to condeſcend, but principally for that at the ſame time, which was in the yeere 1492, the men of warre which had ſerued the valiant MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, which kept ſtill together, for that they ware mourning colours for their King, were called the blacke Regiment; through want of pay, or ſome other inſolence, making warre in *Auſtrich*, had the ſpoile of ſome townes: for the reliefe whereof, MAXIMILIAN leuying forces, went into thoſe parts, and without any great trouble brake and ſcattered the mutiners, and for example to others ſeuerely puniſhed them. This yeere was much noted aboue others for three ſpeciall things: the firſt was, for that therein died Pope INNOCENT the 8, in the eighth yeere of his Papacie, whom RODRIGO DE BORIA a Spaniard, borne in *Valencia* in *Spaine* ſucceeding, was called ALEXANDER the ſixth: the ſecond was, for that the great citie of *Granada* in *Spaine*, was in the beginning of that yeere, by FERDINAND and ISABEL King and Queene of *Caſtile* taken from the Moores: the third was, for that in the ſame yeere, by the commaundement of the ſame Princes, the *Weſt Indies* were diſcouered in the Ocean ſea. This being paſt, and the yeere 1493. being come; *Germany* and *Italy* being through the Emperors wiſedom and good gouernment in peace, and himſelfe at peace with all Princes, in quiet poſſeſſion of the Duchie of *Auſtrich*, and his ſonne MAXIMILIAN being King of the Romanes, and gouernour of the ſtates and prouinces of the Low Countries, and of part of *Burgundy* in the behalfe of his ſonne PHILIP; when he had raigned 53. yeres and foure moneths

VVarres betweene the Emperour and the French King.

Emperour,

Emperour, wherein no Emperour but AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, who raigned three yeere longer, could be compared with him: but yet FREDERICK did farre exceede him in age: at this time it pleased God to take him out of the world. This Prince is reported to haue had many vertues, for besides that he was curteous, desirous of peace, temperate in his diet, and very deuout: he was in all his life time neuer heard to sweare but twice, which he could not auoide: once was, when he was crowned in *Aken*; and the other time in *Rome*. He had great care for the conseruation of the lands of the Empire; and to the end not to aduenture the same, or to put them in hazard, he sometimes made peace with losse of his owne estate: neither would he euer inuest FRANCIS SFORCE, nor his sonne GALEAS MARIA, in the Duchie of *Milan*, notwithstanding that they were in quiet possession thereof. He had by his wife ELENOR (who died long before him) three sonnes and two daughters: his first sonnes name was CHRISTOPHER, who died a child: his second sonne was MAXIMILIAN, who was afterwards Emperour: the third was IOHN, who also died a childe. Of his two daughters, the one called HELEN, died in her infancie; and the other called HVGRADA, was married to ALBERT Duke of *Bauiere*, and was afterward mother to the Dukes, WILLIAM, LEVVES, and ERNESTVS.

The death of the Emperour Frederick the third.

THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND CXIIII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

FRederick being dead, his sonne Maximilian, who in his fathers life time had the gouernment of the Empire, was without any contention made Emperour. In the beginning of his raigne, he disposing himselfe to goe to the wars against the Turke, which had kept a great stirre in Hungary, made him to flie. He tooke to wife Blanch daughter to the Duke of Milan, and made great warres against the Swissers. In this Emperours time the Pisans in Germany made an insurrection, which was one of the greatest tumults that had bin seene, but they being soone re-

preſſed. He ſubdued many other rebels. Then began to grow the cauſes of the diſſention betweene Spaine and France for the Duchie of Milan. This Emperour made warre againſt the Venecians, then followed the terrible batailes of Rauenna and Marinian, with diuers fortunes of warre, which ended in a fained (yet for a time durable) peace. When the Emperour Maximilian departed out of this life, he had raigned 25 yeeres.

AFter the peaceable FREDERICK, followed his ſonne, the warlike and victorious MAXIMILIAN, who in his fathers life time was crowned King of the Romanes. The ſame yeere that his father the Emperour FREDERICK died, the Turkes made a roade into the countrie of *Croacia*, a prouince of *Hungary*, which bordereth vpon *Dalmatia*: and the new Emperour deſiring to find a redreſſe, ſpeedely raiſing his forces, went to fight with them, but they hauing intelligence of his comming, retired: whereupon he diſſolued his armie. The Emperour MAXIMILIAN hauing bin a good ſpace widower; ſo ſoone as his father was dead, contracted himſelfe to the Lady BLANCH, daughter of GALEAS, and Niece to LEVVES SFORCE Duke of *Milan*; who being Vncle and gouernor to his nephew IOHN GALEAS (which in right was Duke) vſurped and held his eſtate. This BLANCH being the faireſt woman of her time was wooed by many Princes, yet to her was the Emperour married. At the ſame time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1494. the French King CHARLES the eight (who was called great head) made preparation to come into *Italy*, who a little before had giuen out in ſpeeches that he meant to make a conqueſt of the kingdom of *Naples*, which he alleaged to belong to him, by the laſt will and ſucceſſion of RENE Lord of *Prouence*, and his auncеſters Duke of *Anion*: whereto he was chiefly induced by LEVVES Duke of *Milan* Vncle to the right Duke IOHN: for FERDINAND King of *Naples*, and his ſonne ALONSO, had required him to leaue the gouernment of *Milan*, to Duke IOHN GALEAS, who was married to King FERDINANDS Niece, and vpon this quarrell they determined to war vpon him: by reaſon whereof he by all meanes poſſible perſwaded the French King to come againſt them into *Italy*, & to that effect furniſhed him with a great ſumme of money. And to the end that the Emperor MAXIMILIAN ſhould not be his enemy in this caſe, LEVVES SFORCE procured this mariage of his Niece with the Emperor. In the time wherein his comming was moſt bruted, died FERDINAND King of *Naples*, when he had raigned 37. yeeres, and his ſonne ALOSNO Duke of *Calabria* ſucceeded him. At this time was the new Empreſſe BLANCH carried into *Germany*, and there was married to MAXIMILIAN: *Germany* being in peace and quiet, and the Emperour taking care for the warres, and reſiſtance to be made againſt the Turkes. But the King of *France* neuertheleſſe tooke his way towards *Italy*, and to the end to paſſe in more ſafety, he gaue to King FERDINAND the Earledome of *Roſſillion*, and the Ile of *Sardinia*, which IOHN, father of FERDINAND had morgaged to LEVVES the French King, father of this CHARLES. Of the comming of this King CHARLES, although it concerneth not this hiſtory, yet I will briefly write the ſumme; for it was a matter very famous, and much feared by the Pope, and by all the Princes and Potentates of *Italy*: and alſo for that it will ſerue for the better vnderſtanding of what wee ſhal ſpeake of hereafter.

Charles the eighth, King of France, came into Italy.

King CHARLES then with 50000. men of foote and horſe, in the moneth of September in the ſame yeere came into *Lombardy*, where he was by Duke LEVVES receiued with great honor, and his armie was by him furniſhed with all things neceſſarie.

neceſſarie. And being there he went to viſit the right Duke, IOHN GALEAS, who lay ſicke in *Pauia*, and within few daies after died, leauing a young ſonne called FRANCIS: and holding on his iourney he came to *Piſa*, and was afterwards receiued into *Florence*, and from *Florence* he went to *Rome*, no man daring by the way to make head againſt him, and much leſſe at his comming to that citie. And Pope ALEXANDER not daring ſtay his comming in his Palace, retired himſelfe into the Caſtell Saint *Angelo*, ſo greatly did they ſtand in feare of him. And afterwards they two came to a compoſition of peace, although they met not neither ſpake together, but afterwards vpon ſecuritie they met and conferred, and within few daies after the King with the greateſt part of the forces which he brought with him out of *France*, tooke his way towards the kingdome of *Naples*, in the moneth of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1495. wherein King ALONSO durſt not ſtay vntill he came; aſwell by reaſon of the great armie which he brought with him, as for that, by reaſon of his vicious and diſſolute life, he was ill beloued of his owne ſubiects of that kingdome; whereupon, at what time as King CHARLES was in *Rome*; King ALONSO hauing raigned not fully one whole yeere, giuing vp that kingdome to his ſonne FERDINAND, went into *Sicilia*, where he became a Monke, and in ſhort ſpace after died: by reaſon whereof, his ſonne FFRDINAND being King, raiſed the greateſt power that he was able, ſo that it is affirmed that he had 5000. men at armes, 500. light horſe, and a great number of foote. Neuertheleſſe the French had ſo good ſucceſſe, and King FERDINAND found ſo great feare, and ſo little conſtancie in his people, that after ſome accidents, he came to *Naples*, and thence fled by Sea to *Iſchaia*, and afterwards into *Sicilia*; and ſo the French King in two moneths ſpace, became Lord of the whole kingdome, excepting ſome little townes vpon the Sea ſide, which held for King FERDINAND. Pope ALEXANDER ſeeing the proſperitie and poſſeſſion of King CHARLES in the kingdome of *Naples*, and knowing his ambition, and fearing to looſe his eſtate; whileſt he was buſied in the conqueſt of of *Naples*, procured a league to be made betweene him, the Venecians, and the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, whom he ſolicited to come into *Italy* to the relieſe and defence of his Church. Into this league alſo entred LEWES Duke of *Milan* (notwithſtanding that by his procurement King CHARLES tooke occaſion to come into *Italy*) being grieued in minde for that King CHARLES had ſo happie ſucceſſe in *Naples*, which made him ſtand in feare of his owne eſtate; whereto the French King euer had an eye. As afterwards LEWES Duke of *Orleans* and coſin germane to King CHARLES, who afterwards was King, made apparant; who challenged that Dukedome to appertaine vnto him, for that he was Nephew of the other LEWES, Duke alſo of *Orleance*, brother to King CHARLES the ſixth, and of his wife VALENTINA, ſiſter to Duke PHILIP of *Milan*, the laſt of the Viſcounts; whoſe baſtard, FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan* tooke to wife, when he became Lord of that Duchie. Whereupon LEWES for the better confirmation of his eſtate, obtained of MAXIMILIAN (as ſupreme Lord of all *Lombardy*) to be inueſted in the Duchie of *Milan*, which in my iudgement, and of all thoſe which write without paſſion, was his trueſt and beſt title; for after the death of Duke PHILIP aboue named, neither the Emperor FREDERICK, neither MAXIMILIAN had giuen that title to the Duke, or to his Father, or to his Nephew; neither could it deſcend to them by line feminine; and much leſſe to this LEWES Duke of *Orleans*, which then ſought, and afterwards tooke the ſame, when he came to be King of *France*; and by ſo much the more,

King Charles of France his conqueſt of the kingdome of Naples.

for that the descendents from this SFORCE, came from the woman being a bastard, whereby he vniustly and without reason possessed so great estate: he being inuested by the Emperour with great ioy and solemnitie, tooke the Ducall Ensignes. King CHARLES hauing intelligence of the League newly made by these Princes, resolued to leaue such number of men of warre in the kingdome of *Naples*, as might suffice for the defence thereof, and with the rest of his army to returne into *France*; and marching towards *Rome*, giuing the Pope to vnderstand that he came to doe his dutie to his Holines; Pope ALEXANDER after some Ambassades betweene them, not daring to abide his comming, departed from *Rome*, wherein, and in other townes belonging to that Church, the Kings souldiers did much harme. And the Pope, not holding himselfe to be in safety in *Ciuita Vecchia*, went to *Perugia*, with intent, if he were oppressed, to goe to *Ancona*, and there to imbarke himselfe for *Venice*. The French King departing from *Rome*, continued his iourney towards *France*, notwithstanding that he knew that in *Lombardy*, the Venecians and the Duke of *Milan* had an army in a readines to fight with him: and in *Lombardy* LEWES Duke of *Orleans* had already taken the citie of *Nouarra*, vnder pretext of the title aforesaid; whereupon the Duke of *Milan* made haste to besiege him. And King CHARLES comming neere to *Parma*, passing the riuer *Tarro*, found a great army of his enemies; whereof FRANCIS GONZAGA Marquis of *Mantoa* was Generall; with whom neere to the riuer he came to a battaile, wherein happened very notable accidents. But herein is great difference amongst the writers about this matter, for the French attribute the victorie to their King, and the Italians giue it to the Venecians and to the Milanois. The truth is, that neither of the armies was wholy broken or ouerthrown, but the Italians that day seemed to be the chiefe Masters of the field, which appeareth in this, that they taking many French prisoners, none of them were taken by the French; and they moreouer compelled the French King to seeke another passage, by reason whereof they were reputed to haue the victorie. There dyed in this battaile, which was fought vpon the sixth day of Iuly, in the yeere of our Lord 1495, a thousand men of both sides; and after some treaties had betweene the said two armies, the French in a night went towards *Aste*, where the King remained certaine daies, and a peace was concluded betweene him and the Duke of *Milan:* and LEWES Duke of *Orleans* rendring *Nouarra*, King CHARLES returned into *France*, and shortly after, FERDINAND King of *Naples* wholy recouered that kingdome, but not without great difficulty, by reason of the French which remained in garrison therein, and of those which the King afterwards sent thither. In which warre, matters of greatest importance for the seruice of King FERDINAND, were guided and directed by the famous Captaine GONSALO FERNANDES, who for his excellencie was called the great Captaine of *Spaine*; sent thither by King FERDINAND, called the Catholique, for the defence of that Kingdome, the first time that he went thither: and so of all this great enterprise, there remained nothing to the French King, but that he did much harme, and put all *Italy* in great feare (for the reputation and power wherewith he came was very great:) and making a iourney, gaue a bolde attempt, and therewith returned.

A battaile betweene the French and the Italians.

The Kingdome of Naples recouered by King Ferdinand of Aragon.

Whilest these matters passed in *Italy*; the Emperour in the same yeere 1495, assembled a Councell or Diet in the Citie of *Wormes*, wherein the matter was argued, whither the Emperour should goe to rescue the Pope, against the French King, or make warre against the Turkes: but the Princes were so contrary in their opinions,

opinions, that nothing was concluded. The Emperour at this assembly, gaue to the Earles of *VVittembergh*, the title of Dukes, which they hold to this day: and from thence, he sent the Ensignes and inuestiture before named, to LEVVES Duke of *Milan*; and other matters were ordained concerning the gouernment and peace of *Germany*. At that time was MAXIMILIAN daily solicited by the Duke of *Milan* to come into *Italy*, but it then tooke no effect. It happened after what I haue said, that King FERDINAND hauing recouered his kingdome, falling sicke, dyed; and for that he had no sonne, his vnkle FREDERICK, brother to his Father King ALONSO, had the kingdome, and many other matters befell in *Italy*, which I haue no time to recount: and the Emperor was in peace with King CHARLES, who shortly after in the yeere 1497, dyed suddainly; which caused a great alteration: for by reason that he had no issue Male, the aforenamed LEVVES Duke of *Orleans* being next of blood, succeeded him in the kingdome of *France*; who, so soone as he was King, made himselfe to be called Duke of *Milan*; whereby it might be easily perceiued that he had a determination to doe that which he afterwards put in execution: and he presently diuorcing himselfe from his wife IOANE, which was sister to his predecessor CHARLES, alleaging for his reason that she was barren, and that he was forced to marry her; and also to the end to haue (as he had) with her the Duchie of *Britaine*, he married the widowe Queene ANNE, late wife of the deceased King CHARLES. The Emperour hauing intelligence of the death of the French King; desiring to get the Duchy of *Burgundy* for his sonne PHILIP, which afterwards was King of *Spaine*, entred it with armed hand, and tooke some townes: for the defence whereof, the new King LEVVES sent a very great army; but within few daies following, a peace was concluded betweene them, greatly to the Emperours honour and aduantage; which was the more easily effected by reason of the great desire the French King had to proceede in his enterprise against *Milan*, for the right which he alleaged to haue to that Duchy; and for that the Emperour had determined to make warre against the Duke of *Gelders*. The Duke of *Milan* hauing regarde, and standing in great feare of the French Kings proceedings, so much as was possible for him, prouided for his defence, principally through the league and friendship with the Emperour; who being of sufficient power to protect him, was resolued to haue done so: but other warres happening in the meane time with the Swissers, which in the yeere of our Lord 1499, made warres in *Austrich* (which warre, and the occasion thereof, is written at large by HENRICVS MVCIVS, and NAVCLERVS, to whom I referre the reader.) The Emperour leauing the enterprise of *Gelders*, went to this warre, for the Swissers (called in auncient time Heluecians) as well by reason of the situation of their countrey, enuironed with most high hils and steepe mountaines, as also for their great strength and courage, were then (and at this day are) greatly esteemed, and reputed valiant in armes: MAXIMILIAN comming against them, notwithstanding that this warre began against his will, yet he followed the same in such sort, that in sundry conflicts and feates of armes atchieued betweene them, 30000. men were slaine of both parties, but the greatest number was of the Swissers: fortune inclining sometime to the one side, and sometime to the other: in which warre he did wonders in his own person, vntil that at last, through the ptreatie of the Duke of *Milan* and other Princes (which interposed themselues) the Emperour concluded a peace with them. But before that this warre was ended, LEVVES the French King (who procured the same) to take benefit of the time, raised his whole power; and in

the moneth of October, in the ſame yeere, entring *Lombardy*, beſieged and tooke the Duke of *Milans* townes; who for that he was ill beloued of his ſubiects, and the Emperour failing him in his neceſſitie; and alſo for that the Venecians were in league with the King, reſolued by abandoning the Citie, to giue place to the French fury; and ſending his brother ASCANIVS SFORCE before, with his ſonnes MAXIMILIAN and FRANCIS into *Germany*, he with the beſt and greateſt part of his treaſure, within few daies after followed. The Duke being in this manner departed, the French King with very little reſiſtance or none at all, was receiued into *Milan*, and into the reſt of the cities in that Duchy: and the Venecians (according to the compoſition made betweene them, tooke the Citie of *Cremona* and other places of that eſtate.

King LEVVES being in this manner become Lord of all *Lombardy*, leauing therein ſuch gouernours and garriſons as he thought expedient, returned victorious and triumphant into his countrey. The Duke of *Milan* being come before the Emperour (who loued him very well) was by him very honorably and kindly intertained; and within few daies after, the Emperour aſſembling the greateſt part of the Princes of the Empire, reſolued to relieue and ſuccour him, as a prince by him inueſted, and who had the beſt title to that eſtate; and ſo with the greateſt expedition that could be made, a good army was leuied, the greateſt part whereof were Swiſſers; wherein the Cardinall ASCANIVS the Dukes brother vſed great diligence. With theſe men and with ſuch others as he leuied in *Italy*, the Duke in the yeere 1500. returned into *Lombardy*, and his brother the Cardinall going before, was receiued into *Milan* and other cities; who ſpeedely conducted hither his brother. The French King being certified hereof, in the greateſt haſte poſſibly ſent into *Lombardy* the greateſt number of choice men that he could get, the greateſt part whereof likewiſe were Swiſſers: and the Duke who wanted neither men nor courage to fight, attended in the field the comming of the French army: and the two armies being at the poynt to haue ioyned, the Swiſſers which were with the Duke, not only refuſed to fight, but (as ſome ſay) corrupted with money, deliuering vp the poore Duke to the French, he was carried priſoner into *France*, and afterwards his brother the Cardinall was alſo taken. And ſo in few daies ſpace, the French King recouered the eſtate of *Milan*, and Duke LEVVES afterwards, poore, afflicted, and depriued of his Duchy, dyed in priſon, hauing been one of the moſt puiſſant, valorous and redoubted Princes of the world.

The Swiſſers gaue the Duke of Milan into the power of his enemie the French King.

In this yeere 1500, vpon Saint *Matthias* day, being the fiue and twentieth day of *February*, CHARLES who afterwards was King of *Spaine* and Emperour, and was called CHARLES the fifth, was borne in the citie of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*. Duke LEVVES hauing in this manner loſt his eſtate, the Emperour receiued his ſonnes which the Cardinall ASCANIVS brought with him: what became of them, you ſhal heare hereafter. In the yeere 1501, prodigious ſights, much to be admired, appeared in *Germany*; for certaine croſſes of ſundry colours, and ſome blacke, were ſeene vpon men & womens apparel, vpon their heads, and vpon the beds whereon they did lie, made ſo perfect & ſo liuely for the time that they laſted, that it was wonderfull to behold; after which, enſued a moſt grieuous and cruell Peſtilence. In thoſe dayes alſo in *Aſia* began the Empire and dominion of the great Prince, called the Sophi of *Perſia*, who had his beginning from one called SCHIN, or SECHIN, who was ſaid to be deſcended from the auncient Kings of the Perſians: this Prince by force of armes made himſelfe Lord of all *Perſia*, and of great

part

part of *Armenia*, of *Mesopotamia*, and other Prouinces: and afterwards the Kingdome of *Persia* was establiſhed in his ſucceſſors; which ſince encreaſing, is in ſome ſort a bridle to the vnmeaſurable rapine and power of the great Turke.

At the ſame time, LEWES the French King ſtanding in ſome doubt of the Emperour, by reaſon of his late conqueſt of *Milan*, and the enterpriſe of *Naples*, which he purpoſed to vndertake, ſought to enter into a league with him, and to giue his eldeſt daughter CLAVDIA in marriage to the young CHARLES, which afterwards was Emperour and King of *Spaine*, being then but one yeere olde (ſhe being alſo an infant) to whom appertained the ſucceſſion and inheritance of the Duchy of *Britaine*: with this match, the Emperour and his ſonne PHILIP were well content: and Queene IOANE and the ſaid PHILIP being then to goe into *Spaine*, by the leaue and conſent of the ſaid French King, went through *France*, and in the citie of *Paris* this marriage was ſolemnized; and ſo they paſſed into *Spaine*, where they making their abode not fully two yeeres, returned by the ſame way they came through *France*, as through their friends countrey. Which marriage afterwards was not accompliſhed, for King LEWES married his ſaid daughter CLAVDIA, to FRANCIS Duke of *Angoleſme*, who was afterwards King: by reaſon whereof King LEWES loſt the title which he pretended to haue to the Duchy of *Milan*; for at the making of the peace, it was decreed, that if this marriage tooke not effect, that then the Emperour ſhould giue the Duchy of *Milan* to the ſaid young Prince CHARLES. The French King being in this manner in league with the Emperour, ſought alſo to enter into the like with FERDINAND King of *Caſtile*, with theſe conditions; that they two making a conqueſt of the kingdome of *Naples*, and depoſing King FREDERICK from it, ſhould diuide the ſame betweene them: which conditions were accepted by King FERDINAND (as ſaith SABELLICVS a writer of that time) for that King FREDERICK ſhewed himſelfe ingratefull to his Nephew, who ſent him ayde and ſuccours; and the fame went, that he ſecretly practiſing vnderhand with the French King, offered to pay him tribute, to the end that he ſhould not warre againſt him, but ſuffer him to liue in peace, and that he promiſed to helpe him to take the Ile of *Sicilia*, which appertained to King FERDINAND, and to the houſe of *Arragon*. This being concluded, the two Kings ſending thither their armies and Generals, the warre began; and after ſome matters which I haue no time to relate, King FREDERICK abandoning the kingdome, yeelded himſelfe into the French Kings hands, who vſed him very well, but his army neuertheleſſe tooke all his countrey, *Calabria* and *Pulia* excepted, which the Spaniards tooke in the behalfe of King FERDINAND; and ſo for a while the peace continued betweene the French and the Spaniſh, vntill that the French ſeeking to intrude themſelues into the Spaniſh limits, they warred one againſt the other, which warre was one of the moſt cruell and famous that euer was; and wherein the French employed the greateſt force and power: and GONSALO FERNANDES of *Cordoua*, being Generall for King FERDINAND, in the ſpace of three yeeres that this warre laſted, obtained ſo many notable victories, and performed ſuch exploites in armes, and vſed ſo many policies and ſtratagems, that he purchaſed the name of great Captaine: and wholy expelling the French out of that kingdome, made a conqueſt thereof for his King; and ſo it remaineth vntill this day, ſubiect to the houſe of *Caſtile*. In the time of this warre, which was in the yeere 1503, dyed Pope ALEXANDER, when he had been Pope eleuen yeeres; he died (as it is written) of poyſon, which was vnwittingly giuen him by his ſonne

A league betweene the French King, and the King of Caſtile.

Duke

The Pope poysoned by his owne sonne, with the poyson which he had prouided therewith to haue poysoned another.

Duke VALENTINE (who was one of the most ambicious men of the world:) this poyson was prouided by the Pope to haue been giuen to a Cardinall. In his place was chosen Cardinall FRANCIS PICCOLHOMINI, Nephew to Pope PIVS, being his sisters sonne, and was therefore called PIVS TERTIVS; but he being Pope but thirtie dayes, Cardinall IVLIAN was chosen, and called IVLIVS the second.

An insurrection of the Commons of Germany, in the Countrey of Spire.

The Emperour intermedled not in the affaires of *Naples*, as well for the preseruation of the league and friendship with *France*, as also the better to prouide for other matters in the Empire, wherein at the very same time, which was in the yeere 1502, befell a strange aduenture in the countrey of *Spire*, wherein an infinite number of people gathering themselues together vnder the name of liberty, addressed themselues against the temporall Lords and Princes, and also against the state of the Clergie: these men hauing made them two Captaines, began to warre, to robbe, and to commit all manner outrages and insolencies; hauing first determined to obserue certaine articles, which they meant to hold for a law and religion: the first was to purchase liberty, and to make themselues free, or to dye in the action: another was, to say euery day a certaine number of *Pater Nosters*, and other prayers; vpon another day, to destroy all the Princes, and to kill all those which should resist them, and some others they purposed to robbe, and to make all the clergie goods common; with other strange and dangerous deuices. These men within few daies gathered themselues together in so great a number, that if the Emperour had not very speedely sent an armie against them, which brake and ouerthrew them; they had brought the estate of *Germany* in hazard, if they had continued as they began; but through the Emperours endeuour, the matter was redressed, and the offenders were, for examples sake, iustly punished. Neuertheless, at the same time the citie of *Basil* (which was an Imperiall citie, and tributary to the Empire) gat libertie, and making it selfe free, entred into a league and confederacie with the Swissers, which was a matter of great importance and danger; as well for the charge to prouide for such a case, as for the warre against PHILIP, the Countie Palatine, and his sonne ROBERT, which sprang through this occasion.

GEORGE Duke of *Bauiere*, hauing no more but one daughter, whose name was ISABEL; and marrying her to ROBERT the eldest sonne of the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, who was also called Duke of *Bauiere*, for in auncient time both had been but one house: gaue him with her for her dowrie, the inheritance and succession of his whole patrimonie, which was against reason, and a wrong done to his brother ALBERT, who was also Duke of *Bauiere*, and had married the Emperour MAXIMILIANS sister. This marriage being made, Duke GEORGE, father in law to ALBERT, in the yeere 1503, dyed: and ROBERT hauing ISABEL to wife (being by his father in lawes last Will made his heire generall) with the helpe of his father, the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, began to take Townes and Castles in *Bauiere*, and to make himselfe Lord of great part thereof; and so began the warre. And the Emperour seeking meanes to bring them to an agreement, ROBERT would not accept the conditions: whereupon the Emperour proceeding against him, and against his father the Countie Palatine (who notwithstanding that he had bin often required and perswaded to the contrarie, counselling his sonne to proceed, assisted him with both men and money) confisked his goods, and exposing the same to him that would take them, made presently cruell warre vpon him: and by his order, the like was done

done by the Lantzgraue of *Heſſen*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the ſaid ALBERT and ALEXANDER Dukes of *Bauiere*, and other Princes: againſt all which the father and the ſonne armed themſelues, with the helpe of the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, from whence many men came to their aide; and ſo betweene them began a moſt cruell warre; wherein the Emperor warred in his owne perſon, particularly in the countrie of *Bauiere* (whereof ROBERT was in poſſeſſion:) And WILLIAM Lantzgraue of *Heſſen*, and the Duke of *Wittembergh*, either of them for their portion, together with their friends and parents, made warres in ſeuerall parts in the countries, ſubiect to his father the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*. The Emperor warred with ſuch force and courage, that obtaining certaine notable victories againſt ROBERT and the Bohemians, he recouered all the townes which he had taken, but ROBERT ſaued himſelfe by flight; and the Emperour giuing thoſe townes to his coſin ALBERT, went with his armie into the Countie Palatines countrie, wherein the Princes aboue named had taken ſome townes: and comming with the like force and furie as he had recouered the eſtate of *Bauiere*, he tooke the greateſt part of that dominion: and PHILIP being vnable to defend what he held, ſending to the Emperor for pardon; promiſed from thenceforth to be his loyall ſeruant. And CHRISTOPHER Marquis of *Baden*, together with certaine religious perſons being interceſſors; the Emperor conſidering that if he ſhould throughly bring him to ruine, being a Prince Elector, there would be great controuerſie about the right of the election, thought it beſt to pardon him; and ſo ceaſed the warres on all parts, and the Countie Palatine returning to his obedience was pardoned: but his countrie and eſtate was much diminiſhed. His ſonne ROBERT after the warres were ended, being of the age of fiue and twentie yeeres, ſeeing himſelfe ouercome and diſpoſſeſſed, dyed of ſorrow and his wife alſo, by whoſe right he challenged that which is aboue ſpecified. Whileſt the Emperour was buſied about theſe matters, the great Captaine of *Spaine*, GONSALO FERNANDES, wholy conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, and (as writeth SABELLICVS) a truce being taken betweene King FERDINAND of *Caſtile*, & LEWES the French King for three yeeres; and ſo *Italy* was in peace for a time. In this yeere, 1504, dyed ISABEL Queene of *Spaine*, whom Queene IOANE ſucceeding in that kingdome, was with her husband PHILIP called to the gouernement: but their comming was deferred vntill the beginning of the yeere 1506. In which time the Emperour ſummoned a Councell to be held in the citie of *Colen*; from whence he went with an armie againſt the Duke of *Gelders*; and taking ſome townes from him, brought him to ſuch diſtreſſe, that he was conſtrained to ſue for pardon; and he forgiuing him, returned to the Councell or Diet at *Colen*. The next yeere following, the Emperour being diſpleaſed with the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, for the aſſiſtance giuen to the Countie Palatine againſt him, and for his rebellion againſt the Empire, leuied an army and went againſt him; and entring *Hungary*, did ſo great harme therein, and put the King thereof in ſuch feare, that he (with great humilitie ſued to him for peace, which was graunted vpon ſuch conditions as pleaſed the Emperour; and ſo the warre ended. In the meane time, LEWES the French King, hauing no meaning to marry his daughter CLAVDIA to Prince CHARLES, who being afterwards Emperour, was called CHARLES the fifth, ſhortly after married her to FRANCIS Duke of *Anguleſme* and Dolphin of *France*, who afterwards was King: and fearing warres with the Emperour about the Duchy of *Milan*, made a perpetuall league with

The Spaniſh conquered the Kingdome of Naples from the French.

with FERDINAND King of *Caſtile*, who was vpon his departure from *Arragon* to returne to *Naples*; for he expected King PHILIP, who went thither in the beginning of the yeere 1506: this league being made betweene them, King FERDINAND married the Lady GERMANA, ſiſter to the Earle of *Foix*: and in Aprill, in the yeere 1506, leauing *Spaine*, he went to *Naples*: and vpon the fiue and twentith of September in the ſame yeere, King PHILIP being of the age of eyght and twentie yeeres, departed out of this world: his death was much deplored by all his ſubiects, but more by the Emperour his Father, who was extreamely ſorrie for the ſame. After his deceaſe, for that the Queene was ſickly, and the Prince CHARLES a child, King FERDINAND of *Naples* was called to the gouernement of thoſe Kingdomes; whereupon the yeere next following he came into *Spaine* to that effect: and the Emperour, to the end that he ſhould vndertake the gouernement of the Low Countries, was by Ambaſſadours from the States thereof, ſolicited to come thither; who accepting the gouernement, went preſently into *Flanders*. After this, he appointed a Councell or Diet to be holden in the Citie of *Conſtance*, which continued from Aprill, in the yeere 1507, vntill Auguſt; wherein he proponing the iniuries done him by the Venecians, alleaged that they vſurped ſome townes of the dominion of *Auſtrich*: and he alſo found himſelfe grieued, for the ayde giuen by them to the French King, in taking the Citie of *Milan*; by which King, the Emperour held himſelfe much iniuried, as well for this occaſion, as for that he had giuen his daughter in marriage to FRANCIS Duke of *Angueſme*, ſhe being firſt married to his Nephew CHARLES. About this matter he practiſed with Pope IVLY, who at that time by force of armes, had recouered the citie of *Bologna* and other townes: which he did, to the end to put the French King into iealouſie and ſuſpition. Theſe matters being argued and debated in this Councell, in the end it was concluded, that warres ſhould be made againſt the Venecians, and all ſuch as ſhould take their partes. And leuying a mightie armie, the Emperour beginning the warre, tooke ſuch townes as they held in *Auſtrich*. In the meane time, CHARLES Duke of *Gelderland*, through the ayde (as it was ſurmiſed) of the French King, made warres in *Brabant*, whereupon the Emperour was conſtrained to giue ouer the warre againſt the Venecians, and with his forces to goe to the relief of that Countrey, wherein he making head againſt the Gelderois, put themſelues to the worſt. In the yeere 1508, LEWES Duke of *Milan*, called the Moore, being depriued of his eſtate, dyed priſoner in *France*; his ſonnes MAXIMILIAN and FRANCIS, liuing in the Emperours Court in *Germany*. After this, the Emperour being in *Flanders*; ſome ſay at the ſuite of Pope IVLY, who for a good ſpace had had a Legate in *Germany*, and as ſome others ſay, at the requeſt of King LEWES of *France*, there was a treatie of a League to be made betweene the Emperour, the Pope, King FERDINAND, and the French King, againſt the Venecians, for the recouery of ſuch lands of the Duchie of *Milan*, and of the Empire, and of the Cleargie as they poſſeſſed: which league, as it was made by the Pope and the French King, but for their particular intereſt, ſo they obſerued the ſame no longer, then they thought fit for their profit. The yeere 1509, being come, the firſt that began the warre was the Emperour: and ſome delaies and ſuſpitions ariſing; in the end, the Emperour, the Pope, and the French King, each of them apart, warred with very great armies, and the Venecians muſtring vp their troupes which were lead by the Earle of *Petilian*, and the Lord BARTHELMEVV ALVIANO, moſt excellent men of warre. Many notable ſeruices

A league betweene the Emperour, the French King, the Pope, and the Duke of Milan, againſt the Venecians.

uices were performed, which to relate at large, would require long time, and much paper: the issue whereof was, that the Emperor after that he had recouered certaine townes which they held in the Duchie of *Austrich*, tooke from them *Padoa, Verona, Vicenza, La Chiusa, Goritia*, and many other: the French King tooke *Crema, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Peschiera*, and other townes of the Duchie of *Milan*: Pope IVLY had *Rauenna, Faenza, Imola*, and afterwards *Modena*, and other townes; King FERDINAND recouered *Brandizzo, Tarento*, and other townes of the kingdome of *Naples*, which the Venecians in former enterprize had taken: but notwithstanding that at one instant they were inuaded by so many great Princes together, yet in the end, through their vertue and diligence, they recouered much of what they then lost, but after that time they were neuer of so great power as they had been before. The first that gaue ouer this warre was Pope IVLIVS, who being sued vnto by the Venecians for peace, graunted the same, and therewith with drew his forces. Pope IVLY (as he was a subtill cunning prelate) hauing gotten what he desired, mistrusted that the Emperor and the French King hauing brought the Venecians to ruine, his owne state would be in daunger, for his meaning was that no man should be of greater power in *Italy* then himselfe. But as the French Kings purposes were to the contrarie, so he tooke his agreement betweene the Venecians and the Pope in very ill part, and after many Ambassades past betweene them, in the end they two fell at variance. The Pope practising vnder hand with the Genoaies, made them rebell against the French King; and the King (in requitall) made a schisme in the Papacie, and to that effect drew the Cardinall of S. *Crosse* (who had been Legate in *Germany*) together with some other Cardinals to his deuotion; which calling a Councell against the Pope, appointed the citie of *Pisa* for the place of their meeting. The Emperor notwithstanding the League betweene the Pope and the Venecians, desisted not from warring against them: but he was aduertised that the French King had induced the Duke of *Ghelders* to war against the Emperor, and to that effect had with money supplied his want: for the King although he would that all should aide him, yet he would not that any but himselfe should haue the victorie.

Vpon this occasion, the Emperor leauing the friendship of the French, ioyned with the Pope. And the French King persisting in his determination, caused many Bishops and other Prelates to goe to *Pisa*, where he procured the Councel to be assembled, which the Cardinall of Saint *Crosse* had alreadie begun; but holding themselues to be there in no safety, they went afterwards to *Milan*. And the Pope in like manner sent to the King of *Castile*, requiring his aide, which presently was promised, and afterwards sent him: and then he began with his fulminations to persecute the French King. And to the end to defeate this Councell, he summoned a Councell generall to be held in Saint IOHN DE LATERANE, in *Rome*, the yeere next following, which was in the yeere 1512. the warre betweene the King and the Pope being very cruell, the King mightely engrossing his armie, made MONSIEVR DE FOIX Generall thereof; who going to *Bologna* tooke it, and taking *Brescia* sacked it. The Cardinall of Saint *Crosse*, and those which ioyned with him, cited the Pope to appeare before them; and the Pope after many protestations proceeding against them, depriued them of all their Ecclesiasticall dignities and benefices. And King FERDINANDS forces comming to the Popes aide, after some bickerings, the two armies meeting neere to *Rauenna*, vpon Whitsonday, in the yeere 1512. came to a battaile; which was

The French King caused a schisme in the Popedome.

A battaile betweene the French and the Popes forces neere to the riuer of Carroin Italy.

as cruell, and as bloodie, as euer was any in the world; and although the French obtained the victorie, yet twise so many of them were therein slaine, as of those which were ouerthrowne, if they may be accounted for ouercome, whereof one squadron remained whole and was neuer broken, and so past through the middest of their enemies without that any durst to charge them. In this battaile was MONSIEVR DE FOIX the French Generall slaine, together with many of the French Nobilitie. Finally, the French were reduced to such estate, that notwithstanding that they had the victorie, yet it fared with them, as though they had been ouercome: for they departing from *Rauenna*, and taking their way towards *Milan* (MONSIEVR DE LA PALISSA being their Generall) Pope IVLY recouered the citie of *Rauenna*, and in like manner *Bologna*: and vnderstanding the issue of the battaile (though at the first he stoode in great feare) yet being certified of the truth and how much the French armie was distressed, he after his accustomed manner leuying new supplies, wrote to all the Kings and Princes of Christendome to stirre them vp to warre; and to that effect sent a Cardinall to the Emperor; who being discontent with the French King, within few daies after, sent into *Italy* by the way of *Verona*, an armie of Swissers, and of Germanes, with MAXIMILIAN SFORCE, sonne of Duke LEVVES, to recouer the state of *Milan* which was his fathers. MAXIMILIAN SFORCE entring *Italy*, and being come to *Verona*, and ioyning with the Spanish armie, and with those which were in league with the Pope; the French were striken with such feare, that the Cardinall of Saint *Crosse*, and the rest of the Councell of *Pisa* (which had withdrawne themselues to *Milan*) with all speede possible departing thence, fled into *France*; and MONSIEVR DE LA PALISSA, the French Generall, leauing such garrisons as he thought good in the Castles of *Milan* and of *Brescia*, and other townes in *Lombardy*, abandoning the citie, retired to *Pauia*; and the enemy comming thither, he departed thence, and went also into *France*. And so MAXIMILIAN SFORCE in short space recouering the Duchie of *Milan*, was with great ioy through the Emperors aide and fauour receiued into the citie: and then presently came to him Ambassadors from *Genoa*, to doe him honor, and to congratulate his returne, for the Genoaies then rebelling against the French, and hauing chosen them a Duke besieged the Castle of the *Lanterne*, which was at the French deuotion. In the processe of his warre, the King of *Nauarre*, for that he held with the French King against the Emperor, against the Pope, and the King of *Castile*, and would not giue passage to the Spanish armies, was bereaued of his kingdome; and the Kings of *Castile* possesse the same vntill this day.

After these things, and other which succeeded, in the beginning of the yeere vpon the three and twentith day of Februarie in *Rome* died Pope IVLY, in the tenth yeere of his Papacie, and in his place was chosen IOHN Cardinall DE MEDICIS, who being taken at the rout of *Rauenna*, and afterwards set at libertie, was called LEO the tenth; in the beginning of whose Papacie, the King of *France*, the Lord of *Tremouille*, and the Duke of *Albania*, with a great armie came into *Lombardy* against MAXIMILIAN Sforce, who went of *Milan*, who with the aide from the Emperor, and the Swissers comming to battaile with them neere to *Noüarra* (where his father was taken prisoner) obtained the victorie, with the death, ouerthrow, and imprisonment of many of them: so as he driuing the French out of that Duchie, remained Lord thereof in peace. Presently after this in the same yeere, the Emperor resoluing to let the French King know that he had committed an error, in not conseruing the peace made and concluded with him,

came

came to a compoſition with HENRY the eight King of *England* (who was enemie to the French King) to enter *France*, and to make warre againſt him: for perfourmaunce of which conditions, the King of *England* came to *Calis*, and entring *France*, the Emperour with his armie came and ioyned with him: and although the French King durſt not fight in battaile, yet there paſſed many notable skirmiſhes betweene them: and notwithſtanding that the King of *England* lay two moneths before *Terrouenne*, yet the French King in all that ſpace not daring to come to onſet it, the towne was conſtrained to yeelde: and ſo the King after the taking of ſome other places, went to *Tournay*, which he battered with ſuch fury, that it yeelded, together with the Caſtles and other townes neere adiacent; whereof the King of *England* being Lord, made great ſpoyle in the countrey, without finding any armie in field to make head againſt him. The Emperour in like manner by another way, ſent VDALRICK Duke of *Wittembergh*, with a great band of Swiſſers into *Burgundy*; who beſieging the citie of *Digiõn*, and hauing brought it to the poynt, that it was hoped that that Prouince would haue been recouered; the Swiſſers (according to their accuſtomed manner) in conſideration of one hundred thouſand Ducats, ſent them by the French King, and moued with the hope of a promiſed greater ſumme, raiſing the ſiege, returned home to their houſes, maugre the Duke of *Wittembergh* their Generall: who with his people ſeeing himſelfe abandoned, returned alſo into his countrey. It likewiſe happened that whileſt the King of *England* warred in *France*, the King of *Scots* through the inſtigation of the French King, entred *England*; againſt whom in perſon came KATHERINE Queene of *England*, accompanied by ſome of the Nobilitie and Commons of that Realme, and fighting with the *Scots* (notwithſtanding that the victorie was very doubtfull and vnequall, by reaſon of the great multitude of them) yet their King was ſlaine in the battaile, and the Scots not daring any longer to hold the field, returned home; & the Engliſh entring *Scotland*, tooke certaine places therein, in ſuch ſort, that the King of *England* through his wiues meanes in *England*, and the Emperours ayde in *France*, returned victorious into his countrey. And the Emperour, for that his preſence was very requiſit in *Germany* did the like; for in *Wormes* was much debate and contention betweene the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall and ſecular. There was alſo great controuerſie betweene WILLIAM and LEVVES, Dukes of *Bauiere*, the Emperors Nephewes, ſonnes of his brother in law ALBERT. Whereupon the Emperour went to them, and in ſome ſort mittigating the contention, brought them to be in peace. In the ſame yeere 1513, the Venecians made a league with the French King, which was effected by meanes of the Lord BARTELMEVV D'ALVIANO their Generall, who was taken priſoner by the King, and ANDREVV GRITTI a Venecian gentleman, who was afterwards one of the moſt excellent Dukes that haue been in *Venice*, who likewiſe was priſoner. After this a peace being concluded betweene *England* & *France*, the French King tooke to wife MARY the King of *Englands* ſiſter, with whom he liued but a little while after his mariage; for he falling extremely ſick, died vpon the firſt day of Ianuary, in the yeare our Lo[rd] 1514. and the 17. of his Raigne; whom ſucceeded the often named FRANCIS Duke of *Angueſme*, who after his Coronatiõ, procured a league to be made with the Emperour: whereupon the Earle *Naſſaw* came to *Paris*, and ſo a new mariage was concluded betweene CHARLES which then was Prince of *Spaine*, and RENATA ſiſter to CLAVDIA the new Queene of *France*; which Mariage afterwards tooke no effect. The Emperour conſented, and liked wel of the match, as wel by reaſon of ſuch affaires as he had in *Germany*,

as for the peace & common good which was expected to ensue thereof. And for the better preseruation of the particular peace made with LADISLAVS King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, he resolued to marry his niece MARY, to LEVVES, eldest sonne of the said King, notwithstanding that they both were very young: whereupon in Iuly in the yeare 1515. a meeting and Councell was appointed to be held in *Viena* in *Austrich*, whither came SIGISMVND King of *Poland*, LADISLAVS King of *Hungarie* and *Bohemia*, with his sonne LEVVES, the Emperour, the Dukes of *Bauiere*, and many other Princes of *Germany*, where the said LEVVES Prince of *Hungarie* was betrothed to marrie the Emperours niece: and it was also agreed, that the Lord FERDINAND of *Castile*, should marrie with his sister ANNE, which afterwards tooke effect; who raigned in those kingdomes after the decease of his brother in law LEVVES; which mariages were accomplished after the Emperours decease, in the yeare 1521. The French King FRANCIS knowing the Emperor to be inclined in peace, to feasting and banketting; and hauing a little before confirmed a peace with *England*, and with the Venecians, as he had also done the like with the same Emperour; within short space after he leuied a very great armie of *Germanes*, and Lantzknechts, with a determination to inuade the Duchie of *Milan*; and being with his armie past the Alpes, neere to *Turin*, hee ioyned with his Vncle CHARLES Duke of *Sauoy*; and then comming to *Bersselli*, thither came 2000. souldiers sent him by the Genoaies, at the request of the Lord OCTAVIAN FREGOSO their Duke; from thence hee went to *Nouarra*, which yeelded without assault; and passing forwards towards *Milan*, and knowing that the Duke had an armie of Swissers sent him by the Emperour; and that hee intended to giue him battaile, he sought to haue corrupted the Swissers with money, as King LEVVES did when he tooke the said Dukes Father; but failing thereof (for it was reuealed to his enemies) hee fought with them betweene *Milan* and *Marinian*, neere to a village called Saint BRIGETS: the battaile was so fiercelie fought, that before any signe of victorie, they were fighting ouertaken by the night, which was so darke, the moone being downe, that when they left fighting, neither partie knew how to retire, and so they stood all the night armed, expecting the day; which being come they againe renewed the battaile: at which time, a rumour was spred ouer the campe, that the Lord BARTHOLMEVV D'ALVIANO was at hand with the Venecian armie, and that he had marched all the night, to come to ioyne with the French King: whereupon the Swissers fearing so great succors, fled, and the victorie remaining to the French King: a most cruell slaughter was made of the poore Swissers. The King hauing obtained so notable a victorie; Duke MAXIMILIAN abandoning the citie of *Omilan*, withdrew himselfe into the castle; whereupon the citie yeelded to the King, and the other cities did the like. The Duke being besieged and assaulted in the castell, (notwithstanding that the Emperour certified him that he would speedily send him releefe) compounding with the French King for a certaine somme of money, which the king promised to giue him yearely, he resigned to him the title and state of *Milan*; and so putting himselfe into the Kings power, he went into *France*, where he afterwards dyed. The French king hereupon was receiued into *Milan*, and into all the other cities without resistance; wherewith the Emperour being much displeased, made preparation for his comming into *Italy*: whereof the King standing in some doubt, sought to enter into a league with Pope LEO; who seeing him victorious was glad of the match; and appointing to meete him in *Bologna*, the league was confirmed; which being ended, the King returning into *France* left the Duke

The battaile of Marinian.

The French King in possession of the Duchy of Milan.

of

of *Bourbon* with his armie in the ſtate of *Milan*. At this time vpon the fiue and twentith day of Ianuary in the yeare 1516, dyed King FERDINAND in *Madril* neere to *Guadalupe* in *Spaine*; and to the gouernment of thoſe kingdomes, was called CHARLES, (who was afterwards Emperour, being then but ſixteene yeeres old) who went thither the yeere following. The Duchy of *Milan* being conquered by the French King, in ſuch manner as is aforeſaid, within few dayes after the Emperour MAXIMILIAN by the way of *Verona*, came into *Italy* with ſo flouriſhing an armie, that he would haue bin glad to haue met the French King: and the Duke of *Bourbon* in *Lombardy* not daring to keepe the field againſt him, ſhut vp himſelfe in *Milan*: and the Emperour finding no reſiſtance, held on his way vntill he came before the citie, and beſieged it: which together with all the reſt had beene ſoone recouered, if he could haue ſtaied in the countrey; but the treaſure and reuenues of this great Captaine, were not ſufficient to maintaine the warres which he vndertooke, and to pay the ordinarie troupes which he ſhould neede therein: which was the occaſion that he oftentimes let paſſe great matters. Beſides this, LADISLAVS King of *Hungarie* falling ſicke and dying, there aroſe after his deceaſe, ſuch diſcord, that to eſtabliſh peace in that kingdome, and for the defence thereof againſt the Turks, the Emperor was ſent for; for LEVVES, ſonne of the deceaſed King, was but a child of little more then thirteen yeares old: wherefore he being conſtrained to leaue the warres of *Milan*, and to returne into *Germany*, the French King continued in poſſeſſion of that Duchy: vntill that afterwards, all that happened which you ſhall heare.

The Emperour vpon ſo vrgent occaſion being come into *Germany*, could hardlie keepe the peace in *Hungarie*: the occaſion whereof was, for that King LADISLAVS before his death nominated for tutors and gouernours for his ſon, in the kingdoms of *Hungarie*, and *Bohemia*, the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, and his owne brother SIGISMVND, King of *Poland*: wherewith the Hungars were verie much diſcontent, for they ſtood in feare that theſe two Princes would haue attained to haue had thoſe kingdomes to themſelues. But as the Emperours intent was but for the good of the countrie, ſo he tooke no ſo great care to haue the gouernment, as he did that thoſe Kingdomes ſhould be gouerned with equitie, and for the defence of *Hungarie* againſt the Turke, which was put in effect ſo long as he liued: for he gaue the gouernment to certaine great perſonages of thoſe kingdomes: but not without great difficultie and trouble; which plainlie appeared, by the calamities which enſued in thoſe kingdomes after his deceaſe. At this time alſo it behoued the Emperour to take order for the going of his nephew CHARLES King of *Spaine* into his countrey; by reaſon whereof, he was conſtrained to giue eare to a new peace motioned by the French King, which was concluded; and it was alſo decreed, that CHARLES ſhould take to wife the daughter of King LEVVES. This friendſhip and alliance being made (although the mariage tooke no effect) King CHARLES taking ſhipping ſayled into *Spaine*, where he arriued the ninteenth of September, in the yeare 1517. And ſo peace being betweene the Emperour and the French King; and generally through all Chriſtendome, he ſpent the reſt of his time in miniſtring iuſtice, and reforming the lawes and cuſtomes of the Empire; and ſo liuing in peace and good eſtate, he was taken with a *Diſſenteria*, which bereaued him of his life vpon the twelfth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1519, being of the age of nine and fiftie yeares (as ſaith CVSPINIAN) and after others, threeſcore and three, and in the fiue and twentith yeare of his raigne. *The death of the Emperour Maximilian.*

Thus haue I briefly paſt ouer the great actes of this Emperour, (for as I ſaid in the beginning of his life) if I ſhould at large haue deſcribed his prowes and excellencie, I ſhould haue beene driuen to haue run a long race, and haue needed an excellent wit and much eloquence, whereof I know my ſelfe as naked and deſtitute, as this Prince was abundant in all vertue: for he was ſo bountifull, that if he had beene Lord of all the rents and reuenues of the world, hee would haue needed them, conſidering his gifts and expences, according to the greatnes of his mind; and notwithſtanding that what hee had was great, yet was it euer too little in regard of his liberalitie. He was endued with ſuch magnanimitie, that he neuer was ſeene to be timorous, what daunger ſoeuer he were in; and therewith was one of the moſt redoubted Princes in the world: he was very deuout, and as he liued ſo he dyed, he was of a moſt ſingular wit, and ſound iudgment, as well in peace as in warre: and notwithſtanding that he was well able to counſell others, yet he neuer diſdained to aske and take counſell of ſuch as he thought loued him, and were able to giue him counſell. And as he loued learning, and learned men, ſo he gaue great gifts and penſions to ſuch as were well ſeene in the Liberall Sciences: and it grieued him much that he had not in his youth been inſtructed in good letters, and in the pure elegant Latine tongue; for as he had a barbarous ſchoolmaſter, ſo ſuch was that which he learned of him; yet he afterwards, hauing many learned men in his court, came to the knowledge of many things. He was naturallie inclined to poeſy, ſo as he compiled a notable peece of worke in his owne vulgar tongue, of the many dangers wherein he had been, and another booke called the price of honour. Beſides his excellent wit, he was of a wounderfull memorie, for he which had once talked and conferred with him about any buſines, although in long time after he came not into his preſence, yet ſo ſoone as he ſhould ſee him he would know him. He was ſo honeſt and ſo baſhful as was ſtrange, for he neuer conſented that any ſhould ſee him naked; neither did hee at any time take the vrinall to make water, in the preſence of any his Chamberlaine or Page, or any ſuch like thing; neither would he permit that any ſhould ſee his vrine, except ſome few very excellent Phiſitions. He was of an excellent and ſtrong complexion, and was ſeldome ſicke, and then but lightly; whereto this was a great help in that he was very temperate in his diet; yet he kept a very bountifull table; and did take his meate ſo neat and comely that it was a pleaſure to behold him. He could ſo well endure trauaile, that heate, cold, hungar, thirſt, or any other want or diſcommoditie did little annoy him. He much exerciſed his perſon in bearing armes, eſpecially at Tilt and Tourney, beſides the warres and battailes wherein he fought in perſon; and aboue all he was exceeding gentle and courteous in his behauiour towards Princes, and towards all his ſeruants and familiars; and was ſo friendly to thoſe which had to deale with him, that with his lookes and countenance hee wonne their hearts, which put them out of the feare and baſhfulnes wherein they were, by reaſon of his preſence: for which excellencies and other which I leaue to write, he attained to bee the moſt honoured Prince of his time, and was both obeyed and beloued through the whole Empire: and ſaw all his ſonnes and nephewes Lords of the greateſt part of Chriſtendome. After his death CHARLES the fifth was choſen Emperour, whoſe great warres and acts require a more eloquent and perfect writer.

THE

THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND CXV. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

I Will not take very much paine in writing the life of CHARLES the fifth, for as much as his acts are fresh in memory; and also for that FRANCIS GVICCIARDIN, a graue writer, and PAVLVS IOVIVS, in their histories write of him at large; and in a manner all the writers of our time, treate of the actions of this Emperour, to which, I referre the reader, wherein he may fully vnderstand the particulars. The Emperour CHARLES then was by his Fathers side, of the royall and Imperiall house of *Austrich*; and by his mother he descended from the auncient Kings of *Spaine*, and his Grandmother by his father, was of the house of *France*, in this manner. CHARLES the fifth King of *France*, surnamed the wise, gaue the countrey of *Burgundy* to his yonger brother PHILIP: from PHILIP which had to wife the only daughter of LEWES Earle of *Flanders*, descended IOHN, who was father to PHILIP which gat CHARLES the hardy, Duke of *Burgundy*; whose warres with LEWES the eleuenth, king of *France*, are written by PHILIP DE COMINES Lord of *Argenton*. This CHARLES being slaine at the battaile of *Nancy*, left his onely daughter the Lady MARY heire to his whole estate; which MARY was married to MAXIMILIAN the Emperour, father to PHILIP; which PHILIP tooke to wife the Lady IOANE, daughter of the King of *Castile*, and *Arragon*, and

The dissent of the Emperour Charles the fifth.

by her had the Emperour CHARLES the fifth. And forasmuch as FERDINAND King of *Castile* had neuer a sonne, he adopted his sonne in law PHILIP for his sonne, who after the decease of his father in law FERDINAND, became King of *Spaine*: and by these meanes, the house of *Austrich* obtained the dominions of *Burgundie*, *Flanders*, and *Spaine*. As for his mother; her Grandfather FERDINAND King of *Spaine*, had to wife the Lady ISABEL, the onely daughter of IOHN the second, King of *Spaine*, and after the conquest of *Naples*, he gat by her, IOHN, ISABEL, IOANE, MARY and KATHERINE; but IOHN and ISABEL dying without issue, the succession of the kingdome, by the lawes of *Spaine*, came to IOANE, as to the eldest of them; but *Austrich* by the diuision of the inheritance, came to FERDINAND brother to CHARLES the fifth, which FERDINAND was afterwards Emperor also, and father of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN the second. CHARLES was borne in *Gaunt*, a citie in *Flanders*, vpon Saint MATTHIAS day, being the foure and twentith of Februarie in the yeere 1500. which day was noted to be euer very fortunate vnto him; considering that vpon that day many accidents happened to him in sundrie parts of the world; and he obtained vpon that day honorable victories, as by his actions, written by GVICCIARDIN, and IOVIVS, plainely appeareth. Being come to yeeres of discretion, although but a youth (for his father dying left him but sixteene yeeres old) he was sent to *Mecklin*, a citie in *Brabant*, to schoole, his Masters name was ADRIAN of *Florence*, then whom, none in all that prouince was more famous, for many qualities, as the issue of his life made manifest; for he became a Cardinall, and afterwards being made Pope, after the death of LEO the tenth, was called ADRIAN the sixth. But in his exercise of armes he was disciplined by CHARLES CEVRIO, a valiant man at armes in that age. It seemeth that he profited little in learning, yet he attained to the Spanish, Dutch, and French tongues, the Latin tongue he vnderstoode somewhat grossely. Three bookes onely he loued to reade, which he caused to be translated into his owne vulgar tongue, of which, one was the institution of a ciuill life, which was the courtiour of the Earle BALTASAR DE CASTILIONE; the other was of matters of state, which was the Prince, with the discourse of MACHIAVEL: the third was the order of Knighthood, which was the historie of POLIBIVS. But he most delighted in armes, which besides religion, are the foundation of kingdomes; and he more esteemed the warres then any man in the world. He was skilfull in the managing of Artillery, and very expert in the marshalling of an armie, and lodged the same very skilfully, and knew all the meanes and deuices how to batter and assault a citie: so as all his attempts, or the greatest part which he vndertooke, might well haue good successe. The constitution of his body, was neither fat nor grosse, but of a gallant proportion and strongly sinued; his hands were great and strong, fit to weld weapones, and to manage armes, his legges were faire, straight, and of a due proportion, which chiefly appeared when he was on horsebacke; for he roade with such maiestie when he was armed, and managed his horse so gallantly, that it seemed that no gallanter Knight could be found or more fit to beare armes then himselfe. He was of a faire complexion, with cleere azure eies; which (although he were angrie) were not terrible, but accommodated with a noble bashfulnes, and manly modestie. He was somewhat hooke nosed, after the manner of the auncient Kings of *Persia*, which was a signe of the greatnes of his minde. He had a long chinne, and a yellow beard; his haire was yellow of the colour of gold, after the vse of the auncient

The birth of the Emperor Charles. Anno dom. 1500.

auncient Emperors of *Rome*. It was thought by thoſe which were wiſe, that neuer man was of a better conſtitution, better aduiſed, or of riper iudgement then he: for with a certaine motion which accompanied his ſpeeches, he made men to wonder at his proceedings. He was very curteous in diſcourſe, but double; ſo as his ſpeeches might haue diuers conſtructions; and ſo he euer ſaued himſelfe by the interpretation, fitting it to his purpoſe; alleaging that his meaning was to be vnderſtoode, in this, and this manner. He was neuer throughly angrie, but telling the truth, and grounding his ſpeeches vpon reaſon, he ſatiſfied the hearers. He was neuer ouer-haſtie in his anſweres, for he firſt conſulted, and then concluded; but the concluſion muſt depend of him onely. He made great account of thoſe which might either pleaſure, or annoy him; but made no ſhew thereof in outward apparance, to the end to maintaine his reputation in greatnes. He was neither bloudie nor vindicatiſe vpon his enemies, but determined of them without deſtroying them. He ſeldome puniſhed his ſeruants and officers, but vpheld them in their defects. And although that by his enemies he was noted of crueltie, in the matters of *Rome*, and in the death of the children of *France*, yet was he gentle and pitifull, and they of malice ſlaunder him wrongfully. As for his friends which were made great by him, hee conſtantly maintained them, and would not endure to heare them ill ſpoken of; giuing more credit to his owne iudgement then to other mens reports; reputing them to ſpeake of enuie or malice. He was an earneſt defender of his Ambaſſadours, notwithſtanding that they did ought that were not tollerable; for he loued to haue good intelligence, and knew all that paſſed in all parts of the world. He vſed to diſcourſe of his affaires the ſpace of foure or fiue houres together, and wrote downe the reaſons *pro & contra*, the better to conſider thereof; and his arguments were ſo well compounded, and all of one poize, that who ſo vnderſtood the beginning of the matter, might preſently comprehend the end thereof. He well knew the naturall inclination of thoſe Princes with whom he had to deale, and ſpent much money to haue full notice of them, by reaſon whereof, hee negociated with them, with liuely reaſons and ſound arguments, and not with generalities; and had his buſines, in all parts in a readines, attending opportunitie and fit occaſion to put them in execution: hence it grew, that in regard of his affaires, he was mortified in all his pleaſures: concerning the lawes, he was iuſt, and made profeſſion to maintaine and hold his word, and to preferre his honour before all things in the world; wherefore whoſoeuer deſired to get his fauour, was to vſe the meanes of honour, and of modeſtie, with ſhew of religion: whereto he was ſomuch addicted, that hee communicated foure times in the yeere. He was very pacient in hearing cauſes, and gaue audience aſwell to the little as the great, with much attention: and notwithſtanding that he was ſlow to reſolue of his owne affaires, aſwell as of other mens; yet he concluded very prudently. But he that will blame him may ſay, that he was remiſſe and erreſolute; and he that will commend him may affirme, that hee was well aduiſed, and politike. Touching his liberalitie, he was held rather for niggardly & ſparing, then bountifull; eſpecially towards his ſeruants, which he entertained with hope many yeeres; but when he did rewarde, if enough were enough, he gaue enough; for he had great meanes to giue, of the three orders of Knighthoode which are in *Spaine*, beſides Biſhoprickes, Abbeyes, titles, offices, and other reuenues; neuertheleſſe, it ſeemed that in giuing he much more fauored the Flemmings then the Spaniards, or Italians. He was bountifull to ſuch Captaines as ſerued him in

the

the warres, and to such as he loued; but it came but slowly. He made shew to loue peace, and not to desire warres; but when he was prouoked thereto. Briefly, he gaue example for all to follow, and abstained from all such vices as might staine his conscience, or good name. He effected great matters by negociation, wherein he was more then in armes; notwithstanding that in armes he was inuincible and peereleſſe. He rose late in the morning, and after that he was readie (clad in no better then in silke, or cloath, close made, more like a priuate gentleman then a great Lord, but yet very neatly) he heard a priuate Masse for the soule of the Empereſſe; and then gaue audience and dispatched much busines; then going out of his chamber, he heard another Masse openly in a Chappell, which being ended, he went to dinner: whereupon they vsed this prouerbe in his court, from Masse to messe. He was a great feeder, and did eate such things as did breede grosse and viscous humours, whereof proceeded the Gowte, and the Ptisicke; which infirmities in his later daies greatly tormented him, especially the Gowte; which was of so maligne condition, that it sent the vapour thereof from the stomacke into the head, which put him often in daunger of his life, which he assured himselfe could not be long: but yet when he was well, he made so small reckoning of the Phisitions, as though he should neuer be sicke againe. He did eate little at night, thinking to make amends for disordring himselfe at noone. After dinner he gaue audience, and sometime retiring himselfe into some secret place, he passed the time in drawing the plot of some fortresse, or other edifice; but most commonly he vsed to ieſt with a Polonian dwarfe which he had, or with one ADRIAN a groome of his chamber; and often with the Baron of *Monfalcon* Steward of his house, in whose companie he tooke especiall delight, for his readie and quicke wit. He sometimes rode on hunting, but not with aboue eight or tenne horse at the most, and returned oftentimes with a brace of stagges, or wilde boares. And sometimes he vsed to shoote at Pigions, at Choughs, and such like birds; and in all these his disports he spent not an hundred crownes in the yeere; so much did he applie himselfe to matters of importance. He vsed the like sparing in cladding his court, in his stable, in the furniture of his house, and such other ornaments; insomuch that if in trussing himselfe a poynt brake, he would tie it together, & keepe it, for not to lose so much time as till another were fetcht. His sparing was such, that there was no man that spent tenne crownes by the yeere, but spent more then he: but for other expences, passing thorough other mens hands, he did as other Princes doe, which referre the same to other mens trust; yet he vsed al possible diligence to vnderstand euery particular, and would know how his money was issued, euen to a crowne; so carefull was he for what was his. The vertues and faire conditions of this Prince, together with his power, excelling al the Princes of his time, moued the Electors in *Germany* to create him Emperour. In the yeere 1530, being of the age of thirtie yeeres, he was crowned in *Bologna* by Pope CLEMENT the seuenth; his coronation was most stately, as well for the prouision of most rich pompe, as for the great concourse of people and great Lords which came to see so solemne ceremonies. And this was the more to be noted, in that the Emperour (moued by his naturall clemencie) pardoning the Duke of *Milan* all such offences as were laid to his charge, by ANTHONY DE LEVA, and the Emperours other officers, he restored him to his Dukedome, to the great contentment of all the Princes of *Italy*, which greatly doubted that he would haue made himselfe Monarch thereof. The ceremonies at his coronation were very long, but by so much the more excellent in this Emperour,

Charles the fifth chosen Emperour, and crowned in Bologna by Pope Clement the seuenth.

perour, insomuch as hee before this, had abated the haughtie pride of the Pope, and taken the French King prisoner before *Pauia*; by reason whereof, he became feared of all the world, through the felicitie of his high fortune. He was also the more honorable, for that vnder his great name new *Spaine* was found; whereby it seemed that God fauouring him in all parts, his glorie could not be contained in this old world, but must haue an exhalation, and open another new world; not without the wonder of these our times, seeing that therein are found so many countries, nations and cities, which to the glory of Iesus Christ are sealed with the characters of his holy baptisme. After the Emperour had intelligence of his election, comming into *Germany* and being crowned in *Aken*, he held a Diet or Councell in *Wormes*; whither was summoned to appeare MARTIN LVTHER; who three yeeres before had preached and written. In this Councell the Emperour ordained that all LVTHERS bookes should be burnt; and with his owne hand he wrote a decree against him, thereby inhibiting all the Princes of *Germany*, neither to relieue him, neither to giue eare to him; and therewithall he banished him from his court, and from all the cities of the Empire. And whilest he was busied hereabouts, he was aduertised, that in *Spaine* was made a great insurrrection by reason of his absence; but he writing to the Cardinall ADRIAN, who had bin his schoolmaster, and to the Admirall of *Castile*, those tumults were pacified: then he resolued to take armes against the King of *France*, who was his greatest competitor in his election to the Empire; and making a league against him with Pope LEO the tenth, (vnder pretext of restoring FRANCIS SFORCE to the Duchy of *Milan*) hee recouered the citie of *Turnay* in *Flaunders*, which the French had possessed many yeares before. But Pope LEO dying, he made a confederacie with Pope ADRIAN who had bin his schoolmaster, and making wars against the French in *Lombardy*, and entring into a league with the King of *England*, he returning to visit *Spaine*, pardoned the sedicious of that prouince, where he with great curtesie entertained FRANCIS CORTES, who for him had discouered the West *Indies*: and then gaue order that the Iles of *Moloccas* should bee sought out, and to that effect came to an agreement with the King of *Portugall*, concerning the same discouery. Then returning to the affaires of *Italy*, he made a league with those potentates, in regard of restoring the Duke of *Milan*, (as it was said) but being abandoned hy his confederates, he sent the Duke of *Burbon* into *Italy*, to the reliefe of ANTHONY DE LEVA, who was besieged in *Pauia*; who comming to blowes with the French, FRANCIS the French King was there taken prisoner, together with al the principall Noblemen of his court. The Emperor being very ioyfull thereof, made the King to be brought to *Madrill*; who being there sore sicke, the Emperour going to visit him perswaded him to take it in good part: for he vnderstood by letters from the Marquis of *Piscara*, that all Christendome were ioyned in league against him for detaining the French King. After a new composition made, giuing his sister ELENOR to wife to the French King, he in consideration of two millions of gold, set him at libertie: and then hee himselfe taking to wife the daughter of the King of *Portugall*, with whom he was at variance for the Iles of *Moloccas*, to whom he afterwards morgaged the same Ilands for a certaine summe of money, celebrated his nuptials in *Seuil*, and going with his wife to *Granada*, he had intelligence of a league made against him, by the Princes of *Italy*, and the French King after his deliuerie out of prison: wherewith being highly offended, and hauing made his complaint to sundrie Ambassadours, he prouided for the warres;

A decree made by the Emperour against Martin Luther in the Councell at VVormes, whereby Luther was banished the Empire.

warres; and of his armie in *Italy*, made the Duke of *Bourbon* Generall, who perceiuing how much Pope CLEMENT did crosse the Emperour, hauing led his armie to *Rome*, and being there slaine, his armie sackt the citie. But after that the Pope (who had retired himselfe to a strong castle) was at libertie, and that the Emperour had accepted the challenge to fight in single combat with the French King, and had established the Prince of *Orange* for his Viceroy in *Naples*, he made peace with all Christian Princes. And thence being come into *Italy*, he was solemnely crowned in *Bologna*, by the hands of Pope CLEMENT the seuenth; and the Duchie of *Milan* being restored to FRANCIS SFORCE, who through suspition of rebellion had been in disgrace with him, he at the Popes entreatie sent the Prince of *Orange* to the enterprise of *Florence*, which being taken, he frankly bestowed the same vpon the house of MEDICIS. And being returned into *Germanie*, he in *Augsbourgh* made his brother FERDINAND to be crowned King of the Romanes: and there in the Diet discouering to the Princes the comming of the Turke into *Hungary*, he resolued to goe against the Turke to *Viena*, where, hauing offred to giue him battaile, the Turke basely, to the Emperours great honour, fled out of the countrie. Shortly after he sent his fleete vnder the conduct of ANDREVV DORIA, to the relieue of *Corone*, in the behalfe of the Greekes against the Turkes. And after that he had tamed the Lantzgraue, and punished the Anabaptists, he went to the enterprise of *Tunis*, to the end to restore the expulsed King thereof. And *Goletta* being taken, he ouerthrew BARBAROSSA, and set two and twentie thousand captiues at libertie. The King of *Tunis* being restored, he returned into *Italy*, and hauing visited *Naples* and *Rome*, he, contrarie to the opinion of his Captaines, inuaded the French King in *Prouence*: but being able to performe nought there, he tooke a truce with the King; and speaking with him and with the Pope together at *Nizza*, he returned into *Spaine*. And a league being made with the Pope and the Venecians against the Turke, they came to *Preuesa*, where the fleete (hauing done nothing) was discharged. Departing from *Spaine*, and being come to *Paris*, he being there highly feasted by the King, went thence into *Flanders* to punish the Gantois. But forasmuch as he according to his promise would not inuest the Duke of *Orleance* in the Duchie of *Milan*, they two againe fell out: but the matter being pacified, he attempted *Algier*, where hauing infortunate successe, he againe returned into *Spaine*, where he proclaimed the Duke of *Cleue* rebell. And then making a confederacie with the King of *England*, and hauing made the Spaniards sweare allegeance to his sonne PHILIP, he went against the said Duke. After which enterprise being returned into *Italy*, where he spake with the Pope at *Bussetto*; and afterwards in *Germany* hauing taken *Dura*, appertaining to the Duke of *Cleue*, from whom he had bereaued and againe restored to him his estate, giuing him a generall pardon, and bending his forces against *France*, he besieged *Landresi*. But being retired to *Cambray*, and hauing married his sonne PHILIP to MARY daughter of the King of *Portugall*, and againe inuaded *France*, taken *Landresi*, and put the Parisiens in extreme feare, hee made peace with King FRANCIS. In the meane time, warre was made against him by those Germane Princes which fauoured LVTHERS opinion, against which hauing leuied a mightie armie, and set vpon his enemies, he ouerthrew them: and hauing tamed many Princes and cities, he conuerted his armes against Duke IOHN FREDERICK, whom (hauing past the riuer *Albis*) he encountred in a wood, wherein he miraculously ouerthrew him. And besieging *Wittembergh*, he condemned the Duke to die, whom he for his wiues sake hauing pardoned,

and

and pacified matters in *Germany*, he vndertooke the enterprise of *Africa*. Then making a league with Pope IVLIVS the third, to the end to expell the French out of *Italy*, warres arose betweene him and MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, for the which, withdrawing himselfe to *Villaco*, and hauing made all sure that the Venecians should not molest him, he leuied a mightie armie: and being returned into *Germany*, and hauing daunted the Princes thereof, he besieged *Metz*. But finding that fortune began to leaue him, after that he had married his sonne PHILIP to MARY Queene of *England*, he renounced to him the kingdome of *Naples*. And finding himselfe tormented with the Gowt, he renounced to him all his kingdomes, and to his brother FERDINAND the Empire. And hauing resolued to giue ouer the cares of this world, he returned into *Spaine*, where (his chiefest care being for his soule) he liued accompanied by certaine Friers two yeeres after, and died with all the orders of their Church. But forasmuch as the renunciation which he made was one of the most notable matters that haue happened in the world, I will relate the same somewhat the more at large. I say then that it gaue the world great occasion to discourse of the reasons that might moue him to depriue himselfe of so high estate. Some say that his infirmitie being very grieuous, and he foreseeing that it would make an end of him, was the cause mouing him to that resolution. Others say, that he did it for anger to see himselfe bearded and ouer matcht by HENRY the French King. And others say, that he to auoide the crosse fortune, which (by the relation of certaine Astrologians) he knew would befall him, he (with great iudgement) resolued to retire himselfe, before it should be of power by any meanes to obscure the brightnes of that glorie, which he with so much trauaile had obtained. There were some also which said, that fortune began to shew him an angrie countenance when he made his retreit to *Villaco*, or when he set him downe before *Metz*. In such sort that some commending, and others reproouing this his resolution, all iudge diuersly of him. But howsoeuer it was, his sonne PHILIP departing out of *England* went into *Flanders* to see his father, who being resolued to put in execution what he before had protested, first made his sonne chiefe of the Order of the golden Fleez. And hauing done this in the morning, in the afternoone he solemnely renounced & gaue vnto him *Flanders*, with all the state, right and title to the Duchie of *Burgundie*, which he did in the presence of the said King, of the Queene Regent, of the Knights of his Order, and of all the states of the countrie, which were called and assembled together in *Brussels* expressely to that effect. But forasmuch as this was a ceremonie seldom seene, and therefore very notable, I will at large relate the same.

The renunciation made by the Emperour Charles of all his estates.

I say then that the greatest part of this companie being assembled in the Hall of the Imperiall palace, thither came CHARLES the Emperour, accompanied by his sonne the King, the Regent Queene MARY, the Duke of *Sauoy*, and many other great Lords; and being set, he commanded the King, the Queene, and some other the most principall to sit also. Which being done, a Counsellor of estate, whose name was BRVSSEL, in the behalfe of the Emperor, making an Oration, in summe shewed that the Emperour being sickly, and therefore vnable in person to endure trauaile as in time past he had done, and being now desirous to returne to see his kingdomes of *Spaine*, where the aire was more agreeable with his health, he had determined to transpose and renounce the countries of *Flanders* to his sonne the King of *England*, who was able to sustaine the charge, and was fit with loue and equitie to gouerne the same. The Counsellor hauing ended his speech, the Emperour taking the word, continued the discourse, with the helpe

of a little memoriall which he had in his hand, containing the principall points of what he had to say. He summarily recited the voyages, and all the enterprises of greatest importance, which he after the yeere 1517. that he departing *Flanders* went for *Spaine*, for the benefit of the common-wealth (as he said) he had vndertaken; repeating part of what the Counsellor had before declared; and concluding that he of force was constrained to renounce *Flanders* to his sonne, for that he was not able to gouerne the same as in former time vntill then he had done; wherein he said, that (as he thought) he had discharged his conscience: but if in ought he had swarued, he sware by his faith it proceeded not of will, but vnwittingly, for which he desired to be held excused; praying first to God, and then requesting his sonne to recompence the same. These speeches ended, he beginning to weepe made the greatest part of the assistance to weepe for companie. In the meane time, the King kneeling downe before his father humblie said to him, that he was vnworthie such fauour, neuertheless sith it was his Maiesties pleasure, he in the highest degree thanking him, accepted the charge, protesting to take care in such manner to gouerne the people with iustice, that he hoped they should be contented with him, reseruing to shew (by his deedes) the loue which he bare them; and turning to the Concistorie he said in French: I would my Lords that my skill in this language were more then it is, to the end that I might the better make you vnderstand what affection I beare you: but forasmuch as I cannot doe it so well as is requisite, the Bishop of *Arras* shal speake for me. The which Bishop taking the word openly deliuered his minde. After him Doctor IACOB MASIVS a very eloquent man and of the Kings Councell, who had the generall charge of the States of the Netherlands prouinces, speaking for them, said in effect in this manner: These Lords, gracious Soueraigne, for the great affection and fidelitie which they beare your sacred Maiestie, doe not onely marueile, but are much grieued, sith they haue serued the same with such loue and faith as is not vnknowne, that it should now in so turbulent times in such manner thus abandon them. Neuertheless, sith it is your Maiesties pleasure, and that the same holdeth it expedient, they are herein recomforted, in that your Maiestie hath put them into the hands of the most soueraigne King your sonne, to whom, notwithstanding that they are oppressed with warres, they will at all times, and in all occasions shew themselues most deuout and affectionate vassals, prest with bodie and goods to doe him seruice. Then the Queene standing vp reuerently said to the Emperor, that she had euer endeuoured to gouerne those countries in such manner, as she thought most expedient for his Maiesties benefit and the publike good; but if that peraduenture according to his desire, and her good meaning, she had not attained thereto, she humblie besought his Maiestie to pardon her. To whom the Emperour, with both his hand and his countenance, graciousnie made signe to be well pleased. And then she turning her selfe towards the States, vsed (in a manner) the same words, and the same ceremonies which she had vsed to the Emperour. Then Doctor MASIVS humbling answering her, commended her gouernment, and in the name of them all gaue her great thankes. Not long after continuing in his determination, he gaue and resigned in *Brussels*, in the presence of the Regents, Secretaries, and his others officers of those prouinces, vnto the aforesaid King PHILIP, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, of *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, *Maiorica*, *Minorica*, together with the new countries of the *Indies*, and new world and all other parts appertaining to, or depending of the Crowne of *Spaine*; reseruing only some reuenues, for the maintaining of himselfe and his familie reduced to a small

ſmall number of ſeruants. Beſides this, before his departure from *Flanders* for *Spaine*, he not onely gaue to his brother FERDINAND King of the Romanes full and abſolute power and authoritie to gouerne the Empire for him as his Lieutenant, but he alſo freely renounced to him the title, ſcepter, and dignitie of Emperour, giuing him place (vſing his owne words) as if his perſon had been dead and deceaſed; ſo as he voluntarily depriued himſelfe of his Monarchie. A thing (truly) worthie conſideration, and from the time of the Emperour LOTHARY in ſo many ages vntill this time neuer happened in any ſo great and ſo mightie a Chriſtian Prince. As well ſaith LEVVES GVICCIARDIN in his Commentaries, out of which we haue drawne this diſcourſe, as from a man who liuing in *Antwerpe*, and being deſirous of the truth, hath recounted what he did vnderſtand, and (as a man may ſay) did ſee.

THE LIFE OF FERDINAND, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND CXVI. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

THis preſent life of the Emperour Ferdinand, containeth his countrey, his parentage, his education, and where he was brought vp; how he became Lord of Auſtrich, Bohemia, Hungary, and Tranſiluania; his warres with Iohn Sepuſius, the taking of Buda, with the ſiege of Vienna; when he was created King of the Romanes, his agreement made with the ſaid Iohn, the difference betweene Frier George and him; the often comming of Soliman into Hungary; the Inſurrections in Germany againſt the Emperour Charles the fifth, the diſpleaſure of Pope Paul the fourth, the creating of Maximilian for King of the Romanes, his conuerſation and behauiour, and the children which he had by his wife Anne, ſiſter to Lewes King of Hungarie.

AMong the many townes worthie reſpect, in the kingdome of *Toledo* in *Spaine*, it is certaine (as it appeareth by the Chronicles thereof) that *Alcala Denara* in ancient time, euer hath been, and ſtill is, one of the

The birth of Ferdinand, when, and who was his father.

chiefe; wherein beſides the men of ſingular valour which in time paſt haue liued therein, in the yeere of the incarnation of the ſonne of God 1503, vpon the tenth day of May, in the ſame yeere; FERDINAND of *Auſtrich* of that name the firſt Emperour of the Weſt, was borne; whoſe father was PHILIP the firſt of that name King of *Caſtile*, and ſonne of the Emperour MAXIMILIAN; his mother was IOANE, daughter of FERDINAND and ISABEL King and Queene of *Spaine*, who by reaſon of the vnexpected ſuddaine death of his father (which happened in the yeere 1506) remaining vnder the tutele of his Grandfather FERDINAND (commonly called the Catholike) was by him (by meanes of the excellencie of his wit, beſides the exerciſe of armes) carefully inſtructed in diuers languages; principally in the puritie of the Latin tongue, wherein, in ſhort ſpace he profited ſo much, that to the great admiration of all men, he prooued no leſſe a moſt actiue Knight in armes, then a perfect Orator in the Latin, Dutch, Spaniſh, Italian, Hungariſh and Bohemian tongues; ſo as all men did prognoſticate him to proue a Prince of ſingular valour: and this made him the more accounted of, for that by all men generally which knew them, he was likened to FERDINAND the third, who by force of armes tooke *Seuil* from the Moores, from whom by his mother, he deſcended. That FERDINAND for his many vertues, was no leſſe numbred amongſt the bleſſed, then reputed happie amongſt all the Kings of *Spaine*, for being father of King ALONSO, which for his rare knowledge in Sciences, was ſurnamed the Sage: who in the long ſchiſme of the Empire, in the yeere 1258, being by the greateſt part of the Princes Electors of the Empire choſen Emperor; by the perſwaſion of Pope GREGORY the tenth, for the common quietnes of Chriſtendome, voluntarily reſigned, and gaue vp his right thereto, after that he had enioyed the name of Emperor the ſpace of ſixteene yeeres, approouing and ratifying the ſucceſſiue election of RODVLPH the firſt of that name, from whom from father to ſonne this FERDINAND lineally deſcended.

This Iſabell together with her husband Ferdinand draue the Moores out of Granada anno dom. 1487.

This FERDINAND being brought vp in *Spaine*, vnder the Catholike King, was for his rare qualities ſo much beloued by the Spaniards, that his brother CHARLES in the yeere 1520. remaining (through the death of his Grandfather FERDINAND, which happened in the yeere 1516.) heire generall of the kingdomes of *Spaine*, of both the *Secilies*, of the Weſt *Indies*, of *Burgundie*, and *Auſtrich*; and in the yeere 1519. through the death of his Grand-father MAXIMILIAN, choſen to weare the Imperiall Diadem, was by thoſe which (tumultuouſly mutinying vnder the name of the holy aſſembly) rebelled againſt his brother CHARLES, by reaſon of the vnmeaſurable oppreſſions laid vpon them by his polling officers, inſtantly requeſted and entreated to make himſelfe King of *Spaine*; whereto not conſenting, (much more eſteeming the preſeruation of his faith, by refuſing thoſe eſtates, then the greatnes of them, by violating the ſame to his eternall infamie) with ſingular integritie of minde, he not onely refuſed their offer, but vſed all meanes poſſible to retaine thoſe kingdomes in his brothers ſubiection: for which, he was euer after entirely beloued by him. Who returning into *Spaine* in the yeere 1529. not onely reconfirmed vnto him, the donation of the Archduchy of *Auſtrich* (the ancient patrimonie of their family) made ouer to him by teſtament, by their Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, by his brother CHARLES his conſent, to whom as to the eldeſt ſonne it did appertaine; but he alſo freely gaue him the dominion of *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*, with the Counties of *Tirol*, *Habſpurge*, and *Haſſia*: hauing firſt in the Diet or Councell

at

at *Wormes*, declared him (to the good liking of the Princes Electors) his Lieutenant, and Imperiall Vicar in *Germany*; whither within a while after this graunt going in the yeere 1521. he was honorably receiued by the Germanes; as Vicar of the Empire, was with great magnificence, met by all the Potentates: wherein making no long abode, he went to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, to the great good liking of that people. In the ſame yeere he celebrated his contracted nuptials, with ANNE ſiſter of LEWES King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; renewing the oathes ſworne in the yeere 1515. betweene his Grandfather NAXIMILIAN, and LADISLAVS father of King LEWES; which were, that LEWES dying without iſſue, FERDINAND, or any other begotten by him, and his ſaid ſiſter ANNE, ſhould ſucceed in his kingdomes. But either through the iuſt wrath of God kindled againſt the manifold iniquities of the Hungars, or what other occaſion I know not, the two brothers in law had ſcarcely enioyed the beloued fruite of the eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion two moneths; but FERDINAND being moleſted by the inſtabilitie of fortune (ſeldome conſtant in proſperitie) was aduertiſed that SOLIMAN Emperor of the Turkes, being victorious for hauing ſubdued GAZELLES in *Soria* in the yeere 1516. And alſo for that his father SELIM, had in three ſeuerall battailes in the field, with incredible fortune, firſt ouerthrowne CAMPSON, and a little while after TOMOMBEY, Souldanes of *Egypt*. GAZELLES giuing place to fortune, and voluntarily yeelding himſelfe into the power of his victorious enemy, was with great fauour receiued into grace: ſo that notwithſtanding that the Empire of the Souldanes was extinguiſhed in *Egypt*, yet he hauing libertie was made Gouernor of *Soria* (not without much murmuring of the Turkiſh Captaines, his Lieutenants in that countrey.) Neuertheleſſe GAZELLES in the yeere 1519. being certified of the death of SELIM, thinking himſelfe now diſcharged of the oath of fealtie which he had ſworne vnto him onely (without any mention made of his ſucceſſors) and therewith earneſtly deſiring to reuiue the ancient dominion of the Souldanes, leuied the greateſt forces of Mamalukes, Arabians, and Syrians that he poſſibly could; with which rebelling, he made himſelfe Lord of ſundrie cities in *Soria*: againſt whom in the yeere 1520, SOLYMAN ſending FARAAT Baſha with a great armie; who fighting with him neere to the citie of *Damaſco*; GAZELLES being ſlaine in the battaile, obtained a notable victorie, which happened in the end of the yeere 1520. FERDINAND (as I ſaid) being aduertiſed that SOLIMAN being puft vp with pride by reaſon of his victorie, reſolued to warre in *Hungary*; wherein through the negligence of King LEWES, and want of reliefe from the Emperor CHARLES, or his Lieutenant FERDINAND, the Turkes making ſundry roades and incurſions into the land; in the end beſieged, battered, and tooke the ſtrong citie of *Belgrade*, in auncient time called *Taurinum*, ſituated in *Angularie Forme*, betweene the riuers *Sauus* and *Danubius*. But FERDINAND as it ſeemeth taking more care to ſuppreſſe LVTHERS doctrine, then for the defence of *Hungary* againſt the Turkes; in a Councell held at *Norimburgh*, vpon grieuous penalties, prohibited the reading of the Bible, which LVTHER had tranſlated; but yet LVTHER neuertheleſſe being countenanced by IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, publiſhed his booke, wherein he toucht all the Romiſh Princes of *Germany*, but chiefly FERDINAND. Hereupon FERDINAND ſummoned a Councell to be held in *Ratisbone* in the yeere 1523, whither from Pope CLEMENT the ſeuenth, who ſucceeded ADRIAN the ſixth, came Cardinall LAVRENCE CAMPEIVS, to procure (although in vaine) the ſuppreſſion of LV-

Egypt taken by the Turkes.

Gazelles ouerthrowne and ſlaine by Farat Baſha. 1520.

Belgrade in Hungary taken by the Turkes.

THERS doctrine. About which matter FERDINAND hauing ſpent the yeeres 1523, and 1524, had intelligence that SOLIMAN after the taking of the Ile of *Rhodes* (which he vpon compoſition entred vpon the fiue and twentith day of December, being Chriſtmas day, in the yeere 1522, after that it had been by the Knights of the order, held and valiantly defended againſt the whole forces of the Infidels, for the ſpace of 214 yeeres, from the yeere 1380, at which time it was taken from the Infidels vntill then; and after that it had been now beſieged the ſpace of ſixe moneths, in which time the Turke loſt the greateſt part of his armie, for beſides thoſe which were ſlaine at the many aſſaults which were giuen, aboue 30000 died of the flix) threatned to bring greater calamities vpon the Chriſtians: amongſt which a man would haue thought, the long troubles of the former wars, in the yeere 1525 would haue ended. For the empriſonment of FRANCIS the firſt King of *France*, who by the Emperors Captaines, vpon the foure and twentith of Februarie in the ſame yeere, was taken at the battaile of *Pauia*, made moſt men to thinke that the Emperour would not haue releaſed him, without an aſſured peace with *France*; by which meane, he might dot onely haue been able to haue performed any great attempt, but alſo haue made fruſtrate SOLIMANS deſeignes. But as men in future accidents are moſt commonly deceiued in their opinions, ſo the affaires of the Chriſtians fell afterwards into farre worſe termes; for the moſt part of the Chriſtian Princes being mooued againſt the Emperor, either through griefe for the French Kings aduerſitie (a Prince for the worth of his perſon, and the greatnes of ſo floriſhing a kingdome highly eſteemed) or elſe for feare of their owne particular intereſt, doubting that he would haue aſpired to the abſolute Monarchie; the ſtate of Chriſtendome came to bee ſo confuſed and out of order, eſpecially in *Italy*, that mens iudgement proued not onely vaine, but the troubles haue continued a long time after. *Italy* being by reaſon of the warre, betweene the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, and FRANCIS the French King miſerably afflicted, the one enuying the others greatnes; the moſt of the Princes and ſtates in Chriſtendome were by the one or other (to the great trouble and enfeebling of the whole Chriſtian Commonwealth) drawne into the action; which SOLIMAN the great Turke perceiuing, was thereby encouraged with an armie to inuade *Hungary*; whereinto, hauing *Belgrade*, he had an open paſſage: againſt which, in the yeere 1525 he proclaimed open warre. It was reported that he was thereto incited by ſundrie principall Lords of the countrie, but chiefly by IOHN TISSI Vaiuode, a great enemie to King LEWES. Hereupon SOLIMAN in the yeere 1526, with an armie of 200000 men entring that kingdome, by often incurſions made into the land, prouoked King LEWES to fight; who hauing no ſufficient army to encounter ſo mightie an enemie; in the beginning wiſely refuſed to hazard his fortune (for of foote and horſe he had but 26000 men) but yet in the end through the vnaduiſed counſell of PAVL TOMOREVS Archbiſhop of *Coloſſa*; accuſtomed oftner by ſudden inuaſions to annoy the Turkes, then by vnequall battailes, he was raſhly induced (notwithſtanding that he was perſwaded to the contrarie by STEPHEN VERBETIVS Generall of his armie) to his great diſaduantage to giue battaile; wherein the credulous yong King hauing made good proofe of his valour, was ſo ouercharged by his enemies horſe troupes, that he was conſtrained to ſhift for himſelfe: and hauing no knowledge of the countrie, accompanied with a Page onely, paſſing through a moriſh fenny ground, his horſe fell with him; and he being oppreſſed with the waight of his armour, was in water and

Soliman the great Turke entred Hungary with an armie of 200000 men, animated thereto through the ciuill diſſention betweene the Chriſtian Princes.

The ouerthrow and death of Lewes King of Hungary.

and mire miſerably ſmothered and drowned. This battaile was fought the 29. of October, in the yeere 1526.

For the infortunate death of King LEWES, FERDINAND was very ſorrowfull; for beſides the loſſe of his friend and brother in law, he was aduertiſed that SOLIMAN beſides other places, without one blow ſtriken, had taken the citie of *Buda*; and that from thence, beſides the moſt excellent Artillerie which he found therein, he had carried the ſtatues of HERCVLES, APOLLO, and DIANA, moſt exquiſitely made in braſſe, and left there by the great MATTHEVV CORVINVS: and that with an infinite number of captiues, and loden with prey and bootie, he was returned to *Conſtantinople*. After SOLIMANS departure, King FERDINAND went into *Bohemia*, and therein was crowned together with his wife, who a little before was deliuered of a daughter called ISABEL, which afterwards was married to SIGISMVND King of *Poland*: and being in peace, King of *Bohemia*, he challenged to be alſo King of *Hungary*. But knowing that IOHN SEPVSIVS Vaiuode of *Tranſiluania*, after the celebration of the ſumptuous obſequies of King LEWES, notwithſtanding FERDINANDS former election, aſpiring to the kingdome, had made himſelf to be crowned King of *Hungary*; & at the ſame time had beſtowed vpon thoſe Lords which had aſſiſted him in the action, the principall eſtates of that kingdome, to the end that being obliged to him for receiued benefits, they ſhould not after their accuſtomed manner contriue ought againſt him; FERDINAND made himſelfe in *Bohemia* to be crowned King of *Hungary*, in the preſence of Doctor STEPHEN, and other Hungarian Lords his friends, which after the death of King LEWES came to ſee him.

Iohn Sepuſius Vaiuode of Tranſiluana crowned king of Hungary.

After this coronation, FERDINAND hauing leuied an armie, preſently marched therewith againſt IOHN SEPVSIVS, who by reaſon of the inequalitie of their powers ſtanding in ſome feare of him, departed from *Buda*, which after SOLIMANS departure was againe recouered by the Hungarians; and retiring himſelfe on the other ſide of the riuer *Tiſſa*, to *Toccay*, a place both by nature and arte very ſtrong; where, ſending to his friends in ſundrie parts for aide, he wrote two letters, one to the Princes Electors, entreating thē to giue no aide to FERDINAND againſt him: the other to the Emperor, therein exhibiting ſundrie complaints againſt the ſame FERDINAND. But FERDINAND pretending the kingdome of *Hungary* in right to be his; marching forwards with his armie, without any reſiſtance tooke *Buda*, and other principall places in that kingdome: and being vnwilling to giue his enemie time to recouer heart and courage, he without any great difficultie, paſſing the riuer *Tiſſa*, vpon a bridge made of boates brought thither for that purpoſe vpon carts, went to ſeeke him at *Toccay*, and within ſight of the caſtle making an Alt, made VALENTINE TVRAC Generall of his army; who in the day of battaile diuided the Cauallerie of *Stiria* and *Auſtrich* into two ſquadrons, in the middeſt betweene which he raunged his maine Battaillion, which of both the one and other army, were Hungarian footmen. Which order when FERENCE BODO, who was Generall of King IOHNS armie perceiued, he marſhalling his troupes in the like manner, perſwaded King IOHN with certaine troupes of choiſe horſe, to withdraw himſelfe to ſome place from the army, where he might, notwithſtanding any ſiniſter accident, ſaue himſelf. After whoſe example PHVL BARCHIT a Seruian, one of the chiefeſt Captaines of King FERDINANDS armie, retired himſelfe to a cloſe place, a good diſtance from the armie; with a determination to charge his enemies in flancke. To be briefe, the two armies ioyned in a battaile, wherein for a ſpace the fight was very doubtfull, for the

Ferdinand in Bohemia crowned king of Hungary.

Ferdinand entring Hungary vvith an army againſt Iohn Sepuſius taketh Buda.

The battaile of Toccay fought betweene Iohn and Ferdinand, both pretending to be Kings of Hungary.

left wing of King IOHNS battaile charging the right of the Stirian horſe, and gallantly ouerbearing them, had put king FERDINANDS people to rout, had not the men at armes of *Auſtrich* in reſcuing them, with ſuch furie charged the enemie, that they were conſtrained to retire fighting. In the meane time the footemen, which of either ſide were almoſt all Hungarians, fought with ſuch obſtinacie, that it was hard to iudge whether partie ſhould haue the better. So as, if BARCHIT with his troupe, which vntill then lay cloſe in an Ambuſcade, had not riſen and ſuddenly charged at vnawares, FERDINAND (as the report went) had had the worſt of the bargaine; but BARCHIT giuing a freſh charge, BODO, notwithſtanding that he that day, ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe a valiant Souldier then a prudent Captaine, often attempting in vaine to haue reformed his ſquadrons, being ouerborne by his enemie, was taken priſoner together with many other very excellent Captaines: and their campe being aſſaulted, their Ordenance and Colours were likewiſe loſt, and the whole troupes were ſo much diſordered, that they running away, left all their baggage to the Auſtrians. Which when King IOHN perceiued, he ſo faſt as his horſe could beare him, fled, and holding himſelfe not to be in ſafetie in his owne countrie, fled into *Poland*, where by IEROM LASKY a Nobleman of that countrey he was honorably entertained. And FERDINANDS Captaines entring *Tranſiluania*, all the countrie, together with what in *Hungary* held for him, without any reſiſtance yeelded to be at his deuotion. But foraſmuch as BODO, vpon promiſe of libertie, would not renounce his oath made to King IOHN, and ſo beare armes againſt him, he was by King FERDINANDS commandement caſt into a dungeon, wherein of griefe and ſorrow he died miſerably.

King Iohn flieth into Poland.

After this victory FERDINAND made himſelfe together with his wife in *Alba Regalis*, to be ſolemnly crowned King of *Hungary* by the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, who forſaking King IOHN came to FERDINAND, bringing with him the crowne of STEPHEN King of *Hungary*, which amongſt the Hungarians was held in great veneration. Shortly after, FERDINAND leauing STEPHEN BATOR for Viceroy of that kingdom (to be aſſiſted by the Biſhop of *Strigonium*) went into *Bohemia*, and thence into *Auſtrich*, wherein, vpon the firſt day of Auguſt in the yeere 1527. his Queene bare him a ſonne, who was chriſtened MAXIMILIAN, and in proceſſe of time comming to be Emperour was called MAXIMILIAN the ſecond. FERDINAND hauing ſo happely gotten the kingdome of *Hungary*, was very earneſt with his brother CHARLES the Emperour to releaſe Pope CLEMENT the ſeuenth, taken priſoner by the Duke of *Bourbon* Generall of the Emperours armie in *Italy*, the ſame yeere, vpon the ſixth day of May, a fatall day in ancient time to *Rome*: which he did to the end to auoide further cauſe of diſcontentment amongſt the Chriſtian Princes: for the greatnes of the houſe and ſtate of *Auſtrich* being become odious and ſuſpect to all Chriſtendome, it ſeemed that by long detaining the Pope, the hatred and ill will conceiued againſt it, would daily encreaſe: which reaſons induced the Emperour after ſeuen moneths impriſonment to ſet Pope CLEMENT at libertie, although vpon hard conditions.

Stephen Viceroy of Hungary for King Ferdinand.

Pope Clement the ſeuenth releaſed out of priſon.

King IOHN after the battaile of *Toccay*, being expulſed his kingdom, fled to IEROME LASKY, a Nobleman of great account among the Polonians, by whom he was moſt honorably entertained, not without the knowledge and conſent of SIGISMVND King of *Polonia*, who notwithſtanding their affinitie was nothing pleaſed with FERDINANDS greatnes. To be briefe, IEROME LASKY counſelling

King

King IOHN to craue aide of SOLIMAN the Emperor of the Turks, went himselfe Ambassadour (King SIGISMVND winking thereat) to *Constantinople*, where he so behaued himself amongst the Bashaes, that SOLIMAN taking IOHN into his protection, with promise to restore to his kingdom, proclaimed warre against *Hungary*. Wherewith FERDINAND seeing himselfe destitute of sufficient forces to withstand the Turkish power; and that by reason of the warres amongst the Christians, chiefly in *Italy*, he could not haue such aide from his brother the Emperor as the necessitie of the cause required, he was much grieued: neuertheless to cleere himselfe from blame, acquanting the Emperor with all matters, he sought meanes to obtaine of SOLIMAN (according as LADISLAVS and LEVVES Kings of *Hungary* had done) truce for some yeeres; and to that effect sent IOHN OBERDANSKA very wise man to *Constantinople*; who after many practises could bring no other answere from SOLIMAN, but that if FERDINAND did not restore IOHN to the kingdome of *Huagary*, he would make him to know how much the Turkes power was to be feared: with which answere, OBERDANSK being driuen out of *Constantinople* returned into *Hungary*, where relating SOLIMANS proud answere to the Councell, he went to *Spire* to FERDINAND, who at that time was busied in councell about matters of religion. FERDINAND vpon this answere standing in great doubt of the Turkes forces, made all the prouision that the breuitie of the time would permit: but the yeere 1529 being come, in the beginning of the spring, SOLIMAN commanding his Bashes to draw his forces to an head, came in person with 140000. men to *Belgrado*, where, by meanes of his fauourite LEVVES GRITTI, sonne of ANDREVV GRITTI (at that time Duke of *Venice*) and of ABRAIN Basha, gently receiuing IOHN with many other Hungarian Lords, he againe promised to restore him to his kingdome: wherewith IOHN being very ioyfull, with many his friends followed the Turkish armie; which being departed from *Belgrado* was already before *Buda*. Those in *Buda* being in extreme feare presently yeelded to SOLIMAN; who entring the citie, sought with as great speede to haue had the fortresse, guarded by THOMAS NADASKY a Captaine for FERDINAND; who valiantly resisting the enemie, was within few daies (to the great reproch of Christian souldiers) betraied by those Germanes which FERDINAND left there in garrison: which perceiuing that the enemie with mines and other militarie stratagems sought to occupie the place, willing to prouide for themselues, and to the end that NADASKY should be no impediment vnto them bound him, and then yeelding to SOLIMAN, with their liues and goods saued, gaue vp the fortresse. Whereinto when the Turke came, knowing the treason of the souldiers, and moued with a noble disdaine, he presently set NADASKY at libertie, and made his souldiers cut all those to pieces which had committed so shamefull a villanie; making no conscience to breake his faith sworne to men so vile and so vnworthie to liue in the world. SOLIMAN hauing (without effusion of bloud) gotten the citie of *Buda*, presently sent his armie towards *Viena* in *Austrich*; and comming before the same vpon the sixe and twentith day of September in that present yeere, he besieged the citie in fiue parts, hauing first by the way taken *Altenburg* and the fiue Churches. From thence with great velocitie he made his horse troupes to ouerrunne the countrie so farre as *Lintz*, (many miles distant from *Viena*) which doing much harme, and loden with bootie, and many prisoners, returned to the campe; which being diuided into many parts, continually infested *Viena*. The Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other excellent Captaines, being therein for the defence thereof in the behalfe of

John Sepusius sueth to the Turke for aide.

Ferdinand sueth to the Turk for truce, but in vaine.

Anno Dom. 1529.

Soliman with an armie of 140000 men entreth Hungary.

Soliman contrary to his promise put to the sword all the souldiers in the Castle of Buda.

Viena besieged by Soliman.

FERDI-

FERDINAND, vſed all meanes to fruſtrate the enemies attempts; which beſieging the citie by land, had intelligence that the fleete which came vp the riuer *Danubius* with great ſtore of Ordenance to batter the citie, was for the moſt part by WOLFANG of *Oder* Gouernour of *Poſon*, beaten and ſunke in the *Danuby*, which then was ſwolne extraordinarily high, by reaſon of much raine which fell at that time. Whereof when SOLIMAN was certified, he with the reſt of the Artillerie which eſcaped WOLFANGS furie, ſo thorowly beate *Viena*, vpon the fiftenth day of October, that he miſt but little to haue taken it: but being repulſed by the valour of thoſe which had the guard thereof, he was conſtrained after that he had giuen many fierce aſſaults thereto, to retire with the loſſe of 80000. men; and the ſooner, hauing intelligence that FERDINAND with a great number of Bohemians and Morauians came to the reliefe thereof. Which making him to doubt that his people being weakened with the warres, would be vnapt to make head againſt FERDINANDS freſh troupes, he reſolued to raiſe his ſiege and to depart. And being departed with ſo great loſſe of his people, and hauing in vaine ſought to allure thoſe of *Viena* to giue vp the citie vpon compoſition, he went to *Buda*; where confirming King IOHN King of *Hungary*, calling him his friend and vaſſall, and leauing LEVVES GRITTI with him for his counſellor, he with a determination to returne againe the next ſpring with greater forces, leading with him about ſome 40000 captiues, returned to *Conſtantinople*.

Soliman raiſeth his ſiege from before Viena.

Shortly after SOLIMANS departure, FERDINAND came to *Viena*, from whence aduertiſing his brother the Emperour of all what had happened, he tooke order for the reedifying of the citie, which together with all the countrie round about was in a manner wholy deſtroyed, and then ſhortly after returned into *Germany*, very ioyfull for the newes of the peace concluded betweene the Chriſtian Princes, hoping that the Emperor being free from warres, would now haue ſuppreſſed LVTHERS ſuppoſed hereſie, which daily encreaſing, was in ſuch manner diſperſed, that many Princes of that countrie were of his opinion; by reaſon whereof there was nothing but Councels in *Germany* concerning religion: which to aboliſh was FERDINANDS chiefeſt care. But the yeere 1530 being come, and CHARLES being with the Imperiall Diademe by the Pope ſolemnely crowned in *Bologna* in *Italy*, vpon S. MATTHIAS the Apoſtles day (an ominous day to him) and afterwards going into *Germany*, and there celebrating the *Augsburgh* Diet, he tooke ſuch order, that FERDINAND by the Electors (after ſome contradiction) was choſen King of the Romanes; who being crowned in *Aken*, and the Emperour being gone into *Flanders* to viſit thoſe countries, went for feare of SEPVSIVS to *Viena*: for SEPVSIVS by the counſell of LEVVES GRITTI, daily incenſing the Turkes againſt FERDINAND, and in the end of the yeere comming into *Hungary*, ſpoiled ſuch countries as held for him: but King IOHN being deſirous to bring thoſe troubles to an end, he in ſuch manner ſolicited GRITTI to be an interceſſor for him, that SOLIMAN in the yeere 1532, much diſpleaſed with FERDINAND, proclaimed open warre againſt *Hungary*; and comming ſhortly after thither with an armie of 300000. men, he did ſo much harme in the countrie, that more could not be done. Which *Ferdinand* vnderſtanding (who at that time being with the Emperour at the Diet at *Ratisbone* about matters of religion) was greatly troubled: and hauing no ſufficient power to reſiſt the Turkes forces, imploring aide of all the Potentates in Chriſtendome, he (by the Emperors meanes) obtained ſome of the Germane Princes: and the Emperour cauſing a great number of his footmen to come into *Germany*, reſolued with the aſſiſtance of other

Soliman came into Hungary with 300000. men.

Chriſtian

Christian Princes, in person to ioyne with him; particularly with the aide of Pope CLEMENT the seuenth, who with 9000 men paid, sent his Nephew the Cardinall HIPPOLITO DE MEDICIS, with all the succours that possibly in time of such discord (especially betweene *France* and *Italy*) could be gotten. And in such sort the matter was handled, that the Emperour and his brother FERDINAND hauing 90000 footemen, and 30000 horse, taking their way towards *Viena*, resolued to fight with SOLIMAN; who proudly reiecting FERDINANDS Ambassadors sent to treate with him of a league, he with such furie assailed in many parts, such places as held for the said FERDINAND in *Hungary*, that he did infinit harmes; for besides the desolation of townes, he in person with such furie bent his forces against the citie of *Guinz*: and LEVVES GRITTI left in *Hungary* with SEPVSIVS after the siege of *Viena*, likewise assailing *Strigonium*, and making incursions by his Captaines into the countrie, did put the Hungars in such feare, that many of them abandoning their houses, retired to the Christians army lying entrenched without the walles of *Viena*; whither it was thought that SOLIMAN in the end would haue come: but he failing of his purpose to get the citie of *Guinz*, and fearing the Emperors fortune; after that he had harried the countrie, and taken many prisoners, retired to the other side of the riuer *Mura* into *Carinthia*; and from thence leading his armie in great disorder, with dishonour to *Belgrado*; and there not holding himselfe fully in safetie, he shortly after went to *Constantinople*; being first greatly annoyed by the Christian Cauallery, which following his campe to *Belgrado*, did much annoy him in the arrierguard. SOLIMAN being departed out of *Hungary*, FERDINAND vsed all meanes to draw the Emperour to attempt the recouerie of *Buda*; but forasmuch as he could not perswade him to stay in that countrie, he obtained of him to leaue the Italian footemen together with Cardinall HIPPOLITO there in garrison, against the Turkes: but they vnwilling to stay any longer mutinying, by the perswasion of one MARKE DA VOLTERRA putting themselues in order, in a great rage returned into *Italy*: with which their departure FERDINAND was so discontented, that comming to a composition with IOHN SEPVSIVS, he graunted him during his life, peaceably to enioy such part of *Hungary* as then was at his deuotion; by reason whereof the warres for that time being ended in *Hungary*, FERDINAND bent his forces against the Lantzgraue PHILIP, who being an enemie to the house of *Austrich*, induced VLRICH Duke of *Wittembergh* (assisted by FRANCIS the French King) to take armes against FERDINAND, for the recouerie of his estate by the Emperour taken from him, and giuen to FERDINAND at the Diet at *Ratisbone*, in which action the Duke so valiantly behaued himselfe, that to FERDINANDS great losse and detriment, he recouered his Duchie: in whose behalfe sundrie Princes in *Germany* in such manner carried themselues towards the Emperour and FERDINAND, that they permitted the Duke peaceably to enioy his estate: yet vpon condition, that from thenceforth the Duke should neuer neuer take armes against either FERDINAND or the house of *Austrich*.

The Emperor Charles left the warres against the Turke in Hungary to goe to warre against Christians in Italy.

After this peace, FERDINAND receiued letters from LEVVES GRITTI, importing a request, which was, that if FERDINAND would be content to permit GRITTI during his life in peace to enioy the kingdome of *Hungary*, he would so deale with SOLIMAN, that he should confirme the same after GRITTI his decease to FERDINAND and his heires: which his demaund refused by FERDINAND did so throughly anger GRITTI, that comming with 7000 foote

and

and horſe (left him by SOLIMAN into *Tranſiluania*) he did much harme in FERDINANDS countries; wherein whileſt he was with his armie, it was told him that the Biſhop of *Varadin*, with a great number of men comming in ſhew to viſit him, had a determination to make himſelfe King. Whereupon GRITTI doubting what might follow, commaunded VRBANE BATIAN to giue to IOHN DOCCIA (a great enemie to the Biſhop, and by whom the rumor was ſpred that the Biſhop aſpired to the crowne) a troupe of horſe, to the end that he apprehending the Biſhop might ſend him to *Conſtantinople* to SOLIMAN. With which horſe, DOCCIA went couertly to the Biſhops tent, and apprehending him ſmote off his head, and preſented the ſame to GRITTI. Which fact was ſo infinitly diſpleaſing to that people, and made GRITTI ſo extremely odious to them, that they to the number of 40000 men riſing in armes againſt GRITTI, beſieged him in *Megeſt*, wherein hauing no reliefe either from King IOHN, or from the Moldauians, he was in the end in hope to haue eſcaped, by a wile drawne out; and being by the Moldauians betrayed, was miſerably put to death, in reuenge of the Biſhop, of whoſe death he was moſt innocent: for he knowing nothing of the hatred betweene DOCCIA and the Biſhop, but onely commaunded the Biſhop to be apprehended: and ſo being deceiued by DOCCIA, haſtened his owne death and his childrens, which together with their father in the furie of the people were miſerably ſlaine. After whoſe death King IOHN comming into *Tranſiluania*, within few daies became Lord thereof; but being euer moleſted by FERDINAND, he was conſtrained to ſue to SOLIMAN for aide; who vnderſtanding of the miſerable death of GRITTI, was much diſcontent; but being certified that King IOHN was neither author, nor acceſſarie thereto; and therewith beleeuing that FERDINAND had procured the ſame, he ſent MAHOMET TAIAGOLO, a moſt expert Captaine in the warres, with expreſſe commaundement continually to vexe FERDINAND. Whereupon comming into *Hungary*, he with daily incurſions ſpoyled his countries: but FERDINAND being by his ſubiects aduertiſed of the great harme done by the Turkes, ſo well garriſoned his frontiers, that they were not ſo lightly troubled. And vnderſtanding that Pope CLEMENT the ſeuenth was dead, and that PAVL the third, of the houſe of *Farneſe*, was choſen in his place, he ſent to yeeld him ſuch obedience, as to ſuch Princes was then accuſtomed, and therewith ſought in the meane time to haue ſuppreſſed LVTHER; whoſe opinions had alreadie cauſed much murmuring againſt the Pope in *Germany*. In which actions that preſent yeere being ſpent, and the yeere 1535 being begun, he furniſhed his brother the Emperour with men; who being called by MVLEASSES King of *Tunis*, went to the enterpriſe of *Barbary*; and helping to bridle the Anabaptiſts, which had expulſed the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and a long time had defended themſelues, he ſought to ſuppreſſe LVTHER. And hauing aduertiſement of the Emperours good ſucceſſe, who to the great annoyance of the Moores, had taken the kingdome of *Tunis*, he made ſignes of very great ioy. But the yeere 1536 being begun, and vnderſtanding that MAHOMET SANIACQVE of *Belgrado*, and IOHN SEPVSIVS continually infeſted his eſtate in *Hungary*, he put his armie in a readines for the next yeere; to the end to meete with the Turkes in their ſo often incurſions. And in the yeere 1537, he ſent his armie vnder the leading of IOHN CASIMIER, (a famous Captaine for the defence of *Vienna*) to get *Eſchio*, which is a very ſtrong place vpon the ſhoares ſide of the riuer *Sana*; where after many skirmiſhes comming to fight with MAHOMET, he was ſo ſhamefully ouer-

The death of Emerick Gibacchi Biſhop of Varadin and Vayuode of Tranſiluania.

The death of Lewes Gritti.

throwne,

throwne, that the greateſt part of his armie was taken by the enemie, LEVVES the Earle of *Lodron* particularly remaining dead in the place; a Captaine for his ſundrie attempts and ſeruices much eſteemed by FERDINAND. Who being extremely angrie with IOHN CASIMIER, notwithſtanding that he had giuen him a ſafe conduct, yet to the end that he ſhould anſwere for his baſe cowardize, he made him to be committed to priſon; from whence within few daies after eſcaping, he gat to MAHOMET, by whom being courteouſly entertained, he promiſed that whenſoeuer he would giue him a ſupply of men, he would make *Auſtrich* to reuolt, and would draw it to SOLIMANS deuotion; with which promiſe MAHOMET being highly pleaſed, giuing him ſome companies of footemen, he cauſed him to take the field, to attempt an enterprize ſo blame worthie; whereupon CASIMIER going to NICHOLAS SIDRIN, (a man of great power in thoſe countries) and ſeeking to haue induced him to his opinion, he was by him impriſoned, and ſhortly after put to death; whoſe head being ſpeedely carried to FERDINAND, SIDRIN obtained for a reward of ſo notable a deede, all that eſtate which had been CASIMIERS. And in the beginning of the yeere 1538, DEVELS ASSEMBER (a man of great account in *Behemia*) ſeeing the negligence of SEPVSIVS his people, gathered together certaine companies of foote and horſe; and going towards the countries guarded by the Turkes garriſons, particularly to the citie of *Toccay*, ſituate on the other ſide of the riuer *Tiſſa*, where he hauing eaſily ſurpriſed thoſe which had it in guard, in few howers he tooke it: and hauing almoſt wholy ſacked it, he went through the Citadel againſt a ſquadron of Turkes horſe, which vnderſtanding of the ſurpriſe of *Toccay*, came to relieue the garriſon; and comming to blowes with them, he ſo brake them, that they were conſtrained to retire; whereupon returning to the citie, and making an end of ſacking it; loden with prey, and hauing gotten certaine peeces of Artillerie, he returned; whereat FERDINAND greatly reioycing beſtowed many gifts vpon him. And the Emperor, the Pope, and the Venecians being ioyned together in league againſt the Turke, he was compriſed in the number of the Leaguers. And in the yeere 1539 FERDINAND helping his brother the Emperor to ſuppreſſe the Flemings, which rebelled againſt him, and tired with the continuall warres of *Hungary*, he came to an agreement with King IOHN vpon condition, that each of thē ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of what he held in *Hungary*, & that IOHN ſhould freely enioy the title of *king*: and if that IOHN ſhould haue no heires, that then the kingdome ſhould fall to FERDINAND and his heires: prouided alwaies that King FERDINAND ſhould conceale this agreement from SOLIMAN, of whoſe diſpleaſure IOHN ſtoode highly in feare. The matter was not ſo ſecretly handled, but that SOLIMAN had full notice of all the agreement, whereupon being angrie with IOHN, he oftentimes charged him with ingratitude; and had it not been for his friends, and (that which did more import) the warre with the Perſians, he had without doubt troubled him for it: who either for feare of SOLIMAN, or vpon ſome other occaſion, being a while after diſpleaſed with FERDINAND, he tooke to wife ISABEL daughter of SIGISMVND King of *Poland*; who within few moneths appearing to be with child, induced him to ſeeke to driue STEPHEN MAIALTO and BAILASSO out of *Tranſiluania*, both gouernors of that Prouince: the one of which, which was MAIALTO, notwithſtanding that he knew that SOLIMAN deadly hated him; yet he ſundrie times inſtantly ſued to haue bin by him crowned King of *Tranſiluania*: whereof IOHN being aduertiſed by SOLIMAN himſelfe,

to whom he was reconciled, he vnder colour of certaine tumults risen about *Angharia*, made warre against both the one and other Gouernour; either of which, by meanes of THOMAS NADASKY, brother in law to MAIALTO, being receiued into FERDINANDS protection, was holpen by him against King IOHN; but neither of them being of equall power to him, they were constrained, the one which was BAILASSO, to retire himselfe; and the other in *Megest* (a most strong place) was by King IOHNS souldiers besieged: But King IOHN vnderstanding that his wife Queene ISABEL in the meane time whilest he was about *Megest* had borne him a sonne, and desiring to be present at the publike ioy and feastings which were made; he so much distempered himselfe with drinking, that falling sicke he died within few daies after, leauing that child heire of that kingdome, vnder the protection of SOLIMAN, and of his mother, and of one Frier GEORGE. Who being nobly borne in *Croatia*, after some time spent in the seruice of King IOHN, became a Monke in *Buda*, where he had not long remained, but waxing wearie of the Monasticall life, he retayning still the habit went out of the Couent, and returned to the seruice of IOHN in *Polonia*: to whom (being expulsed his kingdome by FERDINAND, and remayning with IEROM LASKY) he did many seruices of importance; so as being very highly respected by him, he created him after the recouerie of *Transiluania*, and the rest of *Hungary*, Bishop of *Varadin*; and at his death, left him together with the Queene (mother to the child) Protector of the kingdome, who in the yeere 1540 compounding with MAIALTO, in the name of the Queene refused to stand to the agreement made betweene IOHN and FERDINAND: and temporising with him, leuied certaine companies of horse and foote: and to the end to be in the more safetie, suing to SOLIMAN for aide, as to the protector of the pupill, he together with the Queene and the young King retired to *Buda*: wherewith FERDINAND being highly offended, and therewith hoping to recouer that kingdome, he leuied an armie: and in the meane time, sending Ambassadors to SOLIMAN, he offered to giue him that tribute which King IOHN was wont to pay: but he first perswaded Queene ISABEL, that she contenting her selfe in peace to enioy *Transiluania*, should resigne the rest to him, according to the agreement made betweene him and her husband. But seeing that hee could obtaine neither the one nor the other of his demaunds, he sent LEONARD VELSCH one of his Captaines, with a great number of men of warre to molest the Queene. VELSCH entring the countrie of the young King, went from *Strigonium* to *Visegard*, which he tooke without any difficultie; and hauing taken it, stayed there certaine daies to refresh his armie. Then passing the riuer *Danuby*, and with the like celeritie hauing taken *Pesthe*, and *Vaccia*, he presented himselfe before *Buda*; wherein VALENTINE DVRAC (who in former time had serued FERDINAND) lay then in garrison. This DVRAC to his great credit withstanding VELSCH defended the citie, vntill that constrained by the Turkish souldiers, sent by the Saniacque of *Belgrado* to the relieue of the young King, and for that it was their intent, VELSCH retired to *Visgard*, where hauing in few daies space taken the Citadel, and garrisoned it, in the name of King FERDINAND; and wintring his people in the same place, without any molestation by the Turkes, vntill the end of that yeere, that in the yeere 1544 the Turkes with so great furie tooke the field; that hauing suddenly taken *Vaccia*, they sundrie times attempted *Pesthe*; where being resisted by the valour of the defendants, they departed, fearing that FERDINANDS armie (which to a good number were

Iohn Vayuoda of Transiluania died of a surfit in drinking.

The life of Frier George.

were come to make head against them) would haue broken them, whose assaults they could not so well auoide, but that they being in ill plight, they lost many of their Arrierguard. By reason of which good successe, FERDINAND hoping to haue taken *Buda*, gathered together 40000. men, which he sent vnder the conduct of WILLIAM ROCKENDOLPH, a Captaine of great worth, to take that citie. ROCKENDOLPH comming thither, gaue many attempts, but being euer valiantly repulsed by the besieged, so as he saw that by assault he could not take the citie, he resolued to trie what he could doe by a siege: and begirting it round, he so kept victuals from the citie, that had not Frier GEORGE vsed great diligence, the citie doubtlesse had yeelded. Neuertheless ROCKENDOLPH with words and threatnings frustrating the deuices of some seditious persons, continued the siege, vntill it was vnset by SOLIMAN. Who vnderstanding that *Buda* was in manifest daunger, sent MAHOMET Basha with many men of warre, and a great quantitie of victuals to the relieue thereof; promising to follow himselfe in person, as within few daies after he did. Which so much troubled ROCKENDOLPH that they forced him to retire into the Ile of *Comer*; for MAHOMET hauing victualled *Buda*, and being encamped within sight of FERDINANDS armie, after many skirmishes, he so much prouoked his enemies, that they ioyned with him in battaile; wherein, after sundry accidents, ROCKENDOLPH being ouerthrown, was constrained to flie, and many of his Captaines were taken prisoners. And MAHOMET Basha sending to visit the young King and Queene Mother, perswaded her to hope well of SOLIMAN the great Turke, who comming from *Adrianople* into *Hungary*, shortly after came to the camp, bringing with him a great number of souldiers, with a determination to free himselfe from troubles, and wholy to put FERDINAND out of all hope euer to recouer that estate. And sending his people to attempt *Strigonium*; after many presents made to the Queene, he caused the young King to be brought to the campe; where receiuing him with great humanitie, within a little while after hee made all those Lords which to doe him honour had accompanied him, to be detained prisoners. After the imprisonment of which, sending MAHOMET Basha to *Buda* to take the citie, he induced the inhabitants (by a vaine protestation) not to trust themselues to be at the deuotion of an Hungarian garrison; which those of *Buda* being vnable to withstand, too late vnderstood to what end the Barbarian was so readie to relieue them; who shortly after sending the young childe backe to his mother, sent her commandement that departing from *Buda*, she should retire her selfe on the other side of *Tebiscus*, to the citie of *Lippa*; wherein liuing in safetie free from FERDINANDS forces, she might quietly make her abode with the young King (whom in steede of STEPHEN in remembrance of his father hee called IOHN) vntill that he came to age fit to goueme his kingdome without tutors; promising that he should no sooner be able to goueme, but that hee would restore to him all what was his in his power.

Rockendolph sent by Ferdinand to attempt Buda.

Rockendolph ouerthrowne and put to flight by Mahomet.

Soliman in remembrance of Iohn caused his sonne whose name was Stephen to be called Iohn after his fathers name.

Queene ISABEL departing then from *Buda* and retiring to *Lippa*, left in the Barbarians power all that was held for her sonne in *Hungary*; in vaine repenting that she had not compounded with FERDINAND. Who being aduertised of the losse of *Buda*, was very sorie that a place so fit, and of such importance for all Christendome, should fall into the hands of so mightie an enemie; but vnable to remedie it, he applied himselfe to the fortifying of those townes which he held in *Hungary*. And about the middest of the yeere, he obtained of sundrie Princes aide against the common enemie. And in the yeere 1542 the Councell of *Trent*

was assembled, whither FERDINAND sending his Ambassadours, obtained of Pope PAVL three thousand Italian footmen, vnder the leading of ALEXANDER VITALLI, and SFORCE PALLAVICINA; and getting other succours from other Princes, he made IOACHIM Marquis of *Brandenburgh* Generall in the action; who attempting to take *Pesche* and *Buda*, which were again come into the power of King IOHN (from whence SOLIMAN was a little before departed towards *Constantinople*) but all his attempts prouing frustrate, he to his great shame and losse retired, repulsed by those which SOLIMAN left there in garrison, together with many of King IOHNS Captaines, left there also by SOLIMAN, to colour the barbarous breach of his faith: from whence IOACHIM retiring, by reason of the cold season of the yeere, that yeere passed: and in the beginning of the yeere
Anno 1543. 1543, FERDINAND againe tried his fortune, which shewing it selfe no more fauourable then ordinarie, so much encouraged his enemies, that they not onely repulsed his forces, but within few daies space were masters of *Strigonium*, *Alba Regalis*, and other places in *Hungary*; so as FERDINAND vnwilling any further to hazard his fortune, seeing how slackly he was relieued by his friends, tooke a truce with SOLIMAN; and so disbanding his armie, and fortifying those places which remained, he applied himselfe to the repairing of his owne affaires, which by reason of the long continuance of the warres, were incredibly out of order.

Ferdinand tooke truce with the Turkes.

FERDINAND hauing in this manner accorded with SOLIMAN, vsed all meanes to let the meeting of the Princes of *Germany* in *Smalcalde*, with the Ambassadors of the free townes, which (as the fame went) were assembled to the preiudice of the Emperour. Which, for that he could not effect, he assaied to make peace betweene the Emperour and the French King, notwithstanding that in both the one and the other he found great difficultie: neuertheless he so handled the matter, that in the beginning of the next yeere they agreeing vpon sundrie conditions, in the yeere 1544 the articles of peace were confirmed by them both. In the beginning of the yeere 1545, FERDINAND sent his Ambassadours to the Councell of *Trent*, to the end that the disagreement in matters of religion in *Germany* might be redressed, according to the Emperours desire: but he seeing the ill will which the assemblie at *Smalcalde* bare to the Emperour, and that the same encreased, he by his letters perswaded each of them to quietnes: which perswasions taking no effect, the Emperour came from *Flanders* into *Germany*; where obtaining aide from the Duke of *Florence*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and from euery Potentate in *Italy* some, but chiefly from Pope PAVL, who seeing that the warre should be waged against the Lutherans, contemners of his Holines, sent him twelue thousand footmen, and sixe hundred horse, commaunded by his nephew OCTAVIVS FARNESE, the Emperours sonne in law, with his brother the Cardinall ALEXANDER FARNESE, Legate *A Latere* for his Vncle the Pope. With which supplies, the Emperour hauing in the yeere 1546 and 1547 distressed his enemies, he restored the Duke of *Bruinswick* to his estate; who from the yeere 1543, had by the Lantzgraue, and IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, liued depriued of his Duchie: and notwithstanding the promise made to Duke MAVRICE, assuring him that the Lantzgraue should be restored to his countries, yet he neuertheless was likewise taken prisoner, the same day, that according to the agreement, they spake together. So as *Germany* being in short space in quiet, and Duke IOHN FREDERICK depriued of the dignitie of Elector, and together with many other Captains of the league committed to prison, in the yeere 1547 FERDINAND went against the Bohemians, which in the behalfe of the Duke of

Peace betweene the Emperour and the French King 1544.

The Pope sent twelue thousand foote and sixe hundred horse to the Emperour to aide him in his warre against the Protestants.

Saxony

Saxony rebelled against him; and being come into the kingdome, after much resistance and apparant daunger of his person, he at length gat the castle of *Prage*; wherein being entred, he put the Bohemians in such feare, that notwithstanding the many difficulties, yet he subdued them in such manner that they yeelded them absolutely to his mercie. And so hauing accõplished this enterprise, he sent his eldest sonne MAXIMILIAN with certaine gallant troupes of horse to the aide of his brother the Emperour, and he himselfe in the meane time neuer desisting, together with Duke MAVRICE, to trouble Duke IOHN FREDERICK; in the day of the battaile beyond the riuer *Albis*, he not onely assisted his brother with his forces, but with certaine very good troupes of horse came thither in person, where he shewed himselfe no lesse a valiant man at armes, then a most prudent Commaunder. After which victorie returning into *Bohemia*, he celebrated the obsequies of his wife ANNE, which in the beginning of the yeere died in Childbed: which obsequies hee could no sooner solemnize, by reason of the warres in *Germany*, and of the Insurrections in *Hungary*.

FERDINAND hauing ended the warres of *Bohemia*, and holpen his brother to suppresse his enemies; in the yeere 1548. holding a Sinode with the Emperour in *Augsburgh*, there were published fifteene Institutions appertaining religion, with expresse order, that the same should be obserued, vntill the dissolution of the Councell of *Trent*; which ordenance was called an Interim; wherein were contained in all what was commaunded to be beleeued, vntill the determination of the said Councell. After which publication, the Emperour willing that his sonne PHILIP Prince of *Spaine*, should be acknowledged by the Netherlanders for their legitimate and naturall Lord, he married his daughter MARY to MAXIMILIAN Archduke of *Austrich*, eldest sonne to his brother FERDINAND; to the end that they should make their residence in *Spaine*, vntill the returne of Prince PHILIP; and purchasing a dispensation from the Pope, he publishing the nuptials, sent him into *Spaine*, accompanied by the Cardinall of *Trent*, and the Earle of *Mansfelt*, and many other of the Germane and Bohemian Nobilitie. But first before his departure, he obtained for him of his father FERDINAND the kingdome of *Bohemia*, to the end that hee should come into *Spaine* with the greater dignitie, where as gouernour of those countries he remained vntill the returne of Prince PHILIP.

Ferdinand gaue the kingdome of Bohemia to his sonne Maximilian.

In the yere 1551, FERDINAND receiued letters from SOLINAN the great Turke, wherein he shewing himselfe discontented with both FERDINAND and the Emperour also, for that ANDREVV DORIA had taken the citie of *Africa* from DRAGVT RAIS a Pirat; he protested that if it were not rendred, he would cruelly reuenge the iniurie done to his Captaine DRAGVT. Whereto FERDINAND made answere, that forasmuch as the Pirates were not comprised in the Articles of agreement, neither he neither his brother were bound to any thing. With which answere dispatching the messenger, in the moneth of May, he sent IOHN BAPTISTA CASTALDO into *Transiluania* to assist Frier GEORGE against Queene ISABEL; who hauing in former time drawne great part of the Transiluanians to her deuotion, and sought to conserue that prouince for her sonne, fell at open variance with the Frier. Who ambitiously desiring to continue in his gouernment, gaue FERDINAND to vnderstand that the Queene hoping by the Turkes meanes to hold that countrey, was againe risen against him, and sought to driue him out of that estate: which for that he knew to be very preiudiciall to all Christendome, he had aduertised him thereof; therewith entreating him, that for the

Iohn Baptista Castaldo sent into Transiluania, to aide Frier George against the Queene.

the preseruation of the countrie, he would be pleased to relieue him against the Queenes inuasions, which daily troubled him.

FERDINAND induced by these reasons, sent (as before is said) CASTALDO to the Frier, who as his Lieutenant Generall comming to *Agria*, leuied 5700. footmen and 1700 horse, with which passing the riuer *Tissa*, he went to *Debrezen*, where finding ANDREVV BATTOR, and THOMAS NACLAIDI, principall Lords of that kingdome, he went into *Transiluania*: where, whilest he the space of three moneths besieged *Colosuarre* in the behalfe of the Frier, he was aduertised that the Frier through a new composition with the Queene, hauing taken *Alba Iulia*, was retired from the warres; and that he had neuertheless sent him word, that if he would meete him at *Egnet*, he would speake with him. Whither CASTALDO being come, after many discourses and treaties past betweene them, obtaining of the Frier the citie of *Alba Iulia* to winter his people in; he had word from the Queene, that she would come to an agreement with FERDINAND, according to the couenants made with her husband: so that after many conuentions comming to *Colosuarre*, whither were alreadie come the most part of the Lords of that kingdome, ISABEL in the name of her sonne renounced, and gaue vp the kingdome and estate of *Hungary* to CASTALDO; who in the name of FERDINAND accepted the same. After which renunciation, she granted to the most insaciable Frier all his demaunds, which were immeasurable, together with the Archbishoprick of *Strigonium*, being at that time voide. CASTALDO accommodating that prouince according to the order receiued from FERDINAND, and as he thought most expedient, celebrated the nuptials betweene one of FERDINANDS daughters, and IOHN the Queenes sonne. But the ambicious Frier not contented with the agreement, by the meanes of a Frenchman, who was a spie for the Turke in that kingdome, he acquainted SOLIMAN with the whole agreement and composition made betweene FERDINAND and the Queene. Wherewith SOLIMAN being highly displeased, shortly after sent the Beglerbey of *Grecia*; who passing with great celeritie to *Belgrado*, came to *Beche*, and tooke it, with *Bekerque* and *Senat*: & hauing without any resistance vpon composition taken *Lippa*, he went without any molestation by the Christians, to *Themesuar*; where encamping himselfe, he vnderstood that CASTALDOS armie was come. Who with much ado hauing induced Frier GEORGE, then made Treasorer of that kingdom, & Vaiuode of *Transiluania*, to leuie forces against the Turke, he brought it so to passe that he constrained the Beglerbey to raise his siege from before *Themesuarre*; notwithstanding that the Frier euer endeuored to hinder CASTALDOS proceedings. The Frier vnderstanding of the Turkes departure, went to *Lippa*; where he stayed not long before that by Pope IVLIVS at the request of FERDINAND being a made Cardinall, he sought to hinder CASTALDOS deseignes, and to betray him and FERDINANDS whole armie into the hands of the Turkes: hoping by this meanes not onely to reconcile himselfe to SOLIMAN, but to become absolute Lorde of *Transiluania* also. Whose wicked practise being made frustrate, CASTALDO continued the siege of *Lippa*, which after many bickerings comming into CASTALDOS power, was giuen in pray to the Souldiers, which loden with spoyle, presently besieged the Fortresse; about which hauing spent some daies, they had taken the same, together with OLIMAN Gouernor thereof, if the Friers villanie had not frustrated CASTALDOS purpose. Who desiring by these meanes to obtaine the Turkes good will, dealt so, that he set OLIMAN at libertie: wherewith CASTALDO being infinitly displeased, sought

Lippa taken by Castaldo.

ſought to abate the Friers authoritie: but failing of his purpoſe, he diſſembled the matter. And Winter being come, FERDINANDS forces departing out of *Tranſiluania* (he being vnwilling that they ſhould remaine there) ſtayed vpon the frontiers of the enemie. After whoſe departure CASTALDO conducting the Artillery, diſcouered to SFORZA PALLAVICINO that FERDINAND had commaunded Frier GEORGE to be put to death; but being vnable without great circumſpection to bring it to effect, he willed PALLAVICINO to be in a readines, vntill he gaue him further direction. In the meane time repairing to the Citadel at *Lippa*, he ſtayed neere to the citie of *Varadin*, and ſending his armie before, he ioyned with the Frier riding together in one Coach to *Buiſe*, in which place being againe ſolicited by FERDINAND to make away the Frier, CASTALDO ſpeedely wrote to SFORZA PALLAVICINO, that ſo ſoone as poſſible might be, he ſhould with his troupes come to conferre with him, about what courſe was to be taken in this matter. Whereupon PALLAVICINO comming to *Buiſe*, and hauing laid the plot for the Friers diſpatch, he went to ſeeke him iuſt at the time when he ſhould haue ſaid Maſſe: with whom CASTALDO holding a long diſcourſe, ſhewed him euer a good countenance, notwithſtanding that he was in all occaſions croſt by him: and his inſolencie was ſuch that he forbare not openly to negociate with the Turkes. Whereupon CASTALDO directing thoſe which ſhould kill him in what manner they ſhould diſpatch him; he appoynted his Secretarie MARC ANTONIO FERRARI of *Alexandria*, (vnder colour to get the Friers hand to certaine letters which SFORZA PALLAVICINO ſhould beare to FERDINAND) to come to him, vpon the eighteenth day of December, in the ſame yeere. Who comming in companie of PALLAVICINO into the Caſtle with certaine Harcubuzziers, and preſenting the letters to the Frier, to the end that he ſhould ſubſcribe to them; after that the Frier had heedely read them, ſtooping downe to write vpon a little table which was in the chamber, FERRARI drawing his ponyard twiſe ſtabbed him, which being of no ſufficient force to kill him, it behooued PALLAVICINO (who vpon the noyſe ranne into the chamber) to ſet his helping hand to the worke: for the Frier was a gallant ſtrong fellow, turning to him that ſmote him, threw him to the ground, and therewith made ſo great a noyſe, that PALLAVICINO comming into the chamber, and ſeeing FERRARI downe, ſetting hand to his ſword, gaue the Frier ſo ſound a knocke on the pate, that he cleft the ſame in two: an act truely worthie of great reprehenſion, if the behauiour of the man had not deſerued it. For Frier GEORGE was endued with ſuch excellencie of wit, and therwith was of ſo generous and great a mind, and ſo diligent in all matters of importance, that FERDINAND himſelfe (who cauſed him to be ſlaine) would often ſay openly, that he enuied the Vayuode for nothing, but for Frier GEORGE. The Frier dying in this manner ſuddenly, CASTALDO impriſoned his great friend FRANCIS THENDI, who to eſcape from FERDINANDS forces, had after the Turkiſh manner clad himſelfe in Scarlet, whoſe impriſonment was a great helpe to CASTALDO, for THENDI being reconciled, was the cauſe that the Sicoli, a moſt fierce people of *Tranſiluania*, yeelded obedience to the King of the Romanes; which people with others, through CASTALDOS endeuour, within few dayes ſubmitted themſelues. But in the yeere 1542, SOLIMAN vnderſtanding of the death of Frier GEORGE, ſent two armies into *Tranſiluania*, to the end in two ſeuerall parts to inuade the ſame: wherein CASTALDO thinking by fortifying the frontiers, to entertaine the Turkes vntill the comming of an

Meanes vſed by Caſtaldo to entrap Frier George.

The death of Frier George.

armie out of *Germany*, ſent Frier GEORGE his treaſure to FERDINAND; and taking *Segbedin*, had ſundrie ſupplies from the Lords of that kingdome; and fortifying *Lippa* and *Themeſuarre* he gathered thoſe men together which (to auoyde the rage of the Turkes) came to his campe. In the meane time, earneſtly expecting aide from FERDINAND, whom Pope IVLIVS commaunding to purge himſelfe concerning the death of Frier GEORGE for that he was a Cardinall: and ſending three Cardinals to make enquirie of the Homicide, he excommunicated thoſe which had ſlaine him. And FERDINAND vnable to ſend ſuch ſuccours as he had promiſed, by reaſon of the warres in *Germany* betweene his brother the Emperor and MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, perſwaded CASTALDO to beare his fortune in the beſt manner that poſſibly he ſhould be able; promiſing ſo ſoone as he could to relieue him. Who perceiuing that the Moldauian, and MAHOMET Baſha were with a great armie come into *Hungary*, to the end to inuade *Tranſiluania*; he ſent FELIX Earle of *Arco*, to hold the Caſtle of *Braſouia*. And obtaining great reliefe and victuals, from the citie of *Zibonio*, he endeuored himſelfe to reinforce his troupes, and to fortifie many places; but this nothing furthered FERDINANDS proceedings: for by reaſon that the articles of agreement were not obſerued to ISABEL, many of thoſe people rebelled againſt him, and after much contention hee was conſtrained to come to blowes with them: for ſpending much time, ſometime in loſing and ſometime in recouering, the Turkes daily conquered more and more. Which taking *Lippa* and *Themeſuarre* with many other places, by MAHOMETS order, the Baſha, together with the Baſha of *Buda*, marched to the Caſtle of *Drigall*; before which lay SFORZA PALLAVICINO with ſixe thouſand men, Germanes and others: who valiantly aſſaulting the Caſtle, was at vnawares ſet vpon by the Baſha; with whom comming to blowes, and performing the office both of a valiant Souldier, and prudent Captaine, he was in the end ouerthrowne, and ſhortly after with many other Captaines taken priſoner, and brought (by a Turke which charging him in the flanke with his Cimitarre had felled him wounded to the death) to the Baſha: from whom he was afterwards ranſomed for a great ſumme of money. After which, MAHOMET to the great ſlaughter of his people, tooke *Salonch*, built by FERDINAND in a ſtrong place ouer the riuer *Tiſſa*; the loſſe whereof greatly troubled FERDINAND. Who ſeeing that his affaires notwithſtanding the valour and wiſedome of CASTALDO daily went from ill to worſe, and vnderſtanding that the people of *Tranſiluania* were wholy reuolted to the Queene, greatly fauored by MAHOMET Baſha about SOLIMAN; and that they had often practiſed to kill CASTALDO, he commaunded him that notwithſtanding MAHOMETS retreit, deſpairing to take *Agria*, long attempted by his people, he ſhould retire. Which CASTALDO putting in execution, placed the Spaniſh and Dutch ſouldiers in *Zibinio*, and other places neere adiacent: and hauing fortified *Deua*, after much prouiſion made, he went to *Alba Iulia* to winter the reſt of his armie. In the meane time, abſolution came from *Rome* for thoſe which kild Frier GEORGE. And the yeere 1553 being come, FRANCIS THENDI, fauouring the Queenes cauſe, brought it ſo to paſſe, that notwithſtanding the many Councels, wherein CASTADDO was euer preſent, great part of the Lords of *Tranſiluania* in the behalfe of the Queene, tooke armes againſt FERDINAND, and expulſing FERDINANDS forces, reeſtabliſhed her, together with her ſonne in her eſtate.

Pope Iulius excommunicated thoſe which ſlew Frier George.

Sforza Pallauicino wounded, ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by the Turkes, before the Caſtle of Drigall.

That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1554 begun, FERDINAND ſent his Ambaſſadours to his nephew PHILIP in *England*, to congratulate his marriage with

with MARY Queene of that countrie, which ſucceeded her brother EDVVARD. And in the yeere 1555 died IOANE mother of FERDINAND, and of the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, in *Spaine*; whoſe death FERDINAND took very grieuouſly. And in the meane time, taking a truce with the Turke, he obtained vpon an acknowledgement of a tribute, peaceably to enioy what he held in *Hungary*. In which time CHARLES the Emperour hauing giuen vp the ſtates of the Low Countries, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, and all his other kingdomes to his ſonne PHILIP King of *England*; FERDINAND ſought to ſuppreſſe and extinguiſh the preaching of the Goſpell in *Germany*; and receiuing letters of his brothers renunciation made to his ſonne, he infinitely commended his reſolution. That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1556 being come, he was aduertiſed that his brother the Emperour hauing renounced the Empire vnto him, was retired into *Spaine*, to leade a ſolitarie life; for which yeelding him thankes by his letters and Ambaſſadours, he went to *Viena* to make prouiſion for the warres, which (as it was ſaid) SOLIMAN would make in *Hungary*: where ſpending the reſt of that yere, he remained vntill the yeere 1557. In the beginning of which yeere, he interpoſed himſelfe betweene King PHILIP and the Pope, perſwading them to peace: for the Pope induced by his nephew the Cardinall *Caraffa*, made warre againſt the King. And that yeere being ended, in the beginning of the yeere 1558, he was by the Electors according to the will of his brother CHARLES, choſen and proclaimed Emperour: no man but the Pope contradicting his election, who affirmed that the reſignation made by the Emperour CHARLES could not be done without the Popes conſent: but his reproofe being reiected, FERDINAND was choſen and proclaimed lawfull Emperour. Not long after he had newes that his brother CHARLES was departed out of this world, for whoſe death he together with his whole Court was very ſorie: neuertheleſſe ſupporting his griefe, hee celebrated the exequies with great pompe, and preſently ſent his Ambaſſadours to King PHILIP, to condole the common loſſe. And that preſent yeere ending, within a while after the deceaſe of the Emperour CHARLES, and in the beginning of the yere 1559, FERDINAND vſed all endeuour to make peace betweene King PHILIP, and HENRY the French King; which after many treaties being obtained, and alliance made them, he was exceedingly glad, ſith that after the ſpace of ſeuentie yeeres continuall diſſention, peace was now made betweene thoſe two moſt mightie kings, which was proclaimed through all Chriſtendome. A little while after, in the beginning of the yeere 1560, FERDINAND obtained to be confirmed in the Empire by the new Pope, who willingly approuing his election, deemed it to be ill done, after a peace ſo long deſired, againe to bring *Italy* into new troubles: and ſo following the will of that Prince, he conſented to the calling of a Councell. And in the yeere 1561 he made proclamation to all Prelates and Nations, of a Councell to be held the yeere following, wherein the Articles proponed by the Lutherans ſhould be determined. And in the yeere 1562 a Councell was againe called, to be held in the citie of *Trent*, whither FERDINAND ſending the Prelates of his dominion, perſwaded all the Princes of *Germany* to doe the like: and writing to his nephew King PHILIP, and to the King of *Portugall*, and to all the other Princes of Chriſtendome, he vſed ſuch meanes that al the Princes according to his deſire, ſent the Biſhops of their countries with their particular Ambaſſadours to that Councell, wherein the matters of greateſt importance were handled concerning religion. In which time FERDINAND deſiring that ſome one of his ſonnes after his deceaſe might ſucceede him

Peace betweene King Philip of Spaine and Henry of France

Ferdinand confirmed in the Empire by Pope Pius the 4.

him in the Imperiall dignitie, he called the Princes Electors to a Councell held at *Franckford*, where proponing to them his desire, he alleaged that in respect of the Turke it was requisite it should be so; and after the matter had been long debated, he obtained his purpose to his content: which being concluded, he made his sonne MAXIMILIAN within few daies after to be crowned King of the Romanes. After which ceremonies, going to *Isprnch* to see his daughters, he vnderstood that the truce lately treated of with SOLIMAN not onely tooke effect for tenne yeeres, but that at his suite DON ALVARO DE SANDE was released out of prison, together with three other principall Knights taken in the yeere 1560 in the enterprise of *Tripoli*, by DRAGVT RAIS. At that time were great warres in *France* betweene the Papists and the Huguenots, which the Emperour sought to haue pacified, but that nation was so extremely incensed, that the Emperours perswasions could nothing preuaile amongst them.

Anno 1560.

In the yeere 1564, the Councell of *Trent* being dissolued, FERDINAND came to *Viena*, where falling sicke of an Ague, and knowing by the vehemencie of his disease that his life drew neere to an end, he sent for all his children, which then were dispersed into sundrie places, to whom after he had giuen his blessing, together with many good exhortations, he rendred his soule to God, vpon the fifth day of Iuly in the same yeere. He was a Prince by all men reputed to be of singular bountie and pietie, and of a most gentle and pleasing disposition, not very strong of bodie, but repleniished with so much maiestie, that whosoeuer saw him could not but respect him: for being of a pleasing and affable condition, he would most curteously encline himselfe to euery one that came to salute him. He was naturally merrie, free from surfeiting, and ware his beard rather short then long, and his haire so long that it couered his eies with some bauldnes. He was in all his actions (prosperous or aduerse) alwaies constant, holding all things to happen to him by the will of God. He confessed himselfe three or foure times in the yeere, and with great deuotion receiued the Communion, willing that euery one in his Court should doe the like; so that his house seemed to be rather a regular Monasterie, then a Court of Secular men. He left behinde him many children, and had in all fifteene; foure sonnes, and the rest daughters, which were married to sundrie Princes in Christendome. ISABEL which was his first, was giuen in marriage to SIGISMVND King of *Poland*. ANNE was wife to the Duke of *Bauiere*. MARY to the Duke of *Cleue*. MAGDALENA chast Virgin. KATHERINE to FRANCIS Duke of *Mantoa*. ELENOR to WILLIAM Duke of *Mantoa*. MARGARET was a Nunne. BARBARA was married to ALFONSE the second Duke of *Ferrara*. VRSVLA a Virgin and a Nunne. HELEN liued but a little while. And IOANE was wife to FRANCIS the great Duke of *Tuscane*. Of sonnes besides the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, he had FERDINAND and CHARLES Archdukes of *Austrich*, and IOHN which died very young. He had but one onely wife, and (as it was said) neuer before nor after knew any other woman but her: which he loued so intierly, that he would not marrie the second time. He much loued learned men, & gaue them great pensions for their maintenance. He neuer vndertooke any warres but for religion: either against the Turke or the Lutheranes, which he vehemently persecuted. FERDINAND hauing bin King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* foure and thirtie yeeres, and Emperour seuen, to the great griefe of his people and of all the Princes in Christendome ended his daies. After whose decease, his obsequies being celebrated with great pompe, sundrie funerall Orations were made by diuers learned men: and his body being

The death of the Emperour Ferdinand.

carried

carried through *Morauia* into *Bohemia*, was by his wiues ſide buried in *Prage*.

THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN THE SECOND, AND CXVII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

THis life containeth not ought elſe, but the countrie, parentage and noble deſcent of Maximilian, with his actes in the warres in Germany againſt the Lantzgraue, his going into Spaine to gouerne the ſame for King Philip, his aſſumption to the Imperiall dignitie, with his warres with the Turkes at Zighet, and the Election of his ſonne Rodulph for King of the Romanes.

THe houſe and family of *Auſtrich* amongſt the moſt principall houſes of *Germany*, is truely euery way very noble, and hath euer been ſo of long time (as it euidently appeareth) not onely through the (in a manner) hereditarie ſucceſſion of the Empire from the father to the ſonne in tenne Emperours, from the yeere 1273, at that time RODVLPH the firſt was choſen Emperor of the Germanes: but alſo in that it hath ſince that time in ſhort ſpace, with admirable felicitie, not onely in *Germany* enlarged the ſmall confines of *Habſpurge* and *Haſsia* (the auncient territory thereof) but through the ſingular protection of the heauens, it hath by enheritance attained to the kingdomes of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, the Duchie of *Auſtrich*, the countie of *Flanders*, with the eſtates of the lower *Germany*, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, with all thoſe countries of the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, (to the wonder of the world, by CHRISTOPHER COLVMBVS a Genowaies, and AMERICVS SEPVSIVS, a Florentine, newly found and diſcouered; which for their greatnes, and the noueltie of the action, are called the new world) together with the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; and

The dominions of the houſe of Auſtrich.

and laſtly the Duchie of *Milan*, farre excelling all other Dukedomes in Chriſtendome. Of which family in the yeere of our Lord 1527, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN the ſecond of that name borne in the citie of *Viena* in *Auſtrich*, had to his father FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, ſonne of PHILIP the firſt King of *Spaine*, Nephew of MAXIMILIAN the firſt, ſonne of FREDERICK the third Emperours of the Almaines: his mother was ANNE daughter of LADISLAVS King of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia*, Nephew of the great SIGISMVND, ſonne of CASIMIER King of *Poland*, and ſiſter to that LEVVES which through the vnaduiſed counſell of PAVLAS TOMORRVS Archbiſhop of *Coloſſa*, in the yeere of our Lord 1526, comming to a field battaile with SOLIMAN King of the Turkes, was not onely through the innumerable multitude of the Ottomans lamentably ouerthrowne; but alſo when he ſought to haue ſaued himſelfe from his enemies, was through the waight of his armour wherewith he was oppreſſed, and the ſtumbling of his horſe which fell vpon him in a paſſage ouer a marriſh or fenne, miſerably drowned.

The linage of the Emperor Maximilian.

This Emperor ſhewing euen from his infancie the excellencie of his wit, was by his father the Emperor FERDINAND committed to very learned men, by them to be inſtructed in good Litterature, but chiefly in varietie of tongues; wherein in ſhort ſpace he ſo much profited, that he not onely ſpake Latin very elegantly; Spaniſh, French, Italian, Dutch, Hungariſh, and Bohemiſh; but alſo very perfectly attained to the knowledge of the Sciences, particularly the Mathematikes. So that all men did ſtedfaſtly hope that he would proue no way inferior to his auncient progenitors. And he no ſooner came to yeeres fit to beare armes, but that he ſundrie times gaue no leſſe indice and cleere ſhew of his noble valour therein; earneſtly ſeeking to imitate his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN whoſe name he bare, which he expreſly manifeſted when in the yeere 1556, in the warres which his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES the fifth made againſt IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, and PHILIP Lantzgraue of *Heſſen*, he went to that warre, ſent thither by his father with the commaund of 1200 horſe; hauing before that time, been euer preſent in the warres which his father waged with the Turkes. In that ſeruice of his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES, he ſo nobly behaued himſelfe, that he therein ſundrie times deſerued to be compared with his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN; for he conſtantly enduring with the greatnes of his minde, all thoſe wants and fortunes which the troubles of the warres bring with them, was euer the firſt man in all ſeruices, wherein he made no leſſe ſhew of a valiant man at armes, then of a prudent Chieftaine, which made him ſo deerely beloued by his Vncle the Emperor, that that ciuill warre being ended (which continued little leſſe then two yeeres) he conſidering that his ſonne PHILIP Prince of *Spaine* was to be inueſted in the Countie of *Flanders*, together with the prouinces of the lower *Germany*, and being vnwilling that *Spaine* ſhould remaine without ſome man of authoritie to gouerne the ſame, fearing the fiercenes of that nation ordinarily euer deſirous of nouelties: notwithſtanding that he was his Nephew, yet by the diſpenſation of Pope PAVL the third he made him his ſonne in law, giuing him his daughter MARY to wife, and therewith made him gouernor of thoſe kingdomes. And thoſe nuptiall rites being celebrated, MAXIMILIAN in the yeere 1548 went into *Spaine*, being firſt by his father FERDINAND King of the Romanes, made King of *Bohemia*, to whom the Lords of that kingdome ſware obedience as to their King and naturall Lord. Before his comming into *Spaine*, paſſing through *Italy*, he was by all the Italian Princes

Princes visited and highly honoured; and being arriued at the citie of *Genoa*, and there shortly after embarked in the Galleyes of Prince DORIA, he passed to *Barcelona*, whence taking his way towards *Valiodolid*, where the Spanish court then lay, he was in the name of his espouse and of his cosin germane oftentimes visited by the principall Lords of *Spaine*. Finally, within few daies after his comming to the court, hauing with applause of the Spanish nation celebrated his nuptials, he was established in the gouernment of those kingdomes, in the absence of Prince PHILIP: which he with great quietnes, to the contentment of that people gouerned, vntill that in the beginning of the yeere 1551 the Emperor CHARLES summoned a Councell to be held in *Augsburgh*, whither being by his father sent for, he came from *Spaine* into *Germany*, hauing first left the gouernment of those kingdomes to his wife Queene MARY, and to the Councell royall: and staying there till the end of the Councell, he went with his father the King of the Romanes to *Viena*, where making his abode till the beginning of the yeere 1552, and then passing from *Germany* againe into *Spaine*, to bring his wife into his countries, he came from *Barcelona* (after that he had been molested by the French fleete) to *Genoa*; and from thence comming to *Trent*, he went to *Augsburgh*, where by the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, he was much welcomed, and together with his wife was by the Germane Princes highly honored, but particularly by his father, who then absolutely resigned vnto him the gouerment of the kingdome of *Bohemia*: which to the great contentment of the Bohemians he euer after gouerned so long as he liued. From whence in the same yeere he sent great troupes of men to the Emperor, for his warres against MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, who by reason of the imprisonment of the Lantzgraue PHILIP warring against the Emperor, was proclaimed traitor: but it was not long before the Emperor was freed from that trouble. And MAXIMILIAN recalling his forces, peaceably applyed himselfe to the gouernment of *Bohemia*, without that any matter of moment happened, vntill that in the yeere 1554, he together with his father sent his Ambassadors to congratulate the marriage of his cosin King PHILIP to marrie the daughter of King HENRY the eight, then by the death of her brother EDVVARD, Queene of *England*. In the yeere 1558 he was present at the Coronation of his father, who by the Emperour CHARLES the fifth was adopted Emperor; and for such accepted by the Princes of *Germany*. Afterwards taking his way with his father towards *Viena*, he returned into *Bohemia*; where within a while after, vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle and father in law the Emperor CHARLES, he with great pompe celebrating his Obsequies; sent Ambassadors to his cosin PHILIP to condole the death of the deceased Emperour. In which actions ending the yeere present and next following; in the yeere 1560, after foure moneths vacancie, IOHN ANGELO DE MEDICIS being chosen Pope, and called PIVS the fourth; he sent his Ambassadors to yeeld his obedience to the Church of *Rome*. And in the yeere 1562, FERDINAND desiring that his sonne MAXIMILIAN should succeede him in the Empire, assembled a Councell in *Franckford*; wherein proponing to the Electors his determination, he so handled the matter, that by the common consent and goodwil of all men, MAXIMILIAN was chosen and crowned King of the Romanes; with great applause of the Germanes, and of the Italians, which for his rare qualities deerely loued him. Then beeing according to his fathers desire created his successor, he departed towards *Viena*, first visiting his sisters which were in *Inspruch*, where he remained vntill the yeere 1564, in

Maximilian chosen and crowned King of the Romanes.

which yeere his father died; whose obsequies he together with his brothers sumptuously celebrated. After which, he receiued Ambassadours from the Princes, which as to the successiue Emperour and King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* came to doe him honour, amongst many which thither came, were the Ambassadours of *Spaine* and of *Portugall*. MAXIMILIAN being then receiued and accepted by the Christians for lawfull Emperour; in the beginning of his raigne denied to pay to SOLIMAN the Emperour of the Turkes, that acknowledgement which his father FERDINAND yeelded to pay for the kingdome of *Hungary*: and so the yeere 1565 being come, inuading the state of *Transiluania*, he tooke certaine places. Whereupon SOLIMAN sending a great armie against him, in the behalfe of the Vaiuode IOHN, tooke many townes of importance. But CÆSAR sending LAZARVS SCHVENDI for Generall of his armie, not onely recouered what was taken, but also tooke *Tocay* with some other places, greatly endamaging the Transiluanian; who being aided by the Turkes infinitely troubled CÆSAR, and notwithstanding that by reason of winter, it had been fit to haue retired to haue wintred his armie, yet he desisted not from molesting him. But being vnable of himself to make head against CÆSARS forces, he procured by the Turks meanes to cause MAXIMILIAN to retire from that enterprise: for which, being an earnest sutor, he obtained such fauour, that SOLIMAN in the yeere 1566, with 120000. men inuaded *Hungary*: the forewarning of whose comming, reuealed by a Turke taken prisoner by certaine souldiers seruing his brother CHARLES, was a great furtherance to the Emperours proceedings: for he making prouision accordingly, so ordred the matter that he was relieued by all the Princes of Christendome: particularly by Pope PIVS QVINTVS (who this yeere succeeded PIVS the fourth in the Papacie) and by the Dukes of *Florence*, of *Mantoa*, of *Ferrara*, and by many other Princes as well of *Italy* and *France* as of *Germany*: so that he hauing leuied an armie of threescore and tenne thousand men, made his brother FERDINAND, Archduke of *Austrich*, Generall thereof, who with those forces comming to *Iauarin*, purposed to haue attempted *Strigonium*; but vnderstanding that SOLIMAN departing from *Belgrado* came to *Buda*, and from *Buda* was gone to *Zighet*; he retiring, perswaded NICHOLAS SIDRIN, a Nobleman of singular valour in *Hungary*, to continue in the gouernment of that fortresse, whereof he was Captaine, promising that he would not faile to relieue him. SOLIMAN after many difficulties, being come to *Zighet* (which is situate in a fennie countrie betweene *Croatia* and *Hungary*) within few daies with continuall assaults both by day and night so oppresst it, that notwithstanding the great valour of SIDRIN, who failed in nothing that might concerne himselfe or CÆSAR, neither left any thing vnattempted that might hinder the purposes of the Barbarian, vsing all meanes to defend that fortresse: in the end with great slaughter of his people it was by the Turke taken. But that Barbarian had not time to enioy the fruites of his victorie, for being loden with yeeres, and ouercome by his disease, which was the bloudie fluxe, he ended his daies before that he was master thereof; MAMOMET Bassha with great policie and cunning concealing his death vntill the creation of a new Emperour, and vntill that place being of such importance was taken.

Maximilian denied to pay the accustomed tribute to the Turke for the kingdome of Hungary.

Zighet taken by the Turke.

Zighet being taken, NICHOLAS SIDRIN the Gouernour thereof, a man for his worth, his valour, and for his faith and trust incomparable, was slaine. There likewise came into the Turkes power, *Iulia*, besides other places which were taken the yeere before, with incredible losse and domage to the Christians, which without effecting any notable matter in that enterprise (the Turkes armie being retired)

retired) were by the Emperour discharged. And in the yeere 1567, the Emperor through the mediation of MAHOMET Bassha, treating with SELIM (who succeeded his father SOLIMAN in his estate) of a truce, having first garrisoned *Iauarin*, retired with his Court into *Viena*, and sought to extinguish the new ciuill warre kindled in *Germany*. For IOHN FREDERICK, sonne of the Elector AVGVSTVS Duke of *Saxony* fauouring GROMPACH, a Rebell of the Empire, it seemed that the ciuill warre would haue begun againe: but GROMPACH hauing surprised the Fortresse of *Gotta* from the Elector AVGVSTVS, who would doe nothing contrarie to the decree of the Councell at *Augsburgh*, where GROMPACH being againe proclaimed a rebell: and hauing amassed together a good number of men of warre, which being drawne to an head, after much resistance, GROMPACH together with IOHN FREDERICK the sonne of Duke AVGVSTVS, were taken prisoners, with whose apprehension the ciuill warres of *Germany* being ended, GROMPACH was quartered aliue, and Duke IOHN FREDERICK detained in prison. The Emperour hauing in the meane time relieued *Schuendi*, who after the departure of the Turkes armie, was by the Transiluanian besieged in *Toccay*; and shortly after repelling the enemie, tooke many Holds in *Transiluania*, to the great preiudice of the Vaiuode. But vnderstanding that in the same yeere 1567 SELIM had graunted and confirmed the truce required by CÆSAR, with the same conditions that FERDINAND obtained the same, and that SELIM retired his armie: MAXIMILIAN accommodating the affaires of his estate, liued all the rest of his life time in peace, hauing in vaine attempted to recouer *Transiluania*, left through the death of IOHN Vaiuode to STEPHEN BATTOR. Who in the yeere 1574, CHARLES the ninth King of *France* being dead, and HENRY Duke of *Aniow* and King of *Polania*, through his brothers death being called to the Crowne of *Erance*; after much contention was chosen King of *Polonia*; notwithstanding that MAXIMILIAN vsed all meanes possible to haue been King thereof, for many of the Electors fauoured him; which failing, he became so melancholike, that he was neuer after that time seene to be merrie, imagining that the wauering instabilitie of the Polacres had bereaued the house of *Austrich* of that kingdome, but yet he left nothing vndone that might disturbe BATTOR. With which actions comming to the end of the yeere 1577, he assembled the Diet of *Ratisbone*, where vsing all meanes that in him lay, that his eldest sonne RODVLPH might remaine his heire in the Empire, in the end by the consent of the Electors, he obtained his suite. And in the same Diet he confirmed FRANCIS DE MEDICIS with the fauour and consent of those Princes, in the title of great Duke of *Tuscane*, graunted by Pope PIVS the fifth to COSMO the great, in the yeere 1566.

Grompach taken and executed.

MAXIMILIAN liuing but a few moneths after the election of his sonne, being betweene fiftie one and fiftie two yeeres old, and oppressed with the retention of his vrine, to the great griefe and sorrow of his people, ended his terrestriall life. He was a Prince for pietie and the bountie of his minde, truly so singular, that if the troubles and ciuill warres in *Germany* had not weakened and diminished the forces and power of the Empire, would not haue left any meanes vnattempted to haue repressed the greatnes of the Turkish Empire. His bodie and minde being accompanied with memorable maiestie and iudgement. He was a personage of common stature, had a full face replenished with grauitie, his head was somewhat bauld, he spake readily all the tongues which at this day are spoken in the most pricipall prouinces of *Europe*, so naturally, as if he had bin

The death of the Emperour Maximilian.

nurſed and bred vp in them. He was moſt diligent and prompt in giuing iudgement, and a great fauourer of men of vnderſtanding, to which he gaue great pensions: and particularly loued Mathematicians, and Antiquaries, as a man which was greatly delighted in both thoſe faculties. He was very actiue of his bodie, and therewith very pitifull. He left behinde him tenne children, fixe ſonnes and foure daughters. His daughters were ISABEL married to her Vncle PHILIP King of *Spaine*. MARY was wife to CHARLES the ninth King of *France*. ANNE and ELENOR were then but children. His ſonnes were RODVLPH, the now Emperour, and MATTHIAS, in the time of the late Prince of *Orange* was choſen by the Eſtates Gouernour of the *Low Countries*. ALBERTVS afterwards made a Cardinall and Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and ſince then renouncing his Eccleſiaſticall dignities, is married to ISABEL the Infant of *Spaine*, and by her is Duke of *Burgundy*. MAXIMILIAN, and VENCESLAVS. He had but one onely wife, after whoſe deceaſe he neuer would marrie any other. He was blindly very religious, and with great honour and reuerence obſeruing the greatnes of the Popes, he endeuoured to haue cauſed the reſt of the Princes of *Germany* to haue done the like.

THE LIFE OF RODVLPH THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND CXVIII. ROMANE EMPEROR NOW RAIGNING.

THE Imperiall Maieſtie, being become in a manner hereditarie in the houſe of *Auſtrich*, was after the death of MAXIMILIAN the ſecond of that name, with the generall aſſent of the Princes of *Germany*, confirmed to his ſonne RODVLPH King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary*; choſen a little before at his fathers entreatie King of the Romanes; who aſſuming (together with his high dignitie) a minde and thoughts worthie an Emperor, hath euer hitherto in his gouernment ſhewed himſelfe in all his actions ſo rightly honourable, that it is to be hoped (ſparing him life) he will not onely in ſome ſort reſtore to the Empire

the

the ancient dignitie and reputation thereof, but alſo recouer ſuch countries belonging thereto, as are vſurped by ſuch as are enemies to the ſame. Preſently after his coronation, for his better eſtabliſhment in his new dignitie, he ſent to the Pope, to be by him therein confirmed, and therewith to requeſt him to declare him for the eldeſt ſonne of the Church: and then calling a Councell at *Ratisbone*, where vſing all his power, to the end that matters concerning the Romane religion might be reformed, he earneſtly preſſed all the Princes of *Germany* to conſent to his new reformation. And then diſpatching Ambaſſadours to the Emperour of the Turks, to procure a reconfirmation of the truce taken made betweene him and his father MAXIMILIAN, he in the meane time perſwaded his brother MATTHIAS, who was gone into *Flanders* with a reſolution to make himſelfe Lord of thoſe prouinces; that abandoning what he had vndertaken, he ſhould returne into *Germany*; ſhewing him how dangerous a matter it would be, if through his fault the troubles of thoſe countries ſhould be encreaſed: but his perſwaſions as then little auailed againſt his reſolution: but yet ſhortly after through diſcontment betweene the Duke and the States of thoſe countries, he leauing them returned (with little honour) into *Germany*. After this, foraſmuch as the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, one of the Princes Electors, forſaking the Pope, was become a Caluiniſt, and had married a wife, the Emperour and ſundrie Potentates in *Germany* tooke armes againſt him; but eſpecially the Chanons of that Church of *Colen*, which expelling him, choſe another Biſhop, ſo that he was afterwards conſtrained to come to the States of the *Low Countries* for relieſe. And ſo for a ſpace in the beginning the Emperour continued very ſolicitous, to haue aduaunced and eſtabliſhed the Popes lawes and authoritie; not onely in his hereditarie eſtates and dominions, but generally through the whole Empire, vntill that AMVRATH the third, Emperour of Turkes, after long conſultation hauing reſolued to make a generall conqueſt of *Hungary*, together with ſundrie countries bordring vpon the ſame, by the ordinarie incurſions of the Turkes, contrarie to the truce, ſpoyling and robbing his countries, ſo awakened the Emperor, that leauing to hinder the preaching of the Goſpell, he was conſtrained to employ his wits together with his whole power for the defence of his eſtate, againſt ſo mightie a common enemie: who enuying the greatnes of the houſe of *Auſtrich*, for that it in ſundrie parts of the world made head againſt him: about a people called *Vſcocchipreuily* picking a quarrell, he firſt began his warres in *Croatia*; wherein after the ſpoyle of the countrie, the Baſha of *Boſna* tooke the citie of *Wihitz*. Whereupon the Emperour ſolicited the Princes of *Germany* for aide, who conſidering the greatnes of the daunger, promiſed their aſſiſtance. But before that their forces tooke the field, ſixe thouſand foote, and fiue hundred horſe of the Chriſtians, hauing in *Croatia* for their refuge taken the woods, mountaines, and places of hard acceſſe, were by the Turkes ſo oppreſſed, that few of them eſcaped with their liues. For refelling of which outrage, the Emperour aſſembling the States of *Sleſia* and *Morauia*, perſwaded them to vnite their forces with the reſt. But the aides from out of *Germany* came ſo ſlowly, that after the ouerthrow and ſlaughter of ſeuen thouſand men in *Croatia*, the Turkes ſurpriſed the ſtrong Caſtle of S. *George*; wherein after that they cruelly without reſpect of age or ſexe had put to the ſword all that were therein: firing the Caſtle, they departed: and in their retreit cut off a conuoy of three hundred wagons, loden with prouiſion for the relieſe of the ſouldiers garriſoned in that prouince.

The Emperour Rodulph the ſecond ſent to the Pope to be by him confirmed in the Empire, and to be declared eldeſt ſonne of the Church.

Duke Matthias Gouernour of the prouinces of the Low Countries.

After theſe and many other roades and incurſions made in *Croatia*, and in *Hungary*,

gary, the Turkes aduertiſed of the preparation made by the Chriſtian Princes; but chiefly for that the plague was falne amongſt them, leauing ſtrong garriſons in their Holds, they retired; and ſo the warres for that winter ended. But the next ſpring being come, the Emperour writing to the Turke to know the reaſon of theſe ſo hoſtile inuaſions contrarie to the truce, was by the great Turkes owne letter for anſwere put out of doubt whereto he ſhould truſt; who moſt proudly denouncing warre againſt him and all his abbettors, ſent the Beglerbey of *Græcia* into *Croatia*, who with a huge armie beſieging the ſtrong Caſtle of *Siſeg*, in ſhort ſpace tooke it, cutting in pieces, and drowning all that they found therein. This happened vpon the third of September 1593. Theſe inuaſions cauſed the Emperour not onely to craue aide of the Princes and free cities of *Germany*, but alſo of other Princes further remote: which being ſoone graunted, came ſo ſlowly forwards, that SINAN Baſha beſieging the citie of *Veſprin*, and the defendants ſeeing no poſſibilitie long to hold the place, abandoning the citie, were by the Turkes cut in pieces. From thence the Baſha went to *Paletta*, which within few daies ſiege yeelded to the Turkes alſo.

Siſeg taken by the Turks, anno 1593.

But yet a length an armie of the Chriſtians paſſing the riuer *Danubius*, ſo met with the Turkes, that making ſlaughter of a great number of them, they releaſed many Chriſtian Captiues: wherewith encouraged, the Chriſtians preſently beſieged the citie of *Alba Regalis*: but within few daies after, they were aduertiſed of the comming of the Baſha of *Buda*, with an armie of 2000 ſtrong, and thirtie peeces of Ordenance, to relieue the citie and to raiſe the ſiege; whom the Chriſtians (riſing from before the citie) encountring, ouerthrew and put to flight, and in the chace had the execution of the greateſt part of their enemies.

The Baſha of Buda ouerthrowne and put to flight by the Imperialiſts.

Shortly after the Emperors Lieutenant beſieging the Caſtle of *Sabatzka*, garriſoned by the Turkes, did with the Cannon ſo ſoundly beate the ſame, that the breach being made aſſaultable was entred; and all that there lay in garriſon, were put to the ſword; and a ſtrong garriſon left to guard the place: whereby the countrie was freed from their wonted oppreſſions.

The Caſtle of Sabatzka taken by the Chriſtians.

Preſently vpon the taking of *Sabatzka*, the Chriſtians beſieged the citie of *Filek*, a ſtrong place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*; for the vnſetting whereof the Turkes drawing their garriſons in that quarter, leuied an armie of 18000 men, and therewith marched by night vntill they came neere to the citie: whereof the Generall of the Emperors armie being aduertiſed, out of the whole armie made choiſe of 7000 men: with which ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Turkes in their tents, he gaue them ſuch a camizado, that they truſting more to their heeles then their hands were ſo put to rout, that 6000 of them remained in the fields, foode for the foules of the aire: and amongſt them the Baſha of *Themeſuare*, the Gouernor of *Filek*, and many of great account. At this ouerthrow the Chriſtians beſides 29 peeces of Artillerie tooke 200 Wagons loden with victuals; with which they returned to the ſiege of the citie, which they ſo battered, that the breaches being made aſſaultable, the citie was entred and taken, and the defendants put to the ſworde: thoſe in the Caſtle notwithſtanding reſolute in their defence, within two daies after being by the Chriſtians aſſaulted, and the Caſtle entred, had their throates cut alſo. Yet there remained ſome 800, which being retired to another Caſtle, and ſeeing how the reſt of their company ſped, yeelded vpon compoſition of their liues ſaued, and to depart with what they could carrie vpon their backes. The taking of this citie ſtrake ſuch a

An ouerthrow giuen to the Turkes by the Chriſtians, the 10th of November, 1593.

Filek taken by the Chriſtians.

feare

feare into the Turkes in *Setſchine*, *Blawenſteene*, *Sallek*, *Dregel*, and *Palanke*, ſtrong townes in *Hungary*, that they abandoning them, retired ſome to *Hatwan*, and ſome to *Buda* for their refuge. In the ſame moneth were alſo recouered from the Turkes the townes of *Ainacke*, *Sollocke*, and *Weſtke*, by meanes whereof, the countrie was freed round about.

After this, the Turkes in *Siſeg*, *Caſtrowitz*, and *Petrinia* to the number of three thouſand, thinking for reuenge to haue done ſome great exploit paſſed the riuer *Saua*, with a determination to haue ſpoiled the countrie: but they were ſo welcomed by the borderers, that 500 of them remaining vpon the earth for hoſtages, the moſt of the reſt for haſte were drowned; ſo as few returned to beare the newes of their expedition. The ioy for the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians wars this yeere, ſo ſtirred vp the harts of the Germane Princes, that ſouldiers were leuied, Artillerie prouided, and euery where new prouiſion was made for the next yeeres warres. 19. December, 1593. *An expedition.*

In the beginning of March following, the Emperors brother MATTHIAS being Generall of the Chriſtian armie: the citie of *Nouigrade* lying neere to *Buda*, was by the Chriſtians beſieged; wherein the garriſon fearing their owne weakenes, and doubting reſcue: after a battery made, and ſome aſſaults giuen thereto, yeelded the citie to the Archduke, vpon condition of their liues ſaued, and to depart with their clothes on their backes, and their Cemitars by their ſides. This towne gotten (being a place of great importance) was by the Archduke furniſhed with a very ſtrong garriſon, vnder the commaund of REBEY a noble gentleman of *Hungary*. But the Turkiſh Gouernor of *Nouigrade* being retired to *Buda*, was there in reward of his good ſeruice, by the commaund of the Baſha thereof, in the night hanged vpon a tree neere to the gate of the citie. *Nouigrade taken by the Chriſtians.*

About this time the Emperor ſending his Ambaſſadors to the Muſcouite, implored his aide in his warre againſt the Turkes: to whom the Muſcouite promiſed 500000 Ducats in hand, and 400000 yeerely ſo long as the warres ſhould continew, but yet with a requeſt that the Emperor ſhould not conclude any peace with the Turke without his conſent. 1594. *The Emperor beſought the Muſcouite for aide againſt the Turke.*

The Chriſtians hauing long in vaine beſieged *Strigonium* and *Hatwan*, and brought the ſame to ſuch extremitie that they could hardly haue held out any longer: vpon the report of the comming of SINAN Baſha with an armie, they raiſing the ſiege from before thoſe cities departed: by reaſon whereof the poore Chriſtians inhabiting the countrie thereabouts, which had long hoped of libertie, became againe ſeruill to their inſulting enemies; which the Emperor knowing, and therewith conſidering how hardly of himſelfe he ſhould be able to maintaine ſo chargeable a warre againſt ſo mightie an enemie, he by his Ambaſſadors ſued to the Princes of Chriſtendome, but chiefly to thoſe of *Germany*, for aide; and for preuention of the imminent daunger likely to enſue, he ſummoned a Councell to be hold in the citie of *Ratisbone*; whither he together with the Princes of the Empire being come; after wonted ceremonies, the Emperor manifeſted vnto them the perfidie of the Turkiſh Emperor, who contrarie to his oath ſolemnely ſworne, had as an enemie to all Chriſtians, with his armies not onely ſpoiled all *Hungary*, but ſundrie other prouinces of the Empire: for redreſſe whereof, and the repreſſing of his inſolent pride, he entreated their extraordinarie aſſiſtance: whereto (although not in ſo ample manner as he required) they condeſcended. But through the preſent want thereof, SINAN Baſha, after the taking of *Dotis* (a ſtrong towne betweene *Strigonium* and *Raab*) with an 1594.

armie of 150000 Turkes and Tartars beſieged the ſtrong towne of *Raab*, which after a moſt furious batterie with 60 peeces of Cannon, and many terrible aſſaults, with the loſſe of many thouſands of men giuen, he became Maſter thereof; not without ſuſpition of treaſon in the Countie HARDECK, who had the commaund of the place: for which his perfidie, he was not long after by the Emperors commaundement committed in *Viena* to priſon; and within ſhort ſpace after, his treaſon being further diſcouered, he was in the ſaid citie vpon a new ſcaffold built of purpoſe for him, iuſtly executed.

Raab taken by the Turkes.

1594. In this yeere the Tartars by the Turkes direction, and not without the conſent of ſundrie great men in *Tranſiluania*; lying in the borders thereof to entrap SIGISMVND BATTOR Prince of that countrie: failing of their purpoſe (the treaſon being diſcouered and ſome of the conſpirators iuſtly executed) brake through the countrie. Wherein they vſing all manner hoſtilitie did irrepairable harme, and there went into *Hungary*, where they ioyned with the Turkiſh armie: hereupon the Prince ioyning in league with his poore oppreſſed neighbours, the Raſcians, reuolting from the Turkes, gaue his ſubiects leaue to take armes againſt them, and to make boote of them and their goods, whereſoeuer they ſhould finde them. The Tranſiluanians herewith encouraged, and in hope of ſome rich prey, taking armes, firſt went to the great riuer *Danuby*, where they tooke certaine Turkes ſhips very richly fraught, and therewith much treaſure, which was bound to the Turkes armie in *Hungary*. The Moldauians and Walachians, vpon the newes of the Tranſiluanians reuolt, and of the great bootie by them taken from the Turkes; and moued by their example, ſhortly after reſolued to doe the like; and therewith ioyned in league with the Tranſiluanian Prince; who alreadie had ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor RODVLPH to *Prage* in *Bohemia*; where betweene the Emperor and the ſaide Prince it was concluded; that in both defenſiue and offenſiue warre to be made againſt their common enemie, the one ſhould aſſiſt the other; and that no truce, peace, defenſiue and offenſiue be made againſt their common enemie: and that neither of or other compoſition ſhould be made with the Turke, without their mutuall conſent and good liking, with ſeuerall other articles too long to be recited. The reuolt of theſe Prouinces was ſo beneficiall to the Chriſtians, and ſo preiuditiall to their enemies, that (as it was ſurmiſed) AMVRATH the great Turke, for anger for the loſſe of them, and of a ſeditious tumult of the Ianiſaries, happened at *Conſtantinople* in December 1594, fell ſo ſicke that he died thereof. After the taking of *Raab*, SINAN Baſha thinking to haue made all ſmooth before him, beſieged the citie of *Romara*, from whence after three weekes hard ſiege, and many terrible aſſaults giuen, hearing of the comming of the Archduke MATTHIAS, he retired to the late gotten city *Dotis*, where he diſcharged his army. The ſpring next following at the Emperors eſpeciall requeſt the King of *Spaine* ſent to the Emprors warres in *Hungary*, 2000 horſe and 6000 foote, vnder the conduct of Countie CHARLES MANSFIELT, a man famous in the low countries for his ſeruice againſt the States, vnder the commaund of the Duke of *Parma*: who departing from *Bruſſels* in *Brabant*, in Februarie came to *Prage* in *Bohemia* in March following.

The Moldauians and Walachians rebell againſt the Turke.

A league betweene the Emperor and the Prince of Tranſiluania.

The death of Amurath the great Turke the 18 of Ianuary 1595.

Sundrie ſupplies ſent to aide the Emperor in his warres againſt the Turke in Hungary.

The ſame ſpring alſo came ſundrie good ſupplies not onely from the Princes of *Germany* but out of *Italy* alſo, as from the Pope, the great Duke of *Tuſcane*, the Dukes of *Ferrara*, and of *Mantoa* with others, which together with the aides of *Germany*, amounted to the number of 50000 foote, and about 15000 horſe, wherewith

wherewith the Countie MANSFELT being made Lieutenant Generall vnder Duke MATTHIAS, tooke the field, and beſieged the citie of *Strigonium*; which (after a long tedious ſiege and ſundrie bold attempts giuen by the Turkes for the vnſetting thereof) was by the Chriſtians taken, in Nouember 1595. Preſently after the taking of *Strigonium*, the Archduke ſent certaine troupes to attempt the caſtle of *Plindenburgh*, ſituate vpon the riuer *Danubie*, betweene *Buda* and *Strigonium*, which without any great reſiſtance they tooke alſo. The newes of the taking of theſe places, eſpecially *Strigonium*, cauſed great ioy in moſt parts of Chriſtendome; but into the Turkes in *Buda* it ſtrake ſo great a feare, that the moſt part of the better ſort of the inhabitants were at the point to haue abandoned the citie, and had done ſo had not the Baſha, by commaunding the gates thereof to be ſhut, ſtaied their flight.

Strigonium taken by the Chriſtians, an. 1595

About the ſame time that *Strigonium* was taken, SINAN Baſha with a great armie of Turkes hauing made a bridge ouer the *Danubie*, came into *Walachie*, purpoſing to haue reduced the ſame, together with *Tranſiluania* and *Moldauia* into the Turkes obeiſance: but the inhabitants of thoſe countries hauing intelligence of his comming, made ſuch prouiſion for his entertainment, that after a moſt doubtfull battaile (continuing from the morning till night) wherein many thouſand Turkes being ſlaine, the reſt to ſaue their liues were driuen to flie, and amongſt them the old Baſha; who making more haſte then good ſpeede, was like to haue been drowned in a ditch, leauing all his Ordenances, baggage and prouiſion in prey to the Chriſtians.

Sinan Baſha ouerthrowne by the Tranſiluanians.

About the ſame time, the Turkes to the number of about 20000 men, with fire and ſword entring *Croatia*, were by the Chriſtians in ſuch manner encountred and ouerthrowne, that few of them eſcaped with their liues: with which good ſucceſſe encouraged, the Chriſtians beſieging the citie of *Petroüina*, tooke the ſame; the taking whereof cauſed infinite ioy in all that part of the countrie. The old enemie to the Chriſtians, SINAN Baſha, in hope to haue been reuenged for his late ouerthrow, hauing made a new bridge ouer the *Danubie*, againe with an armie of 70000 men entred *Walachie*: againſt whom came the Prince of *Tranſiluania* with as great an armie: but before they two could meete, the Turkes and Ianiſaries were poſſeſſed with ſuch feare, that without ſight of the Prince or his armie they retired, together with their Generall SINAN, who for haſte left his Tent behinde him, with good ſtore of Ordnance, munition and prouiſion for the warres. Vpon whoſe haſtie retreit, the Prince comming to *Tergouiſta* (wherein lay foure thouſand Turkes in garriſon) ſummoned the Caſtle to yeeld: but the Ianiſaries therein ſtanding vpon their defence, refuſed all compoſition: whereupon the Prince by batterie hauing made an aſſaultable breach, the place was entred; wherein the Turkes hauing their throates cut, in the Caſtle were found 42. pieces of Artillerie. Before the Prince his departure from this place, 4000 Turks, which by SINAN Baſha had been ſent a boote haling, being with 60000 head of cattle returned, and thinking to haue found him where they left him, were for their paines taking all put to the ſword. Beſides theſe, many other great exploites were perfourmed by this worthy Prince, and more would haue been, had not the Chauncellor of *Poland* (enuying his good ſucceſſe) ſought and practiſed his ouerthrow; to the great hindrance of the Chriſtians, and aduancement of the Turkes proceedings.

An armie of the Turkes ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians in Croatia.

The cowardly flight of the Turkes in Walachie.

Tergouiſta taken by the Prince of Tranſiluania.

The Spring following, the Emperours armie vnder the conduct of the Baron of *Swarſhenburgh*, taken the field, marched towards *Vaccia* garriſoned by the Turkes;

Vaccia abandoned and fired by the Turks.

Turkes; which hearing of the approch of the Christian armie, abandoning the citie and setting the same on fire, fled to *Pesth*. After their departure, the Christians besieged *Hatwan*, which being taken by assault, all that therein were, without respect of age, sexe, or dignitie, past by the edge of the sword.

In the meane time while these things were a doing, MAHOMET the Turkish Emperour with an armie of two hundred thousand Turkes and Tartars, and three hundred pieces of Artillerie came into *Hungary*, wherein, within few daies after his thither comming, he besieged the citie of *Agria*, (a place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*) part whereof after a long terrible siege and many desperate assaults giuen, he tooke by force of armes, putting to the sword all that were therein: the rest fearing the like issue, yeelded vpon composition of their liues saued, and to depart with their baggage, and their swords by their sides.

After the taking of *Agria*, MAXIMILIAN the Emperours brother, and then Generall of his armie, ioyning with the Prince of *Transiluania* (who with 18000 men, horse and foote, and fortie pieces of Artillerie came to his aide) taking the field with an armie of 60000 men, whereof 32000 were horsemen, resoluing to giue the Turke battaile, came to the other side of a riuer which parted his and the Turkes armies; where after many bloudie skirmishes and euents of warre, the two armies ioyned in battaile; wherein the Christians fought so valiantly, that hauing put almost all the Turkes whole armie to route; and MAHOMET the great
1596. Turke himselfe with the chiefest of his Bashaes being fled: the Christians euen then when they should haue consummate their victorie, by base greedie seeking for pillage, gaue their vanquished enemies time and opportunitie againe to gather head; and by charging them in this their disorder, to ouerthrow them and put them to flight. In this battaile, of the Christians were slaine 20000 men, and of the Turkes 60000. After this battaile, wherein either partie ranne from the other. MAHOMET thinking it honour enough for him to haue taken *Agria*, retired to *Belgrado*, and thence with much adoe to *Constantinople*; wherein he hath euer since kept himself safe enough from any more hazarding his person in any place of such perill. The rest of this yeere and the next were spent of either side for the most part in skirmishes, and sudden inuasions, without ought done of any great importance.

1598. In the yeere following, which was 1598, SIGISMVND the valiant Prince of *Transiluania*, seeing the countrie of *Moldauia* by the Polonian separated from him and made tributarie to the Turke, and himselfe (as it were) left alone to beare the burthen of the warre against both Turke and Polonian, resolued with himself to resigne the possession of *Transiluania* to the Emperor RODVLPH, as to a Prince then himselfe better able to defend the same: and so retired to liue priuate in peace in *Slesia*, with certaine exhibition sufficient to maintaine him in honorable estate.

Raab surprized by the Christians.

In March following, the citie of *Raab* one of the most strong cities in *Europe*, situate in the hither part of *Hungary* towards *Austrich*, was by the wise conduct of the Baron of *Swarzhenburgh* lying then in *Komara*, in a night surprized, and after a long desperate fight possessed, wherein besides two Bashaes and 6000 souldiers slaine, fourescore and tenne pieces of Artillerie were taken, to the great ioy of all *Hungary* and *Germany*; and the extreme raging griefe of the Turkes, who for foure yeeres space had been Lords thereof: it being first besieged by SINAN Basha, with an armie of 150. thousand men the space of three moneths; and then betraied by the Countie HARDECK, who had the commaund of the place.

After

After this ſo fortunate recouerie of *Raab*, the Chriſtians beſieging *Buda*, put the Turkes to ſuch diſtreſſe, that they abandoning the citie retired to the Caſtle, wherein they were ſo throughly aſſailed by Mines, batteries and aſſaults, that they could not long haue held out, if the Chriſtians had been able to haue continued the ſiege: which oppreſſed by the extremitie of the weather, tired with intollerable toyle, and what was worſe, hearing of the comming of a great armie of Turkes to vnſet the beſieged, they firing the ſuburbes, with great prey retired to *Strigonium*: from whence they were diſperſed to ſundrie places there to lie in garriſon, to be in the better readines for the next yeeres ſeruice. About the ſame time, the Turkes hauing beſieged and battered the citie of *Varadin* in the vpper *Hungary*, were (like as the Chriſtians before *Buda* in the lower *Hungary*) driuen to raiſe their ſiege, and to returne to *Buda*. Which citie the Baron of *Swarzhenburgh* the yeere next following attempted to haue ſurprized, and to haue made an entrie thereinto by meanes of a Pettar, as he not long before had done by *Raab*: but failing of his purpoſe, and being diſcouered he was driuen to depart: but ſhortly after, the Baſha of *Buda* with a troupe of ſixe hundred horſe going to bring in a conuoy of victuals for the reliefe of the citie; fell by chaunce into an ambuſh of certaine hazarders which lay for boote: by the which (after a long fight) being ouerthrowne and taken priſoner, he was brought to the Emperours campe. But the aduenturers returning to trie their further fortune, were giuen to vnderſtand, that the Baſha of *Boſna*, with the Saniacques of *Zighet*, of the ſiue Churches, and of *Coppan*, with 10000 Turks were comming (by cutting their throtes) to free the countrie from their incurſions: wherewith nothing diſmaied, theſe aduenturers went to chuſe a fit ground to fight with them, whom at the firſt meeting they charged, and after a long doubtfull fight ouerthrew: in which encounter the Baſha himſelfe with the greateſt part of the Turks, ended their daies.

Buda beſieged and againe left by the Chriſtians.

1598.

1599.

At the ſame time, in the vpper *Hungary*, IBRAIM Baſha with an armie of 50000 Turkes came to *Solnoch*; where vnderſtanding of a ſmall armie of the Chriſtians lying at *Caſſouia*, he without daring to attempt ought, retired to *Belgrade*; where he expected the comming of a fleete of ſhips, fraught with victuals and munition for his armie, and for the reliefe of *Buda*, *Alba Regalis*, and other diſtreſſed places, conuoyed vp the riuer by 5000 Turkes: whereof the Chriſtians hauing ſome aduertiſement, lay in waite for them; and at their comming, by giuing a ſudden vnexpected charge, ouerthrowing them, had the ſpoile of the ſhips; wherein the goods were valued to be worth a Millian of gold, among which was to the value of aboue 20000 pound ſtarling in readie money; which was ſhared amongſt the ſouldiers.

A rich reprizall taken by the Chriſtians vpon the Danuby.

In the beginning of the yeere 1600, the Emperor calling a Diet, ſolicited the Princes of the Empire for ſupplies for the warres to be made the next ſpring: which they promiſing, he made the Duke of *Mercueur*, late Gouernor of *Britaine* in *France* (who aſſiſted by the King of *Spaine* with about 4000 Spaniards vnder the conduct of DON IVAN DE LAGVNA; and by the reſt of the league, warred againſt the French King: and now with a great number of French foote and horſe, was come to the Emperors ſeruice) Generall of all his forces.

The Duke of Mercueur Generall of the Emperors forces in Hungary.

Not long after, certaine troupes of Wallons, and French men lying in garriſon in *Pappa*, a ſtrong towne in the lower *Hungary*, mutinying and offering to ſell the towne to the Turkes, committed many horrible villanies too lorie to be related: whereupon the Baron of *Warzhenburgh* vpon intelligence, with aſſ[illegible] the 1000 horſe and foote made thitherwards with certaine Pettars, thirſtich encouraged, [illegible]ritians being on either ſide

Wallons and French men mutinying in Pappa, were iuſtly rewarded.

The death of the Baron of Swartzhenburgh sometime Gouernor of Oudenburgh in Flanders for the King of Spaine.

haue ſurpriſed the citie: but failing, he was in a ſallie infortunately with a Musket ſhot ſlaine. But the citie being neuertheleſſe beſet, the mutiners were ſo much diſtreſſed that they reſolued to abandon it, and to flie to the Turkes, which being perceiued, ſuch order was taken, that they ſallying and being diſperſed, many of them were intercepted, and according to their deſerts iuſtly after ſundrie manners ſo tortured, that happie was he that had but his throte cut. And thus ended that mutinie.

Babotſca taken by the Turkes.

Towards the latter end of ſummer in the yeere 1600, IBRAIM Baſha, with a very huge armie of Turkes and Tartars (deemed 200000 ſtrong) came before *Babotſca*, a ſtrong hold in the lower *Hungary*; which after one daies batterie and a breach made, was deliuered into his power. Thence marching with his armie to *Caniſia*, a towne in the borders of *Stiria*, for the ſituation thereof in a deepe fenne, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, held impregnable; where whileſt with faggots and earth the Turkes were buſied to make paſſage for their armie ouer the bogges, they might perceiue the Duke of *Mercueur*, Generall for the Emperor, with an armie of little more then 40000 horſe and foote come thither for the reliefe of the place, at their backes readie to charge them: with which the Baſha (after knowledge had of their ſtrength) ioyned in battaile; wherein many of either partie being ſlaine, the night parted the fray. But the next day, the Captaines of the Chriſtians were ſo much daunted, that they could not be drawne from their ſtrength: which the enemie perceiuing, the Tartars were ſent abrode to forrage, which roaming vp and downe the countrie for prey, met with a conuoy of 200 wagons laden with victuals, comming to the reliefe of the Chriſtians, which they tooke, and carried to their campe: the loſſe whereof added to their former feare, did ſo much diſcourage the Chriſtians, that they by night retiring, and being by the Turkes perceiued and followed, loſt (beſides certaine pieces of Cannon and the greateſt part of their luggage) 3000 men of their arrierguard. Preſently after this their haſtie retreit, the Turkes returned to the ſiege of the citie, wherein the garriſon in deſpaire to be vnſet mutinying (and not without ſuſpition of treaſon in the Gouernor, which afterwards coſt him his head) came to a compoſition to giue vp the place, vpon condition freely to depart with bag and baggage. Which being accordingly performed, the Baſha made the towne to be more ſtrongly fortified then euer theretofore.

Caniſia yeelded to the Turkes.

Yet notwithſtanding theſe deſaſters, the Emperor hauing obtained both out of *Italy* and *Germany* new ſupplies, the Duke *Mercueur*, Generall of the Emperors forces at the time of the yeere fit for ſeruice with an armie taking the field, beſieged the ſtrong towne of *Alba Regalis*, which for certaine daies he battering with the Cannon, thought to haue entred and taken the ſame by aſſault; but being by an ouerloper, aduertiſed, that through a lake on the other ſide of the city the ſuburbs might be ſurpriſed (which being take the towne could not hold out) he ſent 1600 choſen men to attempt the ſame; who notwithſtanding that they found greater difficultie in the action then was expected, yet at the length a little before the breake of the day they got ouer; at which time vpon a ſigne giuen, the Duke on the other ſide made ſhew of ſo furious an aſſault, as though he would preſently haue entred the citie with his whole forces: whileſt the Turkes ranne to anſwere the alarme made by the Duke, thoſe which on the other ſide had paſt the lake, entring the ſuburbes vndiſcouered, with ſuch terrible cry charged the Turkes at th[illegible]oure yeeres [illegible]t they in a tumult amazed, fled into the citie, of which, the Chri[illegible]aſha, with an armie them) made a great ſlaughter. The ſuburbs wherein conſiſted betraied by the Countie,

the

the chiefe ſtrength of the citie being taken; the Duke the next day with the Cannon hauing made two places aſſaultable, the citie was entred, and the garriſon put to the ſword: onely the Baſha, Commaunder of the place was taken, and ſent priſoner to the campe. Preſently vpon the taking of this citie, the Generall of Turkes forces hearing that *Alba Regalis* was diſtreſſed, leuied an army the 60 thouſand ſtrong to come to the reliefe thereof, who notwithſtanding that he was aduertiſed that the citie was alreadie taken, yet he neuertheleſſe, in hope to ouerthrow the Chriſtians, or by finding the citie vnrepaired, held on his way thitherwards: whereof the Duke aduertiſed, with an armie of a farre leſſe number, but much better men (for the moſt of the Turkes were but Viſonios lately taken vp) made towards him: and the two armies drawing neere the one to the other, a hot skirmiſh was entertained betwixt them; and the Duke being aſcertained of the baſenes of the Turkiſh ſouldiers, reſolutely giuing the onſet, at the firſt charge had the execution of 6000 of them, and had ouerthrowne the whole armie, had not certaine great troupes of Tartars appeared at their backes: by which meanes the Chriſtians forbearing to proſecute their good fortune, the Baſha had oportunitie to reforme his ſcattered forces, and ſo within few daies after to retire to *Buda*, but in his retreit they following him in the arrierguard, and tooke many priſoners, and amongſt them ſundrie French men of thoſe which had mutinied in *Pappa*; which Duke of *Mercueur* (for that they had for his ſake come to thoſe warres) procured to be pardoned.

Alba Regalis taken by the Chriſtians.

An armie of the Turkes foyled by Duke Mercueur.

Shortly after the Archduke FERDINAND with an armie attempting by ſiege, battery, and all warlike ſtratagems to haue recouered *Caniſia*, lay before it vntill that through the deſperate valour of the defendants (the moſt of which were Burgundians and French men) together with the Froſt, Snow, and extreme tempeſtuous windes which then happened, he was driuen to raiſe his ſiege; from which his people made ſo haſtie a retreit, that they could not be induced to take their Ordinance with them.

Caniſia beſieged and giuen ouer by the Chriſtians.

The taking of *Alba Regalis* the laſt yeere by the Chriſtians, being a place of ſuch importance, did ſo much anger MAHOMET the great Turke, that he reſoluing either againe to recouer the ſame, or elſe in the action to hazard the greateſt part of his forces, cauſed to that effect an armie of aboue 100000 vnder the commaund of MAHOMET Baſha to be leuied; who therewith comming from *Adrianople* to *Belgrado*, and thence to *Buda*, about the middeſt of Auguſt ſat downe before *Alba Regalis*; where he hauing planted his Cannon, made ſo terrible a batterie, as the like hath been ſeldome ſeene, but by reaſon of the mariſhes and fenny groundes, wherewith the citie was enuironed, he could not conueniently bring his people to giue the aſſault; whereupon he cauſing with great difficultie thoſe bogges to be made firme ground, brought his men to aſſault the counterſcarph, made without the walles for the defence of the foote of the rampart: in which attempt he hauing loſt many men, in the end he conſtrained the Chriſtians to withdraw themſelues within their ramparts; to be briefe, after many ſallies and retreits, and many aſſaultes giuen, with the loſſe of an infinit number of men, and effuſion of much blood, the Chriſtians were driuen to giue eare to a parley; during the time whereof, a damned villaine (who hauing renounced his faith was become a Turke) brought a battalion of the Turkes to a place which he knew to be but meanely guarded; where they being entred, made ſuch a noiſe, that the reſt of the army thereby perceiuing their entry were therewith ſo much encouraged, that they againe ranne to the walles, where the poore Chriſtians being on either

Alba Regalis beſieged by Mahomet Baſha, 1602.

ſide

Alba Regalis taken by the Turke.

side by the multitude of their enemies oppreſſed, were for the moſt part valiantly fighting miſerably ſlaine: onely the Gouernour and ſome few other, which after the furie were in their lodging found ſore wounded, had their liues ſaued. Thus was the ſtrong citie of *Alba Regalis*, which eleuen moneths before was by ſurpriſe taken by the Chriſtians, now againe recouered by the Turkes.

Peſth taken by the Chriſtians.

Shortly after the loſſe of *Alba Regalis*, the Emperours forces to the number of ſome thirtie thouſand men were drawne to an head in *Kemara*, from whence in hope by doing ſome notable exploit to haue recouered their loſt honour, in not relieuing *Alba Regalis*, they went to *Buda*; where after the breaking of a bridge made ouer the *Danubie* betweene *Peſth* and *Buda*, they by a ſtratagem tooke the citie of *Peſth*, together with the ſuburbes of *Buda*; from whence (after that they had battered and ſundrie waies attempted the caſtle, and brought the ſame to the point to haue yeelded for want of victuals) they retired, for feare of an infinite multitude of Tartars, which making paſſage through *Walachie*, were comming to vnſet the citie.

1560.

After this, many ſeruices were worthely perfourmed by the Chriſtians, which the breuitie of this hiſtorie permitteth not at large to be related. And whereas I ſaid in the beginning of this diſcourſe, that when this Emperour was aduanced to the Imperiall dignitie, it was hoped of him that he would not onely haue reſtored the auncient Maieſtie of the Empire, but alſo haue inlarged the ſhortened bounds thereof: ſo without all doubt (as it appeareth by the hiſtories of his time) he would in farre more ample manner haue freed the ſame from the miſerable ſeruitude wherein they yet languiſh, if the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes would haue aided him with any indifferent aſſiſtance: or what is leſſe, if ſome profeſſing Chriſt had not in the higheſt of his fortune, by croſſing him aduanced the Turks proceedings, raiſing troubles, diſſention and ciuill warres in the countries of *Moldauia*, *Walachia*, and *Tranſiluania*; which countries ſo long as they continued firmely vnited to the Empire, did not onely moleſt the Turkes, and oftentimes deſeate whole armies of them, but alſo gaue the Emperor oportunitie (by his Lieutenants) to recouer ſundrie townes in *Hungary*; wherein being in power no way cõparable to the ancient Romane Emperors) he hath admirably to his high honor, maintained againſt the moſt mightie Monarch of the earth, a long, chargeable and bloudie war; ſuch as no Germane Emperor ſince the beginning of the Turkiſh Monarchie hath euer waged the like: and therein notwithſtanding the inequalitie of their forces, hath (without diminution) held and yet ſtill holdeth what he inherited, or as much in value. But foraſmuchas it is in the mightie hand of God only to redeeme that neuer ſufficiently pitied kingdom of *Hungarie*, with the confines thereof, from the miſerable oppreſſion of the Turkes: To conclude, I humbly beſeech his diuine Maieſtie to be pleaſed, ſo to vnite the hearts and hands of all profeſſing the name of Chriſt, that they not onely expell the common enemie out of ſuch places as he to the diſhonour of all Chriſtian Princes vſurpeth in *Europe*, but alſo releaſe from ſeruitude ſo many thouſands of diſtreſſed poore ſoules, which in extreme miſerie in ſundry parts of the world groane vnder the ſlauiſh yoke of their barbarous tyrannie.

The Chancellor and other great men in Poland, the Poliſh King winking thereat.

FINIS.

48
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THE HISTORIE OF ALL THE ROMANE EMPERORS,

Beginning with CAIVS IVLIVS CÆSAR, and succeſſiuely ending with RODVLPH the ſecond now raigning.

Wherein (in ſumme) are contained their liues and acts, together with the riſing, greatnes, and declining of the Romane Empire: the original and ſucceſſe of al the moſt famous nations of the world: the erecting and alterations of ſundrie eſtates and kingdoms: and generally the moſt part of all the memorable warres and battailes that haue bin in the world ſince that time.

Firſt collected in Spaniſh by PEDRO MEXIA, *ſince enlarged in Italian by* LODOVICO DVLCE *and* GIROLAMO BARDI, *and now engliſhed by* W.T.

LONDON
Printed for MATTHEVV LOVVNES.
1604.

48

TO THE RIGHT VALE-ROVS AND WORTHY KNIGHT SIR HORACIO VERE, COLLONEL OF AN ENGLISH REGIMENT vnder the States in the Low Countries.

BEing through lingring ſicknes conſtrained to leaue the warres, I thought it not fit to melt my time in idlenes, but to vndergoe ſome exerciſe of the minde, ſith ſtrength failed in my body: and for me I thought nothing more fit then to write of warres (vnable to follow them) that it might appeare to the world my thoughts had not forſaken Armes, though Armes had caſſered me. Debating with my ſelfe, I at laſt reſolued, that to tranſlate the liues of Emperors was the trueſt ſubiect and moſt honorable; full of vertue and valour, the changes of times, the chaunces of wars, the inſtabilitie of fortune, the force of magnanimitie, and reward of honor. Hauing with no little paines finiſhed what I aimed at, there came more paines into my head, ſtudying to whom I ſhould dedicate my labours; for I aſſured my ſelfe that treating of valour and vertue, it muſt be to one that had both. I needed not to haue paſt the Seas into Flaunders *for a Patrone of my paines, knowing that in* England *there are ſo many of ſuch worthy memory, ſuch exquiſit knowledge both for counſell and execution, for experience and ſucceſſe, for diſcipline and deſerts, as in no age our Iland heretofore hath offered, (though in all ages famous:) but it ſuted with my conceite ra-*

ther to finde out some that were in present action; to the end that Captaines and Gentlemen after their worthy seruices done by day, might with reading of honorable deedes recreate themselues at night; and seeing the reward of others courage, redouble their owne in hope (although not to come to be Emperors) yet to clime to honors in their life, and leaue to posteritie that which cannot die (though they shall) fame, memorable, and immortall. Nailed (if I may so say) to this opinion, it was easie for me in the Low-countries (without doubt or dispute with my selfe) to finde your selfe as the fittest there, both in regard of your honorable seruices, and vertuous disposition: what I speake is so farre from flattery, that enuie can alleage nothing to the contrarie: besides when I call to minde the honorable seruices of your aunce stors, many yeeres famous for the warres: then the liuing patterne of a perfect Christian, your renowned brother (whom for honors sake I name) Sir FRANCIS VERE *Knight, Lord Gouernour of the* Briell, *whom the Low-countries haue found both wise and valorous, and the Spaniards no lesse; (though they wished it had not been so much:) then againe was I enforced to continew in my proposed purpose. To single out your seuerall seruices, the manner, the valour, and the successe, were to tell that to the world which it knoweth alreadie. If this in me seeme presumption, excuse it, because it proceedeth from the honor I beare you. If your vertues entertaine my labours: my labours then will easily cleere my errors. So praying to the Almightie to second all your honorable attempts with happie successe, I rest wholy in what I shall be able.*

Euer ready to doe you seruice,

humbly at commaund

W. TRAHERON.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

HAuing determined, yea and ſometime promiſed, following my courſe alreadie begun, to write ſomething for the common good of my countrey, as in ſatisfaction and account for the time which I haue ſpent in reading: after many conſiderations had to that purpoſe, no kind of writing ſeemed more fit for me, neither did ſo much pleaſe and ſatisfie me, as to take in hand ſome great and notable hiſtorie. Truly I had reaſon and ſufficient ground to do ſo, for that indeede no kinde of litterature can be written, which may be beneficiall to ſo many, and be generally acceptable and pleaſing to all; neither that hath bin ſo much extolled and commended by wiſe and great men, as Hiſtorie. ARISTOTLE affirmeth it to be profitable for Councels, Senates, and Aſſemblies, of whoſe opinion was the good Emperour SEVERVS, who ſo often as he had occaſion to treate and conſult of any important matter concerning the wars, called to counſell and was chiefly aduiſed by wiſe men, and ſuch as were well read in ancient Hiſtories. ZENO the Prince of the Stoick Philoſophers being demaunded by what meanes a man might be made both happie and wiſe, anſwered, that he ſhould conuerſe with the dead: which is as much as if he ſhould haue ſaid, let him by reading hiſtories vnderſtand and know the acts of the ancient. As for CICERO, (before whoſe iudgement I know not whoſe to preferre) he diſcourſing of hiſtorie, calleth it the record of times, the light of the truth, the Miſtris of mans life, the life of memorie, the meſſenger of antiquitie. Others call it the ground and foundation of the truth: others, the image of humane life: including in few words great praiſes and myſteries, and yet true and certaine, if we attentiuely note and conſider them. For to the firſt, it is cleere and manifeſt that hiſtorie is the light of the trueth, and a record of ages and generations, ſith that the things which in time are conſumed and brought to nothing, are thereby kept and preſerued, yea and it maketh them (whether they will or no) to liue and remaine in mans memorie: and it doth in ſuch manner repreſent things paſt, that it maketh it ſeeme vnto vs that we ſee and attaine to thoſe times, as though that ſuch things had happened in the time wherein we liue. If glorie and renowne be ſo great a good as SALOMON and all the Sages doe extoll the ſame to be; and if naturally all men deſire to perpetuate their name and memorie, tell me what would be become thereof if Hiſtories were not? Truly it had been but as the winde, which paſſing by is felt, but cannot be kept nor detained. What ſpeech or remembrance had we now had of the great acts of the Greekes and the Romanes, and of other people and nations, if Hiſtories had not been? How had I knowne the clemencie

of Cæsar, the magnanimitie and largesse of Alexander, the bountie and iustice of Traiane, or the vertues and excellencies of these and such other great and noble personages to imitate and extoll them, if not by these meanes? Truly all that is past had bin but as a dreame, which waking, a man hath forgotten, and cannot recite. And our forepassed fathers had not onely bin depriued of their fame and renowne, but innumerable great acts had bin left vndone, but that the emulation of glorie and renowne made them to be vndertaken: for it is certaine, that the Trophees of Milciades stirred vp Themistocles; and the historie that Homer wrote of Achilles, Alexander the Great; and of him, Iulius Cæsar; and so of others other men to perfourme great and noble exploites. The matter resteth not here, that Historie is onely a record and preseruer of humane vertues: but hath also bin very necessarie for the conseruation of diuine matters; for it hath preserued in memorie the liues, martyrdomes, and godly examples of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, and the greatest part of our holy law and sacred Scripture is historie, being the ground and foundation whereupon standeth all the rest of the building. If not, I pray tell me (passing ouer the rest in silence) what else is the holie Gospell, but an historie and a true relation?

To returne to policie and humane conuersation, what were it, if the Chronicles and memorie of matters past were wanting? For without them the noblesse and antiquitie of houses and linages could not be knowne and continued, and as little the right and title to estates; neither should we haue knowne the beginning and originall of people, Kingdomes and Nations, neither the lawes to gouerne them could haue bin preserued: and in all things would haue bin disorder and confusion, as we see to be amongst those Nations which want the same. So that truly and with much reason it is said, that Historie is the schoolemistresse and director of mans life, sith that besides what is alreadie set downe, it is very necessarie and expedient for all estates, qualities, and ages: for to simple young men it giueth the wisedome of ancient old men, and maketh them expert without hauing had experience: for as saith Cicero, for a man not to know what passed before his time is to be euer a child. So that iustly it may be said, that historie maketh men expert, wise, and circumspect: for by examples and demonstrations of matters past, it giueth a rule and direction to determine of matters present (yea and what is more and seeming impossible) that a man may before hand diuine and vnderstand the issue and successe of his actions and attempts: for knowing the beginning and the middle, he may coniecture them to haue the like issue and euent as such other like actions haue had: for as Salomon saith, sith there is no new thing vnder heauen, and that all that is hath bin, and that which is to come shall be as what is past, it appeareth plainly vnto vs, that he that hath vnderstood, seene, and well considered it, may well perceiue what will follow. And as I say, this fruite and profit is common to all sorts of men: for Kings and Princes in Histories may finde others whom they may imitate, and with whom they may emulate and contend in vertues and excellencies: and other wicked ones, whose fashions and conditions they may shew and abhorre, and by whose ends and fame they may take example: Captaines, aduice, policies, acts of fortitute and magnanimitie, which they may vse and make profit of: and seeing the errors and daungers, may know how to auoide them. Gouernours and Magistrates, lawes, customes, and manner of gouernment, which they may hold for a rule. Finally, there is not any kind of people, but out of Historie may draw a rule and example vnder which they may liue wisely and vertuously, and warning to

beware

beware of the contrarie. For the true hiſtorie leaueth no vertue without commendation, neither vice without reprehenſion, and to al indifferently giuing their due place and worth; is a teſtimonie againſt the wicked, a reward to the iuſt, and a treaſurie and depoſitorie of heroicall vertues and noble acts. Of all other Artes and Sciences, each of them hath a marke and white whereat to aime: hiſtorie comprehendeth the whole, and is the practiſe and example of the reſt. Great and excellent are other Arts and Sciences, but men are moſt commonly drawne therto through the couetous deſire they haue thereby to attaine to riches and honours: onely hiſtorie is read for the loue of it ſelfe, no other thing is therein expected, but to know which is the true guerdon. Hiſtorie of it ſelfe may liue without the Sciences, and ſo can none of them without it, for it hath been the preſeruation and ſtorehouſe of them all, and ſo conſequently by this account ought to be preferred before them all. Principally for the vſe of hiſtorie letters were found out, to the end to leaue to thoſe that were to come, a memoriall of what was paſt: and as other Arts and Sciences were written, it was but to leaue an hiſtorie of them. So as the matter being well weighed, we may ſay that all that is written, ſeeing it is written for a memoriall and to be kept in remembrance, is but hiſtorie. Another excellencie (beſides what is alreadie ſaid) hath hiſtorie aboue all other Artes; for all the Sciences are not generally pleaſing to all men; ſundrie pleaſe ſundrie humours: but hiſtorie to all wits is indifferently acceptable. The Philoſophers ſometime haue been driuen out of *Rome*, and in like manner the Maſters in Rhetorike and Art Oratorie, for the diſlike the people haue had of them: and in a long time Phiſicke was not admitted. The Mathematicians and Aſtrologians haue ſometimes been baniſhed from thence alſo, and ſome nations haue not allowed of certaine Arts, neither do they yet at this day embrace them; but the Hiſtories and Annales of times paſt, neuer hath there been any man but hath loued and deſired them, and reſpected thoſe which haue been the authors thereof. Yea the reading of hiſtories is ſo delightfull, that we willingly giue eare to fables and tales for the ſympathie they hold with true hiſtories. Of all the excellent Kings and Captaines that haue been in the world, I haue not read of any but were delighted with reading the Chronicles, out of which they drew no leſſe rule and diſcipline for what they were to vndertake, then from the exerciſe and vſe of what they did: yea of LVCIVS LVCVLLVS we reade, that reading made him a wiſe and excellent Captaine. And great men in time paſt made ſo great account of hiſtories, that they not onely ſpent much time in reading them, but did euen glorie, and made no leſſe account to write hiſtories, then to atchieue matters worthie to be written: ſome of which, the hiſtories they wrote made them little leſſe excellent and renowned, then the battailes they fought: as amongſt the Greekes were HERODOTVS, THVCIDIDES and TIMOTHEVS: and amongſt the Latines, MARCVS PORCIVS CATO, QVINTVS FABIVS, ASINIVS POLLIO, and the great Cæſars CAIVS IVLIVS, and his nephew OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS, and ſome others of the one and other nation. Finally, the benefits and excellencies of hiſtorie are ſuch and ſo many, that as an endleſſe piece of work I will leaue to wade any further therein, let this little that I haue recounted ſerue for an Index of the much that is to be ſaid, which hath induced me in our vulgar tongue to bring to light this hiſtorie which is no common matter, but of all the Romane Emperours, wherein all their liues and acts in a meane, betweene faſtidious tediouſnes, and ſterill breuitie, are into one volume briefly digeſted. And although it be a bold attempt, yet I hold the will and deſire there-

to commendable; which is, that through my endeuour, what in the Latine tongue lieth ſecret and hidden from thoſe which vnderſtand not the ſame, may in our vulgar language be found out; and that therein wee may attaine to thoſe benefits which before I haue recited. This is one of the chiefeſt reaſons whereby I was encouraged to take it in hand, together with what PLINI the Orator ſaith, that Hiſtorie howſoeuer it be written, yet is pleaſing, for that naturally men are inclined to deſire to know new things, as are thoſe which are paſt to them that haue not knowne them. And although I cannot poliſh this Hiſtorie with other beautifying ornaments, yet will I endeuour to write truly; contenting my ſelfe with what CATVLLVS ſaith concerning CICERO; that he of neceſſitie needeth not to be an Oratour that writeth an Hiſtorie; it ſhall ſuffice if he be not a lier. And the ſame CICERO in the perſon of ANTHONY ſaith, that the Greekes in the beginning wrote onely bare naked Annales, and ſo MARCVS CATO, PISO, and other Romane Hiſtoriographers. The other lawes and conditions of Hiſtorie, in the computation of times, in the deſcription and names of countries, together with the perſpicuitie, ſentences, counſels and the reſt concerning the imbelliſhing and perfection thereof, is according to the haſte and breuitie it behoued me to vſe, and as was requiſite for the abridgement of ſo great a matter: and as the weakenes of my wit, and the plainneſſe of my ſtile could attaine vnto. The faults eſcaped in the whole worke, which cannot be but many, in requitall of my paines taken to pleaſe his humour in reading what before he knew not, I in charitie entreate the reader with patience to beare withall, promiſing to be thankfull to him that ſhall doe me that fauour.

A TABLE OF THE NAMES OF ALL THE ROMANE EMPERORS.

A

ADrian Fol. 155
Albert the first 745
Albert the second 810
Adulph 741
Alexander Seuerus 217
Antonius Pius 164
Anastatius the first 413
Anastatius the second 498
Arcadius and Honorius 357
Arnolphus 555
Aurelianus 271
Augustus Octauianus Cæsar 27

B

BAssianus Caracalla 199

C

CCaligula 62
Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus 291
Charles the great 524
Charles the second 547
Charles the third 552
Charles the fourth 732
Charles the fifth 847
Claudius the first 71
Claudius the second 266
Clodius Balbinus, and Maximus Pupienus } 253
Commodus Antonius 175
Constancius Clorus 303
Constantine the great 307
Constantinus, Constantius, and Constance, the sonnes of Constantine the great } 320
Constantine the third 474
Constans the second 476
Constantine the fourth 481
Constantine the fifth 506
Constantine the sixth 518
Conrade the first 563
Conrade the second 601
Conrade the third 644
Conrade the fourth. 723

D

DEcius 245
Didius Iulianus 185
Domicianus 133
Diocleſian. 295

E

EMilianus. 250

F

FErdinand 855
Florianus 281
Focas 460
Frederick Barbaroſſa 653
Frederick the second 701
Frederick the third. 814

G

GAlba 101
Gallus 248
Galienus 255
Gordianus 238
Gratianus. 344

H

HEliogabalus 211
Henry the first 569
Henry the second 597
Henry the third 605
Henry the fourth 612
Henry the fifth 630
Henry the sixth 681
Henry the seuenth 750
Heraclitus. 464

I

IVlius Cæsar 1
Iulianus Apostata 329
Iouianus 333
Iustinus the first 318
Iustinus the second 441

Iustinian

Iustinian the first 421
Iustinian the second. 486

L

Leo the first 399
Leo the second 406
Leo the third 502
Leo the fourth 516
Lewes the first called Ludouicus Pius 531
Lewes the second 544
Lewes the third 550
Lewes the fourth 559
Lewes the fifth 757
Lotharius the first 539
Lotharius the second. 639

M

Macrinus 207
Marcus Aurelius 168
Martianus 397
Mauritius 449
Maximinus 225
Maximus Pupienus. and Clodius Balbinus 235
Maximilian the first 831
Maximilian the second. 875

N

Nero 83
Nerua 141

O

Otho the first 107
Otho the second 575
Otho the third 587
Otho the fourth 590
Otho the fifth. 696

P

Pertinax 179
Philip the first 242
Philip the second 688
Philippicus 496
Phocas 460
Probus. 282

Q

Quintilius. 270

R

Robert 788
Rodulph the first 732
Rodulph the second. 880

S

Seuerus 190
Sigismund. 796

T

Tacitus 279
Theodosius the first 349
Theodosius the second 374
Theodosius the third 500
Tiberius the first 51
Tiberius the second 446
Titus 129
Traianus. 145

V

Valentinianus the first 336
Valentinianus the second 386
Valerianus 252
Vespasianus 121
Vitellius. 113

W

Wenceslaus. 779

Z

Zeno. 406

THE

THE LIFE OF IVLIVS CÆSAR, FOVNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

IVlius Cæsar was of a most noble family, and returning to Rome from the Prætorship in Spaine with great renowne, making friendship with Marcus Crassus and Gneius Pompey, which were the mightiest Citizens in Rome, and pacifying the controuersie betweene them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such grauitie and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but liued retired. Afterwards giuing his daughter Iulia in mariage to Pompey, he went into France, which he subdued, and ouercame the Germaines. He went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force of armes subdued it to the Romane Empire. Iulia afterwards dying and Marcus Crassus being slaine by the Parthians, mortall discord arose betweene Cæsar and Pompey: the occasion whereof was, for that the second fiue yeares of Cæsars gouernment of France being expired, it was propounded by Pompeyes partakers that a successor should be sent him: and Cæsar desiring that his commaund in the French Warres might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demaund the Consulship: which being denied him, he made another demaund, which was, that he would giue ouer his armie in Fraunce vpon condition, that Pompey should doe the like by his in Spaine. Which being also denied, and being inioyned to leaue his armie, he passed the riuer Rubicon (limits assigned him which he was not to passe) and taking the Citie of Arminium, he went

went with such furie directly towards Rome, that Pompey abandoned Italy; and he following him, in the end ouerthrew him in Pharsalia: whereupon Pompey for refuge repayring to Ptolomy King of Egypt, was in a small barke by that Kings direction, slaine by the hands of Septimius and Achila, whose head being caused to be presented by Ptolomy, Cæsar wept. Afterwards bending his force against Ptolomy; and ouercomming him, he passed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, pursuing the remainder of Pompeies faction, all which he ouercame; and Cato being in Vtica, for not to fall into Cæsars hands, slue himselfe. Cæsar returning to Rome triumphèd, and afterwards going into Spaine (after a most fierce battaile, wherein he was likely to haue been lost) he ouerthrew Sextus Pompeius, eldest sonne of the great Pompey: and returning to Rome, he tooke vpon him the Dictatorship: where finally, Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, Gaius Casca, Attilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Cornelius Cinna, with many other principall Romanes conspiring against him, he was slaine in the Senat, being of the age of 56. yeares, vpon the fifteenth day of March, with three and twentie wounds. Many prodigious signes of his death appearing both before and afterwards, which letted his passage against the Parthians, and many other high attempts, which he purposed to haue vndertaken.

BEginning to write the Histories, and Liues of the Romane Emperours, Monarches of the earth and worldly dominion; or to say better, to bring them to a compendiousnes and breuitie, a worke in truth very great and troublesome, and which requireth a farre riper wit, and greater eloquence then mine: I hold it not for the least of the difficulties thereof, but rather for one of the greatest, to proue IVLIVS CÆSAR to be the first, of whom it behooueth me to treate: For although that he were Dictator, and was not called Emperour in the signification of Soueraigne Lord, as his successors haue been euer since; yet he was the beginning and originall of this Monarchie, and from whom all the succeeding Emperours haue gloried to take the name of CÆSARS, and to be called his successors. The acts and deedes of this man were such, so many, and so great, and bookes and Histories are so full thereof, that it seemeth as hard a matter for me to reduce them to any breuitie, as to write and recite the same: And therefore out of aboundance and matter so copious, I will chuse that which (in my iudgement) maketh most to my purpose, and to the subiect and end of this worke, handling it with some expedition and breuitie; although that it being the beginning and foundation of this edifice, it shall be very requisit to dilate and treate more at large thereof, then of those things which follow. In all other matters concerning this incomparable man, I referre the reader to the infinit number of Bookes, wherein CÆSAR is remembred and extolled, and to the notice and knowledge (which is commonly held) of his excellencies and acts.

All Cæsars successors, haue taken from him the name of Cæsars.

Among the great attempts which may be recounted of IVLIVS CÆSAR (in my opinion) the greatest of all, and which maketh me most to wonder is, how he durst, and had the heart, first to thinke and imagine, and afterwards to attempt, and in the end to goe through with making himselfe Lord of the people and Common-wealth of *Rome* (which was Ladie and Ruler of the most and best parts of the whole world) and of so much, as it, in seuen hundred yeeres before, had been able to subdue and conquer: for so long was the time and somewhat more, from the foundation of *Rome* vntill that IVLIVS CÆSAR possessed that Common-wealth: whereof two hundred fortie yeeres were vnder Kings, and the rest vnder Consuls chosen by the people, which gouerned it; sauing some few yeeres in which the Tribunes and Decemuiri ruled. Indeede a very short

Cæsars greatest attempts.

ſhort ſpace to conquer and ſubdue ſo great an Empire, as that which the Romanes enioyed when CÆSAR reduced it from free and common, to the dominion of one: which, without all doubt, was the greateſt of all that euer haue been in the world or man hath obtained, aſwell for continuance of time as for greatnes and power; which is approoued and affirmed by all authors and true Hiſtories. For leauing apart the other Kingdomes and Common-wealths now at this preſent, which are not to be named in this diſcourſe, and examining the greateſt and moſt famous which before it were called the Monarchies of the world; which were the Aſſyrians, the Perſians, and Macedonians; it will appeare that the Romane Empire farre excelled them all. For that of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians (which was the moſt auncient of all the Monarchies) in a thouſand two hundred and fortie yeares, which it laſted (as Saint AVGVSTINE reciteth) neuer extended it ſelfe out of *Aſia*, neither attained to hold any part in *Africa*, or *Europe*; neither did the Medes, whoſe raigne ARBATVS eſtabliſhed by the death and deſtruction of SARDANAPALVS King of the Aſſyrians, defeating that firſt Monarchie: then the Perſians, which ſubuerted the Medes by the hand of the mightie CYRVS, which is reckoned for the ſecond Monarchie, notwithſtanding that they made ſome incurſions and entries into *Europe*, as vnder XERXES and others, and in *Aſia* obtained greater power then any of their predeceſſors: yet in the end it laſted but two hundred and odde yeares, and were ouercome and ſubdued (DARIVS being their King) by ALEXANDER the great King of *Macedonia*, whoſe kingdome we cannot deny to be greater then any of the forenamed: for he held a great part of *Europe*, and ſubdued (in a manner) all *Aſia*, and is accounted for the third Monarchie. But this was but like a flaſh of lightening, burning whatſoeuer ſtoode before it, whoſe fire was ſoone extinguiſhed: for ALEXANDER dying, his power ended; and there was a diuiſion, and diuers kingdomes were erected thereof. But the dominion and Empire of the Romanes, which is the fourth Monarchie, notably excelled them all, both in time, in greatnes, and in power: In time; for there are few leſſe then two thouſand and three hundred yeares ſince Rome was builded, and the Empire laſteth vntill this day, vnder the name of *Romane*: whereof in a thouſand and three hundred yeares, it alwayes encreaſed; and afterwards it neuer left to bee the moſt high and preeminent dominion of all others. Then in greatnes and power; for it is certaine, that putting togethers all that euer all the reſt enioyed, it will hardly amount vnto the one halfe of that which the Romanes poſſeſſed. For beſides that which their Emperours enlarged, as hereafter ſhall appeare, before that IVLIVS CÆSAR enioyed it, they had conquered the greateſt and beſt parts of all the world: for in *Europe* they held all the prouinces of *Italie*, and *Gallia Ciſalphina* which wee call *Lumbardie*, *Iſtria* and *Illyricum*, now called *Slauonia*, and vpwards to the riuer *Danubius*; and ſubdued all *Græcia* either by force or friendſhip, as the Common-wealths and dominions of *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, *Peloponeſus* which is now called *Morea*, and all the other prouinces thereof. The kingdomes of *Macedonia* and *Epire* now called *Albania*, together with *Thracia*: they had alſo the *Iles* of *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, and *Creta* now called *Candia*, *Cypres*, *Rhodes*, and *Eubœa* which is now *Negropont*, with an infinit number of Ilands in the Mediterranean Sea. They poſſeſſed alſo the kingdomes of *Spaine*, although with greater difficultie and reſiſtance then any of the reſt; and the *Gallias* which are the kingdomes of *Fraunce* and all the prouinces thereof, with that part of *Almaine* on this ſide of the *Rhine*, called the *Lowe*, or *Gallia Belgica*; although this by the hand of CÆSAR himſelfe,

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſeus cap. 1. Strabo cap. 6. Appian in the firſt of his triumphes.

Saint Auguſtine in his booke de ciuitate dei, Iuſtin in his 43. booke, Titus Liuius, Plinie, Solinus, in their compariſons, of other monarchies with the Romane.

Of the greatnes of the Empire, and Monarchie of Rome.

Galla Ciſalphina, Lumbardie. Illyricum. Eſclauonia, Peloponeſus, Morea.

Creta, Candia. Negropont.

Spaine. Gallia, France.

Britannie, England and Scotland.

himſelfe, as hereafter ſhall be declared; and in like manner *Britannie* which containeth *England* and *Scotland*. They likewiſe held in *Africa* (being a third part of the world) all that which was or is fruitefull and habitable thereof, after the ſubuerſion of the proud *Carthage*: then in *Aſia*, they ſubdued the greateſt and beſt prouinces, and made them their vaſſals and tributaries, among which was *Syria* now called *Soria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtina*, *Iudæa*, and the holy citie of *Ieruſalem*: in *Aſia* the leſſe, they held the prouinces of *Pamphilia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Bithynia* by the will and teſtament of NICOMEDES their King. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their friends and allies: in *Armenia*, in *Colchos*, and in other prouinces they ſet and eſtabliſhed Kings at their pleaſure; and from *Albania* and *Iberia* they receiued hoſtages and tributs, wherein they had ſubdued, taken and ſlaine a great number of Kings and excellent great captaines: Finally they were Lords of ſo many prouinces and countries, that it were an endleſſe labour to recite them all; they were then ſo mightie that no force or power whatſoeuer (but their owne) was able to offend them. And it afterward hapned that diſcord and ambition, entring into this Common-wealth which was ſo free and puiſſant, ſeeing that forraine forces were not ſufficient, with their owne forces and armes they ſubdued and captiuated themſelues, which grew through the diſcord and controuerſie betweene the great POMPEY and IVLIVS CÆSAR, two the moſt famous and moſt mightie men in *Rome*, although that at that ſeaſon there were many principall and great men: But the ground of this controuerſie tooke roote before, to wit, from the two factions, and ciuill warres betweene SYLLA and MARIVS; wherein MARIVS being ouercome and ſlaine, SYLLA made himſelfe Dictator and ſeaſed vpon *Rome*; neuertheleſſe before his death, he depoſed himſelfe from his Dictatorſhip and left it at libertie: POMPEY was of SYLLA his faction and had done great exploites in his behalfe; and CÆSAR followed MARIVS, although then he were very young, to whom he was of kinne and affinitie. This was the roote from whence grew betweene them the ciuill warres, before which paſſed ſome matters very neceſſarie to be remembred: firſt, to the end that the cauſes and occaſions which happened may be the better vnderſtood, and afterwards the proceſſe and ſucceſſe thereof, which briefly recounted, paſſed in this manner.

Syria, Soria.

The Romanes all other forces failing, were ouer throwne by themſelues.

The beginning of the ciuill vvarres betvveene Cæſar and Pompey.

Theſe matters concerning SYLLA being paſſed, and GNEIVS POMPEIVS, and MARCVS CRASSVS remaining, by meanes thereof in great reputation: for they both followed that faction, and afterwards either of them deſirous to haue the preheminence in commaund and gouernment, there was a continuall emulation and competitorſhip betweene them, which at the death of SYLLA tooke beginning. MARCVS CRASSVS made himſelfe very mightie, beſides his great wiſedome, linage, eloquence, and victories which he had obtained, principally by meanes of his aboundant riches, which he had gathered, being of greater value then any other mans of his time. POMPEY likewiſe obtained great honour, reputation and power, beſides that which he inherited from SYLLA, by reaſon of his great victories and aduentures in Armes, in the time of SYLLA and afterwards both by ſea and land in *Africa*, in *Spaine* and in *Aſia*, which were ſuch and ſo many, that I dare not report them. The acts of theſe two great men being ſo highly extolled, and the controuerſies betweene them encreaſing (as betweene the heads of factions) although that at that ſame time, CATO, CICERO, and LENTVLVS, and others were vrey principall men: It happened that IVLIVS CÆSAR at this time came to *Rome* from *Spaine* where he

The emulation betvveene Pompey and Marcus Craſſus.

he had been Pretor, whose credit and estimation was now very great: but his thoughts were much higher and greater, for many causes, aswell for his great linage, being by his fathers side a Patritian and very ancient, and by his mother he came of the Romane Kings which descended from ENEAS of *Troy*; as also for his great frindes and kindred, together with his singular wit and eloquence, and by meanes of the authoritie wherewith he had obtained and administred the magistracies and dignities which he had held, to wit, the Questorship of *Spaine*, the Tribunate of the Souldiers, the office of *AEdil*, the high priesthood, the office of Pretor; and by meanes of his victories obtained in *Spaine* against the Gallegoes and Lusitanians, adding hereto his other merits and graces of his person. Besides this, he was very liberall, very wise, and learned in arts and sciences, very expert and actiue in Armes, both on foote and horsebacke, very strong and valiant; and before that he was a Captaine, he had made maruellous proofe of his person in the warres of *Asia*, vnder MARCVS TERMO Pretor, and SERVILIVS the Proconsul, and had obtained the Ciuicall crowne. He was also of a very good constitution of body, tall, faire, comely, and strongly limmed, and could well endure trauell, for which and many other causes, he was much esteemed; but not so, as that in place or authoritie he could in *Rome* compare with MARCVS CRASSVS or with POMPEY: for they were deepely rooted and of long continuance.

The linage, gifts and excellencies of Julius Cæsar.

CÆSAR with these qualities being come to *Rome*, with a presumption and conceite (although in secret) to commaund more then all the rest, either of these two, CRASSVS and POMPEY, desired his friendship, the one against the other. But CÆSAR very wise and valorous would follow neither faction, because he would not make himselfe subiect or an abbettor to either partie, but rather shewing himselfe neutrall, sought meanes to make them friends, imagining that rather then he should encline to either partie they both would willingly yeeld to what should he require: which policie as PLVTARCH affirmeth, was comprehended by MARCVS CATO onely. The peace betweene them was made, and concluded by his meanes, both of them remaining bound vnto him for the same; and as the one held the other in suspition, so for feare to lose him, they both sought to pleasure him; and by this meane he made himselfe equall with either of them both, and the power which two held before, was now deuided betweene three, and in the end he alone commaunded all. This league being concluded, CÆSAR demaunded the Consulship which was the highest ordinarie dignitie, and was made Consull: which office he executed with such authoritie, that his fellow in office bare no sway with him, but rather (all the time that it lasted) liued retired, and kept his house. And CÆSAR the better to confirme himselfe in the power which he had obtained, and to clime to the height of his desires, procured POMPEY to marrie his daughter IVLIA, and himselfe married the daughter of LVCIVS PISO, who was to succeede him in the Consulship, which being accomplished, he chose the Gallias for his prouince, which is now the kingdome of *France*, whither he went with an Armie, where what he performed, what Battailes and victories he there wan, what Countries and Nationes he subdued, what bold attempts, what counsels, what greatnes of minde and fortitude he vsed, in little lesse then tenne yeares that this warre lasted, are not possibly by me (which am to vse breuitie, and to touch matters but superficially) to be expressed and declared. He himselfe left most excellent and true commentaries thereof, approoued afterwards by his very enemies themselues: PLVTARCH also and SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS, APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, LVCAN, PAVLVS OROSIVS,

The league betweene Julius Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey.

Plutarch in his life.
Suetonius in his first booke.
Apian in his third booke.
Lucan in his first.

Paulus Orosius in his sixth. Eutropius in his sixth. Lucius Florus in his third. Himselfe in his 103. of his Epitomes.

OROSIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, EVTROPIVS, and many other authors write thereof, to which I referre the reader. In this warre he wanne such estimation and name of a Captaine, that he was held for the best of his time, or before him: for he conquered and subdued all *France* from the *Pyrenean* mountaines, vnto the *Alpes*, and all the rest vnto the *Rhine*; before which, he subdued and ouercame the valiant Heluetians, and Tigurins, now called Swissers, which as PLVTARCH affirmeth, were 300000. men, whereof 190000. were trained and exercised to the warres. He subdued the Germaines and ARIOVISTVS their Captaine, which came downe into *France*, and draue them out from thence: he tamed and ouercame the Belgians, the Ambians, the Neruians, and other most warlike Nations of the Galles: he shed more bloud then euer was shed in any warre in the world; and passing the riuer *Rhine* with a Bridge made of timber, he ouercame the Germanes, and brought certaine other countries vnder the yoke of the Romanes; and finding no more resistance in that Prouince, he passed with his people into the Isle of *Britannie*, now called *England* and *Scotland*, which was enhabited with a most warlike Nation, and till then vnknowne by any trafficke or other commerce, and by force of Armes compelled them to become subiects to the Citie of *Rome*.

All the time that these warres endured, wherein IVLIVS CÆSAR gat great spoyle and riches, he neuer left to procure friendship in *Rome*, and in all other partes, by letters and gifts, and of Kings and Cities in *Asia*, in *Grecia*, and other countries, with aide of people which he sent them: and this sometime without the leaue or authoritie of the Senate, which he might safely doe, so long as he continued in league and friendship with POMPEY and MARCVS CRASSVS. He also made himselfe much esteemed and beloued of men of warre, giuing them pensions, and double payes, bestowing vpon them other honours and fauours: by which meanes, before that POMPEY was aware thereof, CÆSARS power and authoritie grew to be so great, that he began to be afraide thereof, when he was not able to resist the same. And the loue and friendship betweene these two, began to waxe colde, and to become suspect: for the pledges and bands which sustained the same, began to faile; the first was the death of CÆSARS daughter, who was POMPEYES wife, which was a great linke and chaine of this friendship. The second was the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, the third man of this companie, whom the Parthians slew in *Asia*, whither he went to make warres (as some write) more for the desire of priuate gaine, then of glorie or fame, whose authoritie also continued the concord. These principall causes wherein their amitie consisted ceasing, and being remooued; there ensued discord, and ciuill warre betweene them, which was the greatest and most generall that euer was in the world: for therein were employed and had a hand, all the Senators and martiall men of *Rome*, with all their friends and subiects, Kings and cities of the one part or the other. There were eleuen legions of the one side, and eighteene of the other, all Romane and Italian Souldiers being the whole power of *Rome*, besides the aydes and companies of other prouinces. It was waged in *Italie*, in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *Epire*, in *Thessalia*, in *Egypt*, in *Asia*, and in *Africa*, by themselues and their captaines; and lastly, after fiue yeares continuance, it ended in *Spaine*. Some authors set downe the occasion of this ciuill warre, who although they somewhat varie, yet the truth is, that the causes thereof were enuie, ambition, desire to commaund, and vaine glorie, wherewith they both were infected. POMPEY began to haue CÆSARS power in suspition;

The cause and occasions of the warres betweene Cæsar and Pompey.

ſuſpition; it grieued CÆSAR to ſee POMPEYES authoritie and dignitie. POMPEY would endure no equall, nor CÆSAR ſuperiour, as though that in the Romane Empire there had not been ſufficient and enough for two men; and ſo either of them ſought the others ruine, ſeeking to haue it wholy to himſelfe. Whether POMPEY intended to make himſelfe a tyrant, and abſolute, it is incertaine: but it plainely appeareth that he would not that CÆSAR ſhould mount to that degree wherein he was. Some ſay that CÆSAR was conſtrained (through feare) to take Armes, to auoyde ſuppreſſion, and not to be condemned; for CATO had threatned to accuſe him for leauing his Prouince: others charge him that he had euer procured and practized to vſurpe the dominion of *Rome*; and that his, and POMPEYES powers conſidered, it ſeemed a fitte match. CICERO ſaith of him, that hee euer had a verſe of EVRIPIDES in his mouth, wherein he ſaid: That if lawes and equitie were to be infringed, it was to be done to the end to rule and commaund onely; and that CÆSAR being accuſtomed to commaund, could not line without an armie: for my part, I ſuppoſe that the cauſes were thoſe alreadie alleadged.

In the laſt yeare of the ſecond fiue yeares of the captainſhip of the prouinces which CÆSAR held, LENTVLVS and MARCELLVS being Conſuls, it was concluded in the Senate, that there ſhould be a ſucceſſor ſent to CÆSAR, and that he ſhould giue ouer his Armie and gouernment: and that if he deſired the Conſulſhip, as he had written, he ſhould (to that end) come to *Rome* in perſon. CÆSAR deſired continuance of the Captainſhip and charge which he held, or that he might demaund the Conſulſhip being abſent, and before that he left his Armie: whereto POMPEY would not agree, becauſe it was againſt the lawes, which determined that the Conſulſhip could not be demaunded by any man being abſent, little remembring that he was made Conſul before he was of lawfull age, and other dignities which by fauour (with diſpenſation of the lawes) he had obtained. But this is commonly the condition of moſt men, that to themſelues, that ſeemeth lawfull and tolerable, which they reproue in others. This being then denyed to IVLIVS CÆSAR, he yeelded to leaue his Armie, and to come priuate to *Rome*, ſo as POMPEY ſhould likewiſe giue ouer his Armie which he held in *Spaine*. There paſſed many treaties and conſultations about this matter, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO ſought meanes to conclude a peace, and to bring them to agreement: which POMPEY had not refuſed, but thoſe of his faction were ſo hautie and proud (as they were the greateſt and beſt men of *Rome*) ſo that notwithſtanding that CÆSAR dealt mildly and iuſtified himſelfe, yet they gaue no place thereto. And the Senates reſolution was, that CÆSAR ſhould giue ouer his Armie within a certaine time prefixed, and that he ſhould not therewith paſſe the riuer *Rubicon*, which was the bound of his prouince, declaring him for an enemie to *Rome*, if he did the contrarie. And LVCIVS ANTONIVS, and QVINTVS CVRIO, Tribunes of the people contradicting this determination in the behalfe of CÆSAR, were ill handled, and thruſt out of the Senate, who fled from *Rome*, and tooke their way towards CÆSAR; which holpe him much more throughly to gaine the goodwill of men of warre, foraſmuch as the office of the Tribunes, was held for ſacred and not to be touched. CÆSAR knowing what paſſed, and ſeeing himſelfe voyde of hope of peace, departed from *Rauenna*, whither he came but with fiue thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe onely which he had with him, ſending commandement to his Legions to march with all ſpeed and to come to ioyne with him. Comming with his people

Men commonly iudge that lawfull in themſelues which they condemne in others.

The determination of the Senate.

to the Riuer *Rubicon*, which was the furtheſt of his limits; which paſſing he was to loſe all hope of agreement. Some affirme, that he ſtayed there a great while, thinking and conſidering with himſelfe how great a matter it was to paſſe that Riuer, and the euils which would enſue thereof. PLVTARCH writeth, that he diſcourſed thereof with ASINIVS POLLIO, and with other his friends which came thither with him: and SVETONIVS ſaith, that turning his face towards the Riuer, he ſaid to them: Yet is it in our power to returne, but if we paſſe this Riuer, we muſt make way with our weapons. And as APIANVS ALEXANDRINVS reporteth, he alſo ſaid, The truth is, that if I forbeare to paſſe the Riuer, it will be the beginning of euill, and my diſgrace; and if I paſſe, it will be to all mortall men in generall. Theſe words being ſpoken, ſtanding a little while in a doubt, with a furious determination and a loud voyce, he ſaid, The lot is caſt, and with that word he gaue his horſe the rayne, and began to march, and to paſſe the Riuer, all his people following him: and ſo was the ciuill warre determined, and begun with the ſeruitude of *Rome*, and the beginning of the Empire and Monarchie, which is as much as, the raigne and dominion of one, which briefly I will declare.

Cæſars valorous determination.

Who ſo deſireth to ſee it handled more at large, let him reade APIANVS ALEXANDRNIVS in his ſecond booke of the ciuill warres, SVETONIVS in the life of CÆSAR, and PLVTARCH in the ſame life, and in the liues of POMPEY, and of CATO and CICERO; and Saint AVGVSTINE in his third booke *de ciuitate dei*, and the ſame IVLIVS CÆSAR in three bookes which hee wrote thereof in his commentaries, and in the reſt of HYRCIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS in the fourth booke of his Hiſtories, and in the Abreuiats of TITVS LIVIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS in the ſixth of his Hiſtories, and LVCAN in his tenne bookes, and PLINIE in his laſt *de viris Illuſtribus*, and the ſame PLINIE and VALERIVS MAXIMVS and other Authors which treate thereof, and of CÆSARS other actions.

The beginning of the ciuill warres.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing paſſed the Riuer *Rubicon*, as is afore declared, as ſaith SVETONIVS, drew his Armie together, and hauing brought thither the Tribunes in ſuch vile and baſe attire as they came from *Rome*, he made a ſpeech to his people, iuſtifying his cauſe and requiring their ayde and fauour, and being by them al anſwered to his liking, he departed preſently from thence, & was the next morning by break of day, before *Arimino*, and ſeaſed vpon that Citie; and holding his way, did the like by all townes and caſtles as he paſſed. CÆSARS terrible determination being knowne in *Rome*; POMPEY, the whole Senate and people of *Rome*, were therewith much troubled; ſo as it ſhould be a long matter to recite and ſet downe what they did, and what prouiſion they made: The truth is, that POMPEY found himſelfe much deceiued, for he neuer beleeued that CÆSAR would haue aduentured ſo farre, or that he ſhould haue wanted meanes to haue reſiſted him. But it happened otherwiſe vnto him, for although that to him was committed by the Conſuls, and Senate the charge of leuying of Souldiers, and the calling thither of his legions, and that there were Captaines ſent to diuers Cities of *Italie* (whereby CÆSAR was to paſſe) for the defence thereof, all ſufficed not againſt the furie and force wherewith he came, and the newes daily encreaſing, POMPEY and all the Senate abandoned *Rome*: for POMPEY went to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brunduſium* now called *Brindes*, a place by the Sea ſide in the confines of *Italie* towards *Grecia*, in the mouth of the Venetian Sea; whither he ſent for the Conſuls to paſſe thence to *Dyrrachium* now called *Duraſſo*, a place alſo

Pompey and the Senate abandoned Rome.
Brunduſium, Brindes.
Dyrrachium, Duraſſo.

by

by the Sea side in the prouince of *Macedonia*, a great part whereof is now called *Albania*, there to raise the greatest power that they should be able; being out of hope as then to be able to resist CÆSAR in *Italie*, who had alreadie seased on the Citie of *Corsinio*, which DOMITIVS held with thirtie of POMPEIES Cohorts; which being taken by CÆSAR, he pardoned all those which he found therein, and entreated the gouernour very friendly, and gaue him leaue to depart whither he would, who went presently to POMPEY: which truely was an act of great magnanimitie and clemencie, which CÆSAR maruellously vsed in all his actions, and chiefly in the victories which he obtained in these ciuill warres, wherewith (in my opinion) he wan no lesse honour, then by his victories.

Macedonia Albania.

Clemencie and magnanimitie.

CÆSAR hauing brought DOMITIVS his people to his deuotion, he passed forwards, and vnderstanding that POMPEY and the Consuls gathered head in *Brundusium*, with the greatest iourneyes that he was able to make, he marched towards them with his legions: But POMPEY had sufficiently fortified himselfe for his defence, hauing made the Consuls and the most part of the people to embarke themselues and passe to the Citie of *Dyrrachium* aforesaid, where the Consuls attended his comming. And CÆSAR so remaining in *Italie*, without resistance, being very carefull what counsell he should take; for although that he would haue followed POMPEY, yet he had no prouision of shipping thereto, and by reason that it was winter, shipping could not come so soone as was requisit, which he well considered, and how much it imported him not to leaue any enemie behinde him, which might cause any alteration in *France* or *Italie*, in his absence; he determined therefore to deferre the pursute of POMPEY, and to take his way towards *Spaine*, which held for POMPEY, who had therein his excellent legions, and two Captaines, which were PETREIVS and AFRANIVS. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS saith, that when he had resolued thereupon, he said to his friends, Let vs first goe against the Armie which is without a Captaine; and afterwards let vs returne against the Captaine that hath neuer an Armie: for these Captaines, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS, were not held for very politike, or expert in the warres. And to the contrarie, POMPEY was most wise and a very valiant Captaine: but the people which he had with him, were newly leuied and of small experience.

Returning from *Brundusium*, in sixtie dayes without bloudshed or battaile, CÆSAR became Lord of all *Italie*; and comming to *Rome*, they were in incredible feare, remembring the cruelties committed in the time of SYLLA: But CÆSAR vsing his naturall clemencie, did hurt no man of any degree high or low, but rather called to the Senate those Senators which remained, and which came with him, whom with very good words he comforted and encouraged: and laying the whole fault vpon POMPEY, accusing him of all things present, he sought by all meanes to iustifie his owne cause, and declared how much he did then, and euer had desired peace, and therewith requested that messengers might be sent to POMPEY to procure the same: and making himselfe to be presently chosen Consul, he opened the Romane treasurie, notwithstanding that METELLVS one of the Tribunes of the people was desirous and went about to haue hindred and letted the same, and that he should not haue done it. The treasure which he tooke from thence, he payed and deuided among his people, which as PLINIE in his three and thirtith booke reporteth, was very great, which LVCAN also affirmeth. These things being ended, and CÆSAR desirous to goe from *Rome* into *Spaine* (like a wise and excellent Captaine) first tooke order aswell for the ciuill

Cæsar seased on Rome and all Italie.

Cæsar Consul by force.

ciuill gouernment, as for the warres; and making choiſe of the legions which were to goe with him, he left part of his people in *Brunduſium* and *Otranto*, and in other ſtrong places vpon the Sea ſide, to keepe POMPEY from landing if he ſought to returne into *Italie*. He alſo nominated HORTENSIVS and DOLABELLA, for his Captaines, to make prouiſion of ſhipping to be brought to the port of *Brunduſium*, there to be in a readines againſt his returne from his iourney. QVINTVS VALERIVS he ſent with a legion to *Sardinia*, againſt MARCVS COTTA which held the ſame for POMPEY: To *Sicilia* he ſent CVRIVS againſt MARCVS CATO, with direction that hauing taken the ſame, he ſhould paſſe ouer into *Africa*: LEPIDVS he left in the Citie of *Rome* as Prefect thereof, and MARCVS ANTONIVS for gouernour and Captaine of all *Italie*; and determining to leaue LICINIVS CRASSVS in *France*, with his accuſtomed celeritie, he went on his iourney, and found no reſiſtance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but onely in the Citie of *Marſelles*, which held for POMPEY: which rather (in my opinion) more like bold and aduenturous friends, then wiſe men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their Citie, but put themſelues in Armes againſt him for their defence. CÆSAR comming thither beſieged the Citie, and to auoyde loſſe of time, left there DECIVS BRVTVS and CAIVS TREBONIVS with ſufficient forces, which continued the ſiege and performed great matters; and himſelfe followed his way into *Spaine*, where his comming was alreadie knowne, and AFRANIVS and PETREIVS attended him, with the ayde of their friends, and foure Romane legions; betweene which and CÆSAR the warres continued many dayes, and that chiefly neere the Citie of *Lerida*. In the beginning CÆSAR was in great danger and much diſtreſſed, aſwell through want of victualles, as by reaſon of the winter being come, which annoyed him with riuers and waters; before and after the which, there paſſed many great skirmiſhes and conflicts betweene the two armies, and other chaunces and aduentures, too long to be recounted. Finally, CÆSAR knew how to warre in ſuch ſort, that without giuing oportunitie to come to a battaile, he brought his aduerſaries to ſuch extremitie and diſtreſſe, that periſhing with hunger they came to a compoſition: which was that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) ſhould be graunted libertie to depart and to goe whither they would; which was performed accordingly, and PETREIVS and AFRANIVS went to POMPEY, and part of the legions which would not abide with CÆSAR, had leaue to doe as they liſted: CÆSER ſtill perſeuering in his clemencie and gentlenes.

Ceſars going into Spaine againſt Petreius and Afranius.

This being ended, and ſommer being come (to the end not to leaue any thing in *Spaine* to be ſubdued) he paſſed forwards, and came into the prouince of *Betica*, now called *Andaluzia*, with part of his forces, leauing commaundement with the Armie, to march whither he had appointed, and there to ſtay for him, becauſe that MARCVS VARRO being POMPEIES Lieutenant in that prouince held it for him, with one legion of good Souldiers; but daring not to oppoſe himſelfe againſt CÆSAR, he peaceably deliuered vp vnto him both the countrie and the legion, and ſo all was plaine before him and at his commaund. Thence he went to *Cordoua*, where he called a parliament, and an aſſemblie of all eſtates of that prouince: wherein among other things which there were treated of, highly commending the Cordoueſes and Seuillians which had taken his part (as himſelfe writeth) he marched forwards and viſiting the prouince, he came to the Iſle and citie of *Cales*, and prouiding there certaine things, he tooke

Ceſar ſubdued all Spaine.

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the ſhips and galleys which MARCVS VARRO there had left, and ſuch other more as hee could get, and embarked himſelfe therein. And leauing QVINTVS CASSIVS with foure legions in that prouince, he tooke his paſſage by ſea to *Tarragona*, ſending commaundement by land to his legions to march thither: where being arriued, and in few daies, prouiding and taking order for that prouince, he departed with his armie towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marſelles*, which yeelded vnto him, after that in the ſiege and aſſaults, it had endured many calamities. And CÆSAR nothing reſpecting the ſmall regard and ingratitude of that citie, but the antiquitie and fame thereof, would not permit any hurt to be done to the citizens and inhabitants; but leauing a ſufficient garriſon to guard the ſame, commaunding his legions by appointed iourneys, to march towards *Italie*, himſelfe with a neceſſarie guard for his perſon and others in his companie, tooke paſſage for *Rome*; all things ſucceeding proſperouſly with him, although that ſome of his Captaines had ill ſucceſſe. For CAIVS ANTONIVS, whom (we ſaid) he left with DOLABELLA for Captaine of his Nauie, was ouerthrowne and taken priſoner in the gulfe of *Venice*, by OCTAVIVS POMPEIES Lieutenant; and DOLABELLA was likewiſe ouercome neere to the Ile of *Corcyra*, now called *Corfu*: and CVRIVS, which (according to CÆSARS commaundement) went into *Africa* with two legions, hauing in the beginning good ſucceſſe, was afterward ouerthrowne, and the moſt part of his people ſlaine by POMPEIES friend, IVBA King of *Mauritania*, which is now the kingdome of *Fez*.

The taking of Marſelles and Cæſars returne to Rome.

Corcyra.

CÆSAR being come to *Rome* and made Dictator (as PLVTARCH & APPIANVS teſtifie) new Conſuls were choſen, and he being one of them depoſed himſelfe from his Dictatorſhip, and ſo chaunging and prouiding Pretors for the Prouinces at his pleaſure, ſending MARCVS LEPIDVS into *Spaine*, and AVLVS ALBINVS into *Sicilia*, SEXTVS PEDVCEIVS into *Sardinia*, and DECIVS BRVTVS into *France*: and taking ſuch further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in the moneth of December towards *Brunduſium*, whither he commanded all his forces to march, there to take paſſage for the prouince of *Macedonia*, the greateſt part whereof (as I ſaid) is now called *Albania*, where he knew that POMPEY ſtaied with his armies. Who all one whole yeere, which CÆSAR ſpent in his iourney into *Spaine*, buſied himſelfe in prouiding a Nauie to returne into *Italie*, and to gather treaſure and to leuie ſouldiers for that purpoſe, and had prepared and made a wonderfull great prouiſion of all things: For there came to him, ſhips, money, and men, from many kingdomes, prouinces and cities of *Aſia*, and *Græcia*; from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia* the leſſe, *Egypt*, *Græcia*, *Theſſalia*, *Boëtia*, *Achaia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countries: there came alſo to his aide in perſon, the Kings DEIOTARVS, and ARIOBARZANES. Of which people and of thoſe which he brought with him from *Italie*, POMPEY had a great armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ſhips and galleys by Sea, which I doe not ſet downe, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of opinions, betweene authors in the number of his people, and of CÆSARS: for certaine, they were very mightie armies, but the greateſt number were of POMPEIES ſide. Who imagining (becauſe that it was in the hart of winter) that CÆSAR ſhould not be able and haue time commodiouſly to paſſe the Seas: and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertiſement that CÆSAR was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Theſſalia*, retiring himſelfe from the Sea, commaunding and charging his Captaines by Sea (of which MARCVS BIBVLVS was chiefe) that they ſhould guard

Pompeies people and prouiſion.

and

and defend the coaſt. But CÆSAR knowing that in the ſpeedie execution, conſiſted the principall point of his victorie, and that occaſion which is let ſlippe is ſeldome recouered; being departed from *Rome* and arriued at *Brunduſium* (as we haue before ſaid) notwithſtanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboorde thoſe ſhippes which he had there in readineſſe, ſo many men as they could containe, which were ſeuen legions of choſen men (as he himſelfe recordeth) and ſent commaundement to thoſe which were comming, to make haſt, to the end that they ſhould ioyne with the reſt which there remained, which he would ſpeedily ſend for. And ſo he departed from *Brunduſium* now called *Brindez*, in the beginning of the moneth of Ianuarie, and croſſing the Seas with proſperous weather, the third day after he arriued in the coaſt of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY had any intelligence of his embarking: and ſetting his people on ſhore in the deſpite of POMPEIES Captaines, he commaunded the ſhippes and gallies preſently to returne to *Brunduſium* to fetch the reſt of his armie, which he had there left, and commaunded to come. And the warres beginning, he preſently ſeaſed vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erico*; driuing from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STRABERIVS which held the ſame for POMPEY: who ſo ſoone as he was aduertiſed of CÆSARS comming, with the greateſt ſpeede poſſible, ſending for his troupes (ſuch as were neereſt hand) he marched towards *Dyrrachium* where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouiſion for the warres, doubting that CÆSAR would come to ſurpriſe the ſame, as in truth he did.

Oportunitie loſt is ſeldome recouered.

Cæſars paſſage to Græcia againſt Pompey.

POMPEY being come, their Campes were lodged within few forlongs the one of the other, and a riuer running betweene them; there paſſed many aduentures, skirmiſhes, and alſo ſome treaties of peace, which CÆSAR offered, which were not accepted by POMPEY, ſo much he aſſured himſelfe of his power: and CÆSAR daily expecting the comming of his other legions, which ſtayed longer then he thought they ought to haue done; without the which, he thought it no wiſedome to come to a battaile; and being much grieued and very carefull for the ſame, he determined in perſon with three ſeruants only, ſecretly to embarke himſelfe in a Brigandine, and to paſſe that ſtreight of the ſea, to fetch them, thinking to be able to performe the ſame without being miſt; and putting it in execution accordingly, he paſſed downe the riuer to the Sea, which he found ſo troubled and tempeſtuous, that the Maiſter of the Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) nor daring to paſſe any further, would haue returned. Then CÆSAR diſcouering his face, as it is reported, ſaid, be not afraid friend; for thou carrieſt with thee CÆSAR and all his fortune: the Maiſter herewith encouraged, ſtriued to hold on his voyage, but at length, the force of the tempeſt was ſo great and the ſeaſon ſo contrarie, that (notwithſtanding CÆSARS couragious words) they were conſtrained to returne, vnable to paſſe any further forwards: which being vnderſtood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieued, and murmured thereat, praiſing him more for a valiant Knight, then a wiſe Captaine; and ſo VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounteth it for a raſh aduenture, which in my opinion was the occaſion why IVLIVS CÆSAR recordeth it not in his Commentaries.

The raſh aduenture of Cæſar.

This being paſt, within few dayes after, ANTONIVS arriued with foure of thoſe legions which were left behinde in *Italie*, preſently returning the ſhippes backe againe for the reſt, and (after ſome aduentures which hapned) ioyning with CÆSARS Armie, and all things ſet in good order, and the like being done on POMPEIES ſide; there paſſed ſome things betweene them, which for breuitie

uitie I omit, vntill that neere to the citie of *Dyrrachium*, whither CÆSAR went with a determination to haue ſurpriſed the ſame, and POMPEY to relieue it. The two Armies lodged themſelues in the fields, the one ſo neere to the other, that there were daily skirmiſhes and ſlaughters of men of either partie, vntill that one day a skirmiſh waxing hot, and reſcue comming from either Armie, it came to a battaile: wherein the matter was handled in ſuch ſort, that CÆSARS troupes began to flie, and could not be made to ſtand, vntill they came to their campe which they had fortified, and yet ſome abandoned the ſame and durſt not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as ſome thinke) he imagined their flight to be fained, or that there was ſome deceit or ambuſh, or that he ſuppoſed that there was no more to be done, and that CÆSAR might eaſily haue been ouerthrowne; did not proſecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather cauſed a retreit to be ſounded, without aſſailing his enemies camp: Whither when CÆSAR came, he tooke ſuch order as was moſt conuenient, as he, who was no leſſe couragious and politike in time of aduerſitie, then of proſperitie; and it is reported that he ſaid to his friends, Truely this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had had a Captaine, which had knowne how to haue ouercome. This day IVLIVS CÆSAR loſt a great part of his people, among which, were foure hundred Romane Knights, and tenne Tribunes, and two and thirtie Centurions, and his enemies tooke from him two and thirtie enſignes. This battaile ended, POMPEY ſent the newes thereof to diuers parts of the world, holding himſelfe for victorious. And IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing puniſhed ſome of his Captaines, and enſigne bearers, notwithſtanding that all his whole Armie diſpleaſed and aſhamed of their late loſſe, againe deſired the battaile: yet he would not then fight with his Armie being timorous, againſt thoſe which were in heart and victorious; but rather tooke a new courſe, and ſending his ſicke and hurt men to the citie of *Apollonia*, departed by night with the greateſt ſilence that could be, from the place where he was, and tooke his way towards *Theſſalia*, with intent to refreſh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemie further from the Sea coaſt, where his chiefe force lay, and where his campe was fortified and victualled; or at the leaſt, to goe to meete and ouerthrowe SCIPIO, whom he well knew, came to ioyne with POMPEY.

A battaile betwene Cæſar and Pompey neere to Dyrrachium.

POMPEY ſeeing CÆSARS departure, after that he had followed him ſome few dayes, tooke counſell, and as APPIANVS teſtifieth, was determined (leauing ſo ſufficient a nauie at Sea, as CÆSAR ſhould not be able to make any benefit thereof) to paſſe into *Italie*, and to recouer the ſame, with *France* and *Spaine*, and then afterwards to returne againſt CÆSAR, but being oppreſſed and ouerruled by the Romane Lords which came with him, he altred his determination, and preſently departed to purſue CÆSAR, who made a ſtay in the fieldes of *Pharſalia* which are in *Theſſalia*, and made his retreit with ſuch diſcretion and in ſo good order, that in all occaſions that were offred, he had euer the better, vntill that at length he ſaw his people ſo furious and of ſuch force and courage, that it ſeemed to him very requiſit to fight: and therefore cared not any more to refuſe the battaile, but rather daily preſented the ſame to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeede it was true) that CÆSAR began to want many neceſſaries, and that his armie began to weaken and diminiſh, he deferred the ſame and would not fight, and as a wiſe and an experimented Captaine, as he was, would haue prolonged the warre, defeating his enemie without putting his owne ſtate in hazard: and although that POMPEY were of this opinion, yet ſomuch did the voices, opinions

and murmurings of thoſe which were with him preuaile, (as LVCAN, PLVTARCH, and the ſame CÆSAR himſelfe report) that they made him yeeld to giue the battaile, euen contrarie to his owne opinion and will, as he did: wherein met and ioyned of the one ſide and of the other all the flower and force of *Rome*; and although that CÆSARS forces were fewer in number (for all writers affirme, that POMPEIES armies were twiſe as great) yet CÆSARS were more actiue and better trained. How many there were of the one ſide and of the other, I cannot certifie; the authors doe ſo much differ among themſelues therein: APPIANVS ſetteth downe the diuers opinions which are thereof, ſome raiſe the number to three hundred thouſand men, whereof LVCIVS FLORVS is one: others to threeſcore and tenne thouſand: and ſome ſet downe ſomewhat leſſe, among which is PLVTARCH, who ſaith that POMPEY brought to this battaile 45000. men, whereof 7000. were on horſebacke, and IVLIVS CÆSAR two and twentie thouſand a foote, and of horſe men few more then one thouſand. But APPIANVS vnderſtandeth, that this leſſer number of theſe armies, was to be vnderſtoode of Romanes, which were the force and hope of both theſe captaines: for it is not likely, that of all nations, there ſhould be ſo ſmall a number in a warre ſo long prepenſed and preparing, and in my opinion, this is moſt likely to be true. But howſoeuer it was, this battaile was betweene the beſt captaines and beſt ſouldiers, aſwell for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being ſo, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue: So ſtrange and variable are the aduentures which happen in warres and battailes: for where there ſeemeth to be the greateſt force and aſſurance, oftentimes is found the greateſt weaknes; and that which is leaſt feared, doth ſometimes annoy moſt.

Pompey fought contrarie to his owne opinion.

Either of theſe two captaines, hauing reſolued to giue battaile, ordred his battalions and ſquadrons, as to him ſeemed moſt expedient, making their ſpeeches and orations to their people; and the accuſtomed ſigne being giuen, the battaile preſently began on either ſide: in the beginning whereof POMPEIES horſemen, (wherein he repoſed his greateſt hope) which were all of the Romane Nobilitie, and of the order of Knighthoode, and alwayes euery where had the better; began to come where CÆSARS Cauallery was, and forced them to forſake the field. Which CÆSAR perceiuing, loſing nothing by ouerſight, made a ſigne to a battalion, which for that purpoſe he had left apart from the other ſquadrons, to charge POMPEIES Cauallerie; which charged them with ſuch force and furie, ſtriking them according to CÆSARS direction, no where but in the face, which POMPEIES horſemen either vnable or vnwilling to endure, began to retire, in ſuch ſort that from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victorie, from thence ſprang the beginning of his perdition. For notwithſtanding that they had alreadie charged, and the other battalions continued ſtill fighting, and that they maintained the ſame with great reſolution; yet ſeeing that POMPEIES Cauallerie fled, and that CÆSARS came to charge them afreſh, they all did the like in ſuch manner, that in ſhort ſpace the victorie plainely appeared for CÆSAR: and POMPEY hauing loſt all hope to preuaile, fled to his campe, leauing the field and victorie to his enemie. Who letting ſlippe no occaſion, ſeeing that he found no reſiſtance in the field, aſſembled his forces together to aſſaile POMPEIES campe, which with ſmall difficultie he entred: which POMPEY perceiuing, leauing his enſignes and robes of generall, and putting on other apparrell vpon the firſt horſe that he could get, with foure on horſe-

The battaile of Pharſalia, wherein Pompey vvas ouercome by Cæſar.

backe

backe only, which accompanied him, which (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS saith) were his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS, and the two LENTVLI, and FAVONIVS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, and neuer staied vntill he came to the citie of *Larisa*; where ioyning with some thirtie other horse, which fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vntill he came vnto the shore side of the *Egean* sea; where finding a certaine Merchants ship of *Rome*, he embarked himselfe therein, and sailed to the Ile of *Lesbos*, which is in that sea, which now is called *Archipelago*, to the citie of *Mitylene*. For in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him, and gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence, very doubtful, and without any determination whither to goe. Some counsailed him to saile into *Africa*, for that King IVBA was his friend and very mightie. Others were of opinion that he should retire himselfe to the Parthians: finally, he resolued to goe into *Egypt*, for the friendship which he held with King PTOLOMY, father of that PTOLOMY then raigning; and did so. Hauing first touched in the prouince of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, and in the Ile of *Cyprus*, and sayling to *Egypt*, and arriuing at the citie of *Alexandria*, he had such an end as we will presently declare.

Pompeies flight.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing obtained so great a victorie, as is aforesaid, vsed therein his accustomed clemencie, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurt after the battaile was ended, and pardoning al those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe; among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIES side fifteene thousande men, and of the conquerors lesse then two thousand, as the same CÆSAR writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meanes to returne and repaire himselfe, without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his armie. And comming to the sea side, bringing to his obedience in his way all the cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such shippes and galleys as he then could, and with those which CASSIVS had deliuered vnto him, who was receiued to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troupes as he was able, and passed into *Asia* the lesse; where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in *Cyprus*, he presumed that he tooke his way towards *Egypt*. For which cause hee tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old souldiers onely; and arriuing in safetie at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* (where wee said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arriued there: who presuming of the benefits and good entertainment which this King PTOLOMIES father had receiued in his house, he sent to request PTOLOMY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen and decayed, few men hold faith and friendship, and in their aduersities the benefits and good turnes receiued from them are commonly forgotten: so the King sent him his promise to performe what he required: and comming vpon safeconduct, in a small boate towards the shore, he was murdered before that he came to the land, by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIVS, and another called ACHILA; thinking by meanes hereof to winne CÆSARS friendship, which was done by the perswasion and counsell of FOTINVS an Eunuch, who was of great authoritie in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA POMPEIES wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CÆSAR being landed and receiued into the citie, they presently brought him, for a present, the great POMPEIES head, which he would not see:

The clemencie of Cæsar.

Cæsar pursued Pompey.

The death of Pompey.

Septimius.

Cæsar vvept for the death of Pompey.

and his ring and ſeale of Armes being preſented vnto him, he wept a great while for pitie, conſidering the end and ſucceſſe of the great aduentures and proſperities of POMPEY, who with ſuch honour and fame had three times triumphed, and been ſo many more times Conſul in Rome, and had commanded the ſame, and had been the moſt principall man therein for ſo many yeeres, and had obtained ſo many victories and dignities.

When IVLIVS CÆSAR landed in *Egypt*, he found the countrey infeſted with ciuill warres, and great diſcord between the yong King PTOLOMY and his ſiſter the faire CLEOPATRA, about the diuiſion and inheritance of that kingdome; wherein IVLIVS CÆSAR (as a Romane Conſul) tooke vpon him to entermeddle. For which cauſe (as CÆSAR himſelfe writeth) or becauſe that their guiltie conſcience, for the treacherous murder of POMPEY made them to feare (as PLVTARCH affirmeth) the before named FOTINVS, which had been the practiſer of this murder, and ACHILA which had been the actor thereof, both which were in great authoritie in the Court and with the King, imagining that CÆSAR enclined to fauour CLEOPATRAS faction, amaſſed and ſent for the armie which the King had neere the citie, conſiſting of 20000. good men, purpoſing to doe by IVLIVS CÆSAR as they had done by POMPEY; and ſo within few daies there began betweene CÆSAR and the ſmall forces which he brought with him, both within the citie, and in the harbour, betweene the ſhips and galleys, the moſt cruel warre and fight that he euer had, which I cannot diſtinctly ſet downe, for the many aduentures that paſſed therin. But let this ſuffice, that IVLIVS CÆSAR fought therein many times in his owne perſon, both within the citie, whereof his enemies held the greateſt part, and alſo in the harbour with his ſhips, and was ſometime in ſuch peril and danger, that he was driuen tō leape out of the boate wherein he was, into the water, and by ſwimming to eſcape into one of his galleys. But at length his forces and aide being come from *Aſia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for ſo long laſted theſe warres) remained victorious, as in all others he had been, and the young King PTOLOMY was ſlaine in a fight. In this warre CÆSAR did ſuch exploits, and ſhewed ſuch valour and wiſedome, that for the ſame onely he did well deſerue the fame and renowne of a moſt excellent Captaine.

Cæſars vvarre in Egypt.

The death of Ptolomy king of Egypt.

CÆSAR hauing tamed the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murderers of POMPEY, and eſtabliſhed CLEOPATRA for Queene and gouernour of that kingdome, whom the while that he remained there, he held for his friend, and ſhe by him conceiued and had a ſonne called CÆSARIO; all things being eſtabliſhed: he departed from *Egypt* towards *Aſia*, trauelling through *Syria* now *Soria*, by reaſon that he was giuen to vnderſtand that while he was buſied in the warres of *Egypt*, the King PHARNACES, ſonne of the mightie King MITHRIDATES, thinking it now a fit time (ſeeing the ciuill diſcord betweene the Romanes) to recouer that which his father had loſt: And hauing ouerthrowne DOMICIVS, whom CÆSAR had ſent to gouerne thoſe parts, and alſo had taken by force of armes, the prouinces of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence the King ARIOBARZANES, a friend and ſubiect to *Rome*, and had began to doe the like in *Armenia* the leſſe, which King DEIOTARVS had made ſubiect to the Romanes: IVLIVS CÆSAR comming with his armie ſooner then King PHARNACES imagined, although that with his he had expected him; & hauing intelligence of his approch, within few daies they came to a battaile, in which (not without great reſiſtance) the King was ouerthrowne and put to flight, with great ſlaughter of his

Cleopatra Queene of Egypt.

people,

people, from which he eſcaped by flight. Great was the ioy that CÆSAR conceiued of this victorie, for the great deſire that he had to returne to *Rome*, where hee knew that many ſcandales and inſolencies were committed, by reaſon of his abſence: he knew alſo that POMPEIES eldeſt ſonne had ſeiſed on a great part of *Spaine*, and had raiſed great power of thoſe which MARCVS VARRO had there left, and of his fathers troupes: he alſo vnderſtood that in *Africa* many principall Romanes, which had eſcaped from the battaile at *Pharſalia*, were gathered together, whereof MARCVS CATO was the chiefe, who is called VTICENSIS, (becauſe that in *Vtica* he ſlew himſelfe) and SCIPIO POMPEIES father in law; and that theſe went thither with a great part of the galleys & ſhips of POMPEIES Nauie, and with the greateſt power they were able to leuie; ioyning with IVBA King of *Mauritania*, they had ſubdued all that countrey, and had a great armie in readines againſt CÆSAR, hauing choſen SCIPIO for their Captaine, becauſe that CATO would not take that charge vpon him, and for that, the name of SCIPIO was very fortunate in *Africa*. CÆSAR hauing intelligence of all theſe things, within few daies with great celeritie and diligence, he recouered all that which PHARNACES had vſurped, and chaſing him out of *Pontus*, he recouered all thoſe countries forwards, and leauing CELIVS MINVCIVS for Captaine with two legions to guard that prouince, pacifying the contentions and controuerſies in the reſt, rewarding the Kings and Tetrarches which had continued firme in league and amitie with *Rome*; without any longer aboad he departed from *Aſia*, and in ſhort ſpace paſſing into *Italie* came to *Rome*, within little more then a yeere after that he departed from thence; a ſhort time in truth, for the perfourmance of ſo great matters and ſo long a iourney.

Cæſars victorie againſt Pharnaces king of Pontus.

Within few daies after his comming to *Rome*, he made himſelfe to bee choſen the third time Conſul, and reforming (the beſt that he could in ſo ſhort a time) al diſorders in *Rome*, being grieued and not able to endure that his enemies ſhould poſſeſſe *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things neceſſarie, and from *Rome* tooke his way thitherward, commaunding his forces to follow him. Firſt he went into *Sicilia*, and there ſhipped himſelfe, and thence paſſed into *Africa*: and notwithſtanding that, neither his Nauie nor Armie arriued with him, truſting in the valour and goodnes of his people, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with thoſe ſmall forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the citie of *Adrumentum* in the prouince of *Africa*; and from thence marched to another citie called *Leptis*, where hee was receiued: and after ſome conflicts which paſſed, his legions being come, and certaine troupes both on foote and horſebacke, he began the warre, which laſted foure moneths, *viz.* from the beginning of Ianuarie till the end of Aprill, beginning firſt againſt PETREIVS and LABIENVS: afterwards it was continued againſt SCIPIO and King IVBA, which aſſiſted the contrary faction with 8000. men, the one halfe whereof were horſemen, whereof the prouince of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound; among all which were leuied againſt CÆSAR eight legions of footmen and 20000. horſe. In this warre were many encounters, skirmiſhes and battailes, which *Hyrcius* in his Commentaries, PLVTARCH, LVCAN, LVCIVS FLORVS & others write of at large, in which CÆSAR was in great daunger: but at the laſt with his force and good fortune, he ouercame them all in a great battaile; wherein, of the enemies, were ſlaine tenne thouſand men, and CÆSAR remained maſter of the field, and in few daies after of all the land: and SCIPIO and all the principall Captaines which were his aduerſaries, died ſundrie deaths within few daies; and king IVBA

Cæſars warre in Africa againſt Scipio.

Hyrcius lib. 5.
Appian lib. 2.
Lucan lib. 3.
Lucius Florus lib. 4.
Titus Liuius lib. 114.
Plutarch in his liues.

The ſtrange death of King Iuba and Afranius.

by flight eſcaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in deſpaire, he and AFRANIVS determined to die fighting, the one againſt the other, vntill they were both ſlaine, in which combate King IVBA being of greater ſtrength then AFRANIVS, ſlew him; and afterwards commaunded a ſlaue of his owne, to kill himſelfe, and ſo he died deſperately.

Cato Vticenſis ſlewe himſelfe. S. Auguſtine in his booke de ciuitate dei. 1. *Scipio ſlewe and drowned himſelfe. Lactantius Firmianus, Aulus Gellius in his twelfth booke. Cicero in the 3. of his offices. Valerius Maximus cap. 3.*

The good MARCVS CATO which was in the citie of *Vtica*, knowing that CÆSAR marched thitherwards, and notwithſtanding that he knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a deſire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that he would receiue neither life nor honor from his enemie, he killed himſelfe: in whoſe death paſſed many notable things, recorded by many authors both chriſtian and heathen. SCIPIO who had been generall in this warre eſcaped from the battaile by flight, and ſhipping himſelfe in certaine galleyes wherein he fled, was met withall, by CÆSARS nauie; and he to the end that he would not be taken, giuing himſelfe certaine woundes, caſt himſelfe into the Sea, and ſo was drowned. CÆSAR hauing obtained ſo great and ſo entire a victorie, ſpending ſome few dayes in ordering the prouinces of *Africa*, confiſking and reducing the kingdome and countrie of King IVBA into a prouince, came to the citie of *Vtica*, where he embarked himſelfe the third day of Iune, and came to the Iſle of *Sardinia*, wherein he ſtayed ſome few dayes, and arriued at *Rome* the fiue and twentith day of Iulie. At his comming (as SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, and PLVTARCH record) there were graunted vnto him foure triumphes, the firſt triumph was for his conqueſt and victories in *France*, where were ſet the portraitures of the riuers of *Rodanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in golde: and in the ſecond triumph of *Egypt*, and of King PTOLOMEY, were ſet the riuer of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumpth was of the prouince of *Pontus* and of King PHARNACES, wherein for the ſpeede wherewith he proſecuted the victorie, was placed a briefe writing which ſignified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici,* which is to ſay, I came, I ſaw, I ouercame. The fourth triumph was of the prouince of *Africa*, wherein was placed King IVBA his ſonne, as a captiue, and in this triumpth (as SVETONIVS writeth) were giuen iewels and armes to OCTAVIVS CÆSARS Nephew, which afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare hereafter, notwithſtanding that he was not preſent in thoſe warres by reaſon of his ſmall age: for he was not then fully ſixteene yeares olde. As for the battaile which CÆSAR wanne againſt POMPEY, he would not triumph thereof, becauſe it was againſt Citizens of *Rome*.

Cæſars triumphes.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Cæſar would not triumph for his victorie againſt Pompey.

Theſe triumphes being ended, giuing great rewards to his ſouldiers, and entertaining the Romane people, with feaſts, gifts and other very great alarges, he cauſed himſelfe to be choſen the fourth time Conſul: and to the end that there ſhould be no place in the world wherein he would not be obeyed, he reſolued to goe into *Spaine*, where he vnderſtoode that GNEVS POMPEIVS (POMPEIVS ſonne) with the remainder of the armie which had eſcaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyne with his brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS, who alreadie was there, as I haue ſaid, and was in poſſeſſion of a great part of *Spaine*, with the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, and many other in that coaſt, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. CÆSAR departing, carried with him his moſt experienced and choſen ſouldiers, and made ſo good ſpeede that within few dayes he arriued in *Spaine*, and in this iourney (as SVETONIVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS recorde) his Nephew OCTAVIVS followed him.

CÆSAR being entred *Spaine*, came into the prouince of *Betica*, which is *Andaluzia*,

daluzia, where SEXTVS POMPEIVS and his brother GNEVS POMPEIVS were with such legions and people as they had gathered together; and so there began betweene them a cruell and bloudie warre. The ende whereof was, that neere to the citie of *Munda*, CÆSAR and GNEVS POMPEIVS, (for SEXTVS POMPEIVS was in *Cordona*) ioyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that euer was in the world. For CÆSAR being the most excellent captaine, and the people which he brought with him, the most valiant souldiers and accustomed to ouercome; the resolution and courage of POMPEY and his people was such, and they fought in such manner, that CÆSARS esquadrons began to giue ground and were readie to forsake the field, and at the very poynt to haue been wholy ouerthrowne. And the matter came to this issue, that (as SVETONIVS and EVTROPIVS doe write) CÆSAR was about to haue killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe ouercome: and that he tooke a target from one of his souldiers and rushed in among his enemies, saying with a loud voyce (as PLVTARCH reporteth) If you be not ashamed, leaue me and deliuer me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall bee the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his people tooke heart in such manner, that recouering the ground which they had lost, the battaile became equall, which as APPIANVS affirmeth, lasted the most part of one whole day, without shewing any signe of victorie, sometime seeming to encline to one partie, and sometime to the other, vntill that at length CÆSAR and his people did so great matters, that the euening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flie, and the victorie was apparantly CÆSARS: and there dyed of his enemies aboue 30000. men in this fight, and of CÆSARS part, were slaine a thousand principall men and of account, besides many other of lesser estimation. CÆSAR esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the daunger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vsed to say, that onely that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes euer for honour and victorie. He then remaining maister of the field, his aduersarie POMPEY, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good captaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandring through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by CÆSARS friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto TABIENVS. His second brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS fled from *Cordoua*, and in the end forsooke *Spaine*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. IVLIVS CÆSAR recouered the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, and all the rest, and disposing of all things in *Spaine* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, and entred therein, in triumph for the warres in *Spaine*, which was his fifth and last triumph: in this place LVCIVS FLORVS and PATERCVLVS make mention of all his triumphes.

Cæsars going into Spaine against Pompeies sonnes.

Betica, Andaluzia.

Cæsars cruell battaile and victorie against Pompeies sons.

Cæsars triumph for his victories in Spaine.

CÆSAR came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that euer had been in the world, hauing subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with armie and by force of armes, in as little time, as it might seeme, that another man might be able to trauaile those countries by resonable iourneyes; all which being in obedience and subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe soueraigne Lord and Monarch of the Romane Empire, within little lesse then fiue yeares after that he began the same. And this was the original and beginning of the Romane Emperours: for IVLIVS CÆSAR would not be called King: for the name of King was abhorred, and odious to the Romanes aboue all things in the world, after that the Kings were chased from

The beginning of the Romane Empire.

The originall of the name of Emperour.

Rome, but contenting himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperor; although not with a name of such dignitie, as his successors haue done since, but as by a name which signified that hee had been a conquerour in battailes in the warres, which in this sense was giuen to the Romane Captaines, when they had obtained any notable victorie: but after IVLIVS CÆSAR, al his successors tooke that name, and gloried to be called Emperours, which was sacred for the most high title and dignitie in the world.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing obtained the dominion which he so much desired, shewed in all things great clemencie and magnanimitie, honouring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiuing and very cheerefully pardoning all those which had bin his aduersaries; and so he not onely pardoned BRVTVS and CASSIVS, CICERO, MARCELLVS, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and priuate familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues and singularities wherewith CÆSAR was endued, his clemencie and liberalitie were most glorious. But this sufficed not to extinguish the desire to recouer the losse of libertie, neither to asswage the hatred and malice conceiued against him by his aduersaries, as in time did appeare.

The clemencie and bountie of Cæsar.

And notwithstanding that many were grieued, yet some for the loue which they bare him; others for feare or dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preheminencies and titles of honour, such as neuer had been giuen to any other; neither ought he to haue accepted the same, as PLVTARCH, APPIAN and others doe report. But CÆSARS minde and ambition was so great, and his thoughts so eleuate and so high, that he held nothing for so great, but that he was worthie thereof and had deserued the same: and so he not only accepted that which they offered him, but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and conseruer of his countrey: he was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for tenne yeeres, and perpetuall Censor of their customes. His statue and image was erected among the Kings of *Rome*, and a chaire and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senatours did vse to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. But here the matter ceased not, which they gaue him, and he accepted of some things which only to those whom they held for Gods, ought to haue been attributed, the moneth which they called Quintil, they called IVLIVS after his name, as March of their god MARS, and Iune after the goddesse IVNO: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto IVPITER, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call Thensas: and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

The names and high titles which were giuen to Cæsar.

IVLIVS CÆSAR enioying such honour and power, so as he had no equall or second in the world with whom he might contend; it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and imagine and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as PLINIE and SOLINVS and other report) to haue fought for them in fiftie seuerall battailes (in all which he ouercame) sauing in that one at *Dyrrachium* against POMPEY; where, as we haue alreadie said, he was not wholy ouerthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres

and

and battailes which he fought,a million, ninetie and odde thouſand men; and yet they ſay that they reckon not thoſe which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was a man of a moſt high minde,he ſought to doe greater matters,if greater might be.For firſt he determined to paſſe into the Eaſt,there to conquer and ſubdue the fierce nation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of MARCVS CRASSVS,and to paſſe thorough *Hircania* and other countries, vntill he ſhould come to the Caſpian Sea,and ſo thorough all the prouinces of *Scythia Aſiatica*; and paſſing the riuer *Tanais*, to returne thorough *Scythia* in Europe,and in this retreit to come into Germany,and other prouinces bordering thereupon, conquering and ſubduing them all to the Romane Empire: for the which conqueſt he preſently cauſed to be leuied in ſundrie places,tenne thouſand horſemen, and ſixteene legions of choſen footmen,and appointing the time wherin he thought to depart,he commaunded them to march towards their Rendeuous. And beſides all this,he ſought not onely to ſubdue and ouercome all the nations of the world,but to correct and reforme nature it ſelfe: for he purpoſed to haue made an Iland of *Peloponeſus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the necke of the land which is betweene the *Egean* and the *Ionian* Seas.

The high thoughts and purpoſes of Cæſar.

Of the Riuer *Tiber* and the Riuer *Anien* (as PLVTARCH ſaith) he purpoſed to haue altered the courſes,and to haue opened new channels,through which they ſhould run into the Sea,making them to leaue their naturall courſe, and capeable to beare great ſhips. He commaunded and alreadie began to digge downe,and make plaine many hils and high mountaines in *Italie*,and to drie vp and to dreine ſome of the great lakes and mariſhes which are therein: and in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more then a man, which ſeemed to be poſſible to none but to God alone. He amended and corrected (as many authors affirme) the account and computation of the yeere,conforming it with the courſe of the Sunne,and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the account and courſe of the Moone, and the coniunctions and oppoſitions of her and of the Sunne: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie,by thoſe which did emulate and hate him: For one day in a diſcourſe in the preſence of CICERO, it was ſaid,that the next day there ſhould be an Eclipſe of the Sunne; yea (quoth he) it is ſo, for CÆSAR hath ſo commaunded. Many other things CÆSAR began,which were very great, in reforming the lawes,cuſtomes and offices,which for breuitie I omit: among which the reedifying of the deſtroyed citie of *Carthage* by SCIPIO (as all the world knoweth) was one; and he ſent thither Colonies and Romane citizens to inhabite: the like he did by *Corinth*. But all theſe deeds & theſe ſo high thoughts and determinations were abridged by death, which within few daies enſued: & this man which no force could reſiſt,a few men, yea & thoſe diſarmed,were of power to bereaue of life,as hereafter we will declare.Fiue moneths only he liued a ſoueraigne Lord in peace (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS hath noted) when thoſe in whom he repoſed greateſt truſt,conſpired his death.

Cæſar corrected the computation of the yeere.

Suetonius, Plutarch, Cenſorinus.

Carthage repeopled by Cæſar.

Some write that CÆSAR was counſelled to haue had a guard alwaies about him: whereto he anſwered,that he would haue none,for hee would rather die once, then liue continually in care and feare. Many ſet downe the cauſes wherefore they deſired to kill him: Some ſay that it was of hatred which they had long borne him: ſome others ſay,that it was for the deſire of libertie, holding him for a tyrant: But the moſt part are of opinion, that it was of ſuſpition that hee would haue cauſed himſelfe to be called and made king of *Rome*, a thing in the higheſt degree

The cauſes of the conſpiracies againſt Cæſar.

degree hatefull to the Romanes: whereof hee gaue many ſignes and cauſes to ſuſpect, which PLVTARCH and others write at large. Hereunto was added, that he began to haue men in contempt, and all other things, whereby he became hatefull to many. For he vſed to ſay, that the Common-wealth was but a voyce and a name without a bodie, or ſubſtance; and that it well appeared that CORNELIVS SYLLA had no learning, ſeeing that he reſigned the perpetuall Dictatorſhip. All the whole Senate, comming one day into the Temple of *Venus*, wherein he was, he attended their comming, ſitting ſtill, and roſe not, as hee was wont to doe; notwithſtanding (as ſome ſay) that CORNELIVS BALBVS counſelled him to riſe: which was a thing much noted and odious to the Common-wealth. His friends and fauourites began alſo to ſay and to publiſh, that in the bookes of the *Sibyls* (which in *Rome* were held in great veneration and for a true prophecie) it was written, that the Parthians could neuer bee ouercome but by a man which ſhould haue the title of king, and they practiſed that CÆSAR ſhould take this name, for that conqueſt, whither he had determined to goe: and although that he made ſhew to be grieued and much moued thereat, yet they ſuſpected the contrarie, which ſuſpition encreaſed (beſides that which is alreadie ſaid) for that, that the Tribunes of the people commaunded a man to be apprehended, which had ſet a Diademe (which is the enſigne of a king) vpon the head of one of CÆSARS ſtatues. Whereat CÆSAR was ſo highly offended with the Tribunes, that he depoſed them from their offices, making ſhew that he did it, becauſe they gaue him cauſe of offence, in this, that they would make the world beleeue that there was cauſe of ſuſpition, that he would make himſelfe a tyrant King. The like in a manner paſſed, when MARCVS ANTONIVS, which was a great fauourite of his, (and that yeere) his fellow and companion in the Conſulſhip, being at certaine publike games, came to CÆSAR and put a Diademe vpon his head: and although that he caſt it downe, yet they all imagined that MARCVS ANTONIVS would not haue been ſo bold and ſo hardie to haue done it, without his conſent and goodwill; and that he did this to proue, what liking the people had thereto, and how they would take it: ſo as theſe and ſuch other like things as paſſed, gaue them occaſion to deſire and to procure his death, as ſome of them did. This did alſo encourage them, and made them attempt to doe it: for that in ſundrie publike places certaine writings were ſet vp, which did incite and animate them to conſpire againſt him: as vpon the ſtatue of *Brutus*, which in ancient time had chaſed the Kings out of *Rome*, wherein were written theſe words; *Would to God thou wert now liuing Brutus.* And vpon the image of MARCVS BRVTVS, which then was Pretor, and deſcended from the other BRVTVS, theſe words: *Thou ſleepeſt long Brutus, truly thou art not Brutus.* And as APPIAN recounteth, at other times, they ſet vp others which imported: *Thou art dead Brutus, would to God thou waſt liuing, thou art vnworthie of the ſucceſsion from the Bruti: ſurely thou art not deſcended from that good Brutus.* And other ſuch like things were ſet vpon theſe ſtatues and in other places. So as for all theſe reaſons and for other added hereunto, there were ſeuentie of the moſt principall men in *Rome* which conſpired to put him to death; one alluring another, vntill that they amounted to that number: of which the moſt principall heads were DECIVS, MARCVS BRVTVS, CAIVS CASSIVS; yet MARCVS BRVTVS was held for CÆSARS ſonne, for his mother was ſuſpected with him, and had receiued from him great honours and good entertainments: with theſe were GAIVS CASCA, ATTILIVS CIMBER, SERVIVS GALBA, QVINTVS LIGARIVS, MARCVS SPVRIVS, and many other men

The conſpiracie againſt Julius Cæſar.

men of account, which after ſome conſultations, concluded to kill him vpon the Ides of March, which is the fifteenth day of that month, in the temple where the Senators were to ſit that day: which was agreed vpon and kept ſo cloſe and ſecret, that (notwithſtanding their great number) there was not any one found that did diſcouer the ſame. But there happened ſo many ſignes and prodigies, and to himſelfe there happened ſo many auguries and forewarnings, that without knowing any cauſe, all men were of opinion that CÆSARS death was neere at hand: the which among many others which recite the ſame, OVID doth moſt excellently ſet downe in his Metamorphoſes, which for breuitie I omit; but chiefly SPVRINA which was his diuiner or ſoothſaier, diuined and forwarned him, that he ſhould looke to himſelfe, vntill that the Ides of March were paſt; for his life was in great danger: and CÆSARS owne wife entreated him vpon her knees, that he would not that day goe foorth to the Senate; for ſhe had dreamed that he lay dead in her lappe. Finally, CÆSAR was ſo many waies forewarned and put in ſuch feare of ſome great danger, that he was about to ſend to MARCVS ANTONIVS to make his excuſe, and to deferre the Senate vntill another day: But as it was Gods will that he ſhould die ſo, MARCVS BRVTVS being in place when this matter was in queſtion (who, as we haue alreadie ſaid, was one of the conſpirators) counſelled CÆSAR that in no caſe he ſhould ſhew any ſuch feare; whereupon he determined to goe thither. *Lib. 14.*

Some (as SVETONIVS, and PLVTARCH) write that CÆSAR made ſmall account of death, and that he ſuſpected that hee ſhould die in this manner; for he ſaid, that he did not ſo much eſteeme his owne life, as the daunger whereinto the common-wealth would fall by loſing him: For as for him, he had wonne and obtained power, fame and glorie enough for himſelfe; and that he in no time could dy with greater honour. It gaue alſo cauſe of this ſuſpition in this, that ſome diſcourſing in his preſence the night before his death, what kinde of death was beſt? euen, quoth he, the ſodaine, and that which is not prepenſed. Whether this be true or no, I know not, but the fifteenth of March he went from his houſe in a litter towards the Senate, and paſſing along the ſtreete, there was a petition deliuered vnto him, which ſome ſay, ARTEMIDORVS his Maiſter in the Greeke tongue gaue him: others ſay, that it was giuen to him by another, and that ARTEMIDORVS could not come ſo neere to him as to aduiſe him: but whoſoeuer he were that gaue it, therein was giuen him in writing, all that which was concluded in this conſpiracie, and he which gaue it deſired him to reade it preſently, which he began to doe; but there came ſo many to ſpeake to him, that he could but begin to reade it, for it was found in his hand when he was dead. And paſſing ſo along the ſtreete, he alſo mette with SPVRINA, who had giuen him warning to looke to himſelfe vntill the Ides of March were paſt, and as CÆSAR ſaw him very pleaſant and ieſting he ſaid, doeſt thou not know SPVRINA that the Ides of March are come? yea anſwered SPVRINA, and I know that they are not yet paſt alſo. Being come to the temple where the Senate was to ſit that day, he came downe from his Litter and entred thereinto, and hauing firſt done ſacrifice, (as then was the cuſtome) which all according to their ſuperſtitious ceremonies of that time, preſaged to be fatall and infortunate, he ſate downe in the Senate in his chaire, and BRVTVS ALBINVS entertaining MARCVS ANTONIVS at the doore of the temple (or after ſome others) TREBONIVS (as it was decreed) one of the conſpiratours (whoſe name was CELER) came to CÆSAR vnder colour to entreate him to be pleaſed to releaſe a brother of his from baniſhment, *A petition giuen to Cæſar.*

and

and presently all the rest of the conspirators drew neere to his chaire: which when CÆSAR perceiued, thinking that they had al come for the same purpose, it is written that he said to them, what perforce is this? and at that instant one of them whose name was CASCA, beginning, they all drew their poiniards and swords, which they had brought in secret for that purpose vnder their gownes, and began to wound him. The first blow that he receiued, they say, that CASCA gaue him in the throate, at which hurt CÆSAR spake a lowde saying, what doest thou traitour CASCA? and wresting the poiniard out of his hands, he arose and stabbed CASCA through the arme, and being about to strike him the second time, he was letted by the other woundes which they gaue him, with great force and courage leaping from one side to the other, to defend himselfe. But when he saw MARCVS BRVTVS, (whose authoritie and reputation was great) with his sworde drawne in his hand, wherewith he had alreadie wounded him in the thigh, they write that he was much amazed thereat, and said in the Greeke tongue (which the Romanes did then vnderstand and vsually speake) Why, how now sonne BRVTVS, and thou also? And hauing said so, and seeing so many weapons bent against him, and that no bodie came to his rescue; for there was so great a hurlie burlie in the Senate, that they all thought to haue dyed, and being in despaire none durst attempt to defend him: he remembred to keepe the honour of his person, and with his right hand couered his head with part of his robe, and with his left hand, he girt himselfe and setled his clothes about him, and being so couered, he fell dead to the ground, wounded with three and twentie wounds; and his fortune was to fall at the foote of the seate or base whereupon POMPEIES statue stoode, which was noted for the iudgement and permission of God. And so in this manner died the most mightie, the most worthie, valiant, wise and fortunate Prince and captaine, that without all doubt before him hath been in the world, and I know not if after him in valour and humane power there hath been the like. For his excellencies, graces and abilities; his inuincible minde, his incomparable force and courage; the battailes and victories which he obtained; the prouinces, Kings and nations, which he ouercame and subdued; his counsels, stratagems, pollicies, and bold attempts which he vsed therein; his magnanimitie, clemencie and bountie with the conquered and conquerors; his high thoughts and purposes, being well weighed and considered: it will plainely appeare, that in none of these thinges aforesaid, neither in many other more which may be said of him, there hath not been any King or captaine that hath excelled him, but that he in the most hath excelled all others, and had fewer imperfections and vices then any other: for setting apart his ambition and desire to raigne, (which he held for no vice, and might alleadge that he was compelled thereto) he was onely noted and blamed, as too much giuen to women; as for the rest wherewith he was charged, it doth rather appeare to be the murmuring and slandering of his aduersaries, then any truth.

Cæsar.

Brutus.

Cæsar was slaine in the Senate, and died at Pompeies feet.

The excellencies of Iulius Cæsar.

The time wherein Cæsar died.

CÆSAR then was slaine in the sixe and fiftith yeare of his age, foure yeares and a little more (according to PLVTARCHES computation) after the death of POMPEY; in the seuen hundred and tenth yeare (according to OROSIVS) after the foundation of *Rome*; and according to the Hebrew truth, in the three thousand and tenth yeare from the creation of the world; and according to the greater account of the seuentie Interpretors, fiue thousand, one hundred, fiftie and seauen yeares; in the hundred, eightie and fourth Olympiad; and fortie and two yeares before the birth of Christ our redeemer. But I would the reader to vnderstand,

vnderſtand, that in this account of yeeres, there ſometimes happeneth difference betweene the authors.

CÆSAR had neither ſonne nor daughter legitimate, at the time of his death: for notwithſtanding that he was married foure ſeuerall times, yet he had but one onely daughter, named IVLIA, which (as I haue ſaid) was married to POMPEY, and died. Wherefore he adopted and choſe for his ſonne by his laſt will, and made him his heire in the Dodrant, which are nine partes of the twelue of his goods, his Nephew OCTAVIVS CÆSAR; which afterwards was called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, who was nephew of his ſiſter IVLIA and of ACIVS BALBVS, and ſonne of ACIA his neece, and of OCTAVIVS Pretor in *Macedonia*, who died ſodainly. OCTAVIVS was at this time by the commaundement of his vncle, in the citie of *Apollonia* in the prouince of *Epire*, where he gaue himſelfe to ſtudie, ſtaying for him there; thence to goe with him to the warres of the Parthians, being then of the age of ſeuenteene yeeres.

Iulius Cæſar adopted Octauianus his Nephew for his ſonne.

Octauianus his parentage.

CÆSAR being dead in the manner as I haue ſaid (as it happeneth in great accidents) ſo the newes preſently ranne ouer all the citie, and the tumult and alteration therein was ſo great, that no man knew what to doe, or ſay: all offices ceaſed, the temples were ſhut vp, there was no man but was afraid: CÆSARS friends were afraid of thoſe which ſlew him, and they of his friends. It would be a long diſcourſe to recite what paſſed and ſucceeded, but I will briefly ſet downe that which ſhall be moſt to my purpoſe. BRVTVS and CASSIVS and all the conſpirators, and others which were willing to ioyne with them, hauing put him to death, ſeeing the great hurlie burlie and tumult among the people (and after PLVTARCH) for feare of MARCVS ANTONIVS and LEPIDVS, whereof the one was Conſul, and the other Maiſter of the horſemen, durſt not goe to their houſes, neither to doe ſuch other things as they had pretended; but preſently from thence went to ſeaſe vpon the Capitoll, and crying by the way as they went, libertie, libertie, deſiring and imploring the aſſiſtance and fauour of the people. The reſt of that day and all the next night; MARCVS ANTONIVS and LEPIDVS which tooke CÆSARS part, were in armes, and there paſſed treaties and meſſages from the one to the other; wherein it was agreed that the Senate ſhould ſit, whither BRVTVS and CASSIVS came, MARCVS ANTONIVS his ſonnes (by the perſwaſion of CICERO a great louer of the libertie) remaining hoſtages for them; where they treated of peace and concord, and that all that which was paſt ſhould be buried in perpetuall ſilence and obliuion. Whereunto MARCVS ANTONIVS (who was Conſul) and all the whole Senate agreed, and all the prouinces being diuided, there was a great likelyhoode of peace, for the Senate approoued and commended the fact, and the people diſſembled it: for in one part the authoritie of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, and the name of libertie, ſeemed to giue them ſome contentment; and of the otherſide, the greatnes of the fact and the loue which they bare vnto CÆSAR, did moue and incite them to hate the murtherers, and ſo it reſted indeterminate. But MARCVS ANTONIVS, as one who alſo thought to become a tyrant, euer ſought meanes to incenſe the people againſt them: and it paſſed ſo, that among other things which were done, it followed that CÆSARS teſtament was opened; wherein beſides the adopting of his Nephew OCTAVIVS for his ſonne, and appointing him for his chiefe heire, among other bequeſts which he made, he bequeathed to the people of *Rome* certaine gardens and heritages neere the riuer of *Tiber*, and to euery citizen of *Rome* a certaine ſum of money, to be deuided among them:

The determination of the Senate.

Cæſars will and teſtament.

diſſenſion did much grieue them all, and both the one part and the other layd all the fault on LEPIDVS. Which when OCTAVIAN vnderſtood, before that they would fall ſo farre out as to take armes, he practiſed ſecret treaties with ſundry in LEPIDVS his army, and with gifts and promiſes drew them to his will: and hauing well effected this deuiſe, he one day with a great troupe of horſemen roade neere to LEPIDVS his Camp, and ſingling himſelfe from his companie, he began to parley with his ſouldiers, complaining of him, & laying the fault of all that was like to enſue vpon LEPIDVS: which being heard by them, many of them began to come ouer to his ſide. And LEPIDVS aduertiſed hereof, commanded the alarme to be giuen, and to ſally out againſt him, ſo as they skirmiſhed, wherein in the beginning OCTAVIAN was in ſome danger, but it laſted not long: for the moſt part of LEPIDVS his troupes paſſed ouer to OCTAVIAN, which LEPIDVS could not reſiſt; who ſeeing himſelfe in danger to be abandoned by the whole, for his laſt refuge rendred himſelfe into CÆSARS power, and putting off his roabe of Generall, went out of his Tent, and yeelded himſelfe vnto OCTAVIANVS, humbly crauing him to pardon him: whom OCTAVIAN receiued, as though he had neuer offended him, very courteouſly and honorably, but he reſtored him neither to his eſtate nor power, but ſent him to *Rome* well accompanied and enterteined, but without Magiſtracie or office, with the dignitie of higheſt Prieſt only, which he had euer held from the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR whoſe it was: and ſo this quarrell was ended without battaile or bloudſhed, which ſome feared would haue brought both danger and calamitie.

Lepidus depriued of his prouince of Africa.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR remained Lord of *Sicilia*, depriuing LEPIDVS of the league and Triumuirat, appropriating to himſelfe the prouince of *Africa*, and remained generall of the three armies, *viz.* that which was LEPIDVS his army, POMPEIES army, & his owne, whercin APPIANVS affirmeth, were 45. Legions of footemen, and 25000. horſemen well armed; beſides many other light horſemen and Numidians, which ſeemeth not incredible to him that conſidereth how great a part of the world they commaunded which leuyed the ſame. He affirmeth alſo, that there were then at ſea and vpon the coaſt 600. Galleys, and a greater number of Ships, Foiſts, and Brigandines: And although that OCTAVIANVS had ſo great forces, yet would he not purſue or ſend after POMPEY, who (as we haue ſayd) fled, which he did (as ſome did ſuſpect) beleeuing that MARCVS ANTONIVS would haue harboured and ſuccoured him, being glad that occaſion might haue bin offred to quarrell with him, as now there was no other man in the world that was any eye-ſore vnto him, but he: or elſe he did it, as he himſelfe ſayd afterwards, for that POMPEY was none of thoſe which conſpired CÆSARS death. And purpoſing now to diſperſe his armies and to returne to *Rome*, he payd his ſouldiers, giuing crownes and other enſignes and armes to thoſe which had performed any notable exploits in the warres; and hauing giuen many gifts and made many faire promiſes to his legions, pardoning the Captaines and ſouldiers which had followed POMPEY, and in the beſt manner that he could, paying and contenting LEPIDVS his companies he ſent them home to their houſes; notwithſtanding that there were ſome ſcandales and mutinies, but he pacified and brought all in good order, and leauing in *Sicily*; and ſending into *Africa* Pretors and Gouernors, he tooke his way towards *Rome*, where he was receiued with ouacion entertainement, which was little leſſe then a triumph, with incredible ioy and honor, and began to be ſo beloued and eſteemed, that in many places they erected Temples and Altars vnto him, as to their gods; and he

An exceeding great aſſembly of men of war.

ordered

ordered and reformed al things, which by reaſon of the warres and troubles were corrupted and out of order. It would be a large diſcourſe to declare the particulars of all things which he did in *Rome* and in the prouinces, as well concerning the gouernment and iuſtice, as the decencie and beautifying thereof.

At this time MARCVS ANTONIVS who was in the Eaſt, notwithſtanding that in the warres of the Parthians he had no proſperous ſucceſſe; yet neuertheleſſe was ſtill of very great power, very rich, and much ſerued and obeyed in all the prouinces of *Græcia*, *Aſia*, *Egypt*, and all the reſt in his dition. But he was ſo much blinded and beſotted with the loue and companie of CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt*, that he thought of nothing but how to ſatisfie her humour, being vnable to depart from her, or to haue any regard or remembrance of his wife OCTAVIA and ſiſter to OCTAVIANVS, who in beautie and wiſedome was nothing inferiour to her, and in vertue and goodnes did farre excell her.

Antony captiuated by Cleopatra.

And ſo the Monarchie of the world was diuided betweene theſe two men, the one in the Eaſt, and the other in the Weſt: and as the deſire and hunger to raigne is endleſſe, and the thirſt with continuance encreaſeth, as though that each of them had not had enough to his ſhare, both of thē bethought themſelues how they might be able to obtaine the whole, principally OCTAVIAN, ſeeing that ANTONY cared not for his ſiſter, neither ſent for her after that he had left her in *Rome*, he therefore continually counſelled and vrged her to goe to her husband, to haue (as I beleeue) occaſion to fall out with him (as PLVTARCH recounteth in the life of ANTONY) if ſhe were not well entertained. And ſhe not vnderſtanding this deuice, with intent to ſtop and let any controuerſie that might ariſe betweene her husband and her brother, departed from *Rome*, bearing with her many iewels and preſents, which ſhe had gathered together, to carrie them to MARCVS ANTONIVS, as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS recordeth. But he who had fixed his heart vpon CLEOPATRA, wrote to her vpon the way, that ſhe ſhould ſtay in *Græcia* in the citie of *Athens*, vntill hee ſhould returne from the iourney which hee purpoſed to make againſt the Parthians; which hee neuer performed, CLEOPATRA hindring the ſame. Finally, to bee briefe (for otherwaies there were much to ſay) OCTAVIA ſent all thoſe things which ſhe brought with her, to her husband; and this nothing auailing, ſhe returned to *Rome* ſorrowfull, and by him forſaken. Whereupon OCTAVIAN began openly to complaine of MARCVS ANTONIVS, and to ſhew himſelfe his enemie: and MARCVS ANTONIVS which had the ſame deſire, entred into league and amitie with the King of the Medes in *Aſia*; and CLEOPATRA, beſides the title of *Egypt*, he made to be called Queene of *Syria*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*, and ioyntly with her to a ſonne of hers named CÆSARION, of whom (as we haue alreadie ſaid) IVLIVS CÆSAR left her with child when he was in *Egypt*, and to two ſonnes which he had by her, the one named PTOLOMY, and the other ALEXANDER, he gaue titles of Kings, to ALEXANDER of *Armenia* and *Parthia*, which he meant to conquer; and to PTOLOMY of *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*: for which and many other cauſes which were offered, the enmitie betweene him and OCTAVIAN was publike and apparant; but the warre was yet deferred, for that OCTAVIAN was hindred by the warres in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Slauonia*. The people of which countries, ſeeing the ciuill warres of the Romanes, roſe and rebelled, with other nations which conſpired with them, and did aſſiſt them, although not ſubiects as they were, to wit, the two *Pannoniæ*, the vpper which is now *Auſtria*, and the lower, which is *Hungarie*, and *Noricum*, which is now part of *Bauaria*, with other their borderers and neighbours.

Cæſarion the ſonne of Iulius Cæſar.

The warres which Octauianus made in Illyricum.

bours. Which warre OCTAVIAN vndertooke of ſet purpoſe, and followed it in his owne perſon, which was very cruell and dangerous: wherein he was twice wounded, and made marueilous proofe of his perſon, both for valour and wiſedome: wherein there paſſed more and greater matters then I haue time to recite. APPIANVS in his ſixt booke which he calleth *Illyricque*, writeth thereof at large: and alſo VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS, although more briefly, LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS abreuiated by him and ſome others. The end thereof was, that OCTAVIAN not onely reduced and tamed *Illyricum*, and ſundrie Nations, contained vnder that name, but alſo the *Pannonias*, and the reſt which had conſpired with thoſe of *Illyricum*, partly by himſelf in perſon, & partly by his Captaines.

Theſe victories being obtained, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR came victorious to *Rome*: and notwithſtanding that the triumph was granted vnto him, yet he would not triumph as then; ſo great was the deſire hee had to warre againſt MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was no better affected vnto him, but rather leuied ſouldiers, procured friends and armes againſt him, and promiſed his friend CLEOPATRA, to bring her triumphing into *Rome*. LVCIVS FLORVS writeth, that ſhe requeſted of him the rule and Empire of *Rome*, and he promiſed it her: as though the Romanes had been more eaſie to ſubdue then the Parthians. And the matter ſtanding in theſe termes, MARCVS ANTONIVS ſent to his wife OCTAVIA ſiſter to OCTAVIANVS, a diuorcement and renunciation of his mariage, in ſuch manner as then was accuſtomed; commaunding her to goe out of his houſe, wherein ſhe dwelled in *Rome*: All which with many other matters OCTAVIAN ſignified in the Senate, complaining thereof againſt him, and in his orations and ſpeeches to the people, accuſing him alſo; that the ſecond fiue yeeres of his Triumuirat and league being expired, without comming to *Rome*, or reſpecting the authoritie of the Senate, he exerciſed the ſame, and held the poſſeſſion of *Græcia* and the prouinces of the Eaſt, and ſo vſed many ſpeeches againſt MARCVS ANTONIVS to perſwade and incenſe the people againſt him.

MARCVS ANTONIVS on the other ſide, complained by meſſengers and letters, alleaging that OCTAVIAN had often broken the peace, and had caſt SEXTVS POMPEIVS out of *Sicilia*, remaining with thoſe prouinces and others which he held; and that therein he had no minde of him, neither had giuen him any part thereof; and that hee detained the galleys which he lent him for that warre: and beſides this, that he had vſed meanes and deuices to depriue LEPIDVS, and ſo held all the prouinces of *Africa*, and all the legions which were his, without imparting any thing thereof vnto him of all theſe things: and that hee had giuen the fields and lands of al *Italie* to his people and ſouldiers, without contributing any part thereof vnto his. And in this manner the one accuſed the other, and either of them made ſhew, and fained that he was vrged and enforced to vndertake this warre. But the truth is, they both deſired to bee Lords of the whole, and in my opinion, vainglorie, ambition, couetouſnes, and enuie, moued them thereto, each of them putting his determination in effect, calling and leuying forces and aides; ſo as the whole world in a manner, either of the one ſide or other, was moued and troubled therewith: thoſe of the Weſt in the behalfe of OCTAVIAN, and thoſe of the Eaſt in fauour of MARCVS ANTONIVS; at the leaſt, the beſt and moſt choiſe people of all, although not ſo many as they might haue leuied: for the Romanes neuer vſed to make warres with ſuch huge multitudes and exceſſiue armies, which they ſhould not be well able to maintaine and rule, as the Perſians and other barbarous nations did.

The cauſes of the warre betweene Octauianus and Marcus Antonius, and the beginning thereof.

ANTONY

ANTONY was first on foote, and came with great troupes to the famous citie of *Ephesus*, which was in *Ionia* a prouince in *Asia* the lesse, whither he had sent for his ships and Nauie to come, to passe into *Europe*, and had there in readines 800. betweene galleys and ships of burthen, 200. whereof CLEOPATRA gaue to him with all the munition and victuals necessarie for the fleete; and her selfe he caried with him, contrarie to the opinion of all those which were of his counsell: And herewith came to the Ile of *Samos*, whither he had appointed to come by a certaine day, all the Kings, Tetrarches and people of cities, which came to serue him in this warre, and from thence he parted and came to *Athens*. PLVTARCH describeth the Kings which came with him, and those which sent some forces to his aide, part whereof were friends and allies to the Empire, and others vassals and subiects; to which was giuen the title and gouernment of prouinces: of which he named TARCONDEMVS of the vpper *Cilicia*, and ARCHELAVS of *Cappadocia*, PHILADELPHVS of *Paphlagonia*, and MITHRIDATES of *Comagena*, & others also; besides those which sent their forces, as were HERODES king of *Iudea*, AMYNTAS of *Lycaonia*, and the king of *Arabia*, the king of the *Medes*, and PALEMON king of *Pontus*, and some others: wherein (it was said) he brought 100000. singular good and well trained footmen, and 22000. horsemen: and according to the same PLVTARCH, besides this armie by land, his Nauie by Sea consisted of fiue hundred galleys, besides the ships of burthen which brought the munition and victuals.

Samos an Ile in the Ionian Sea ouer against Ephesus.

The people and preparation of Marcus Antonius.

Although that in the number of ships and galleys the authors doe varie, which ought not diminish the credit of the historie, sithence that in matters which passe now adaies which we see with our eyes, wee can hardly know the certaine number of the ships and of the armies. MARCVS ANTONIVS came with such power, that the Historiographers affirme, that if he had presently taken his passage for *Italie*, he had put OCTAVIAN to his shifts, and in great hazard: for he had not sufficient forces leuied to haue fought with him, neither had hee necessarie prouision for the warres. And so MARCVS ANTONIVS his long delaying of time, was imputed vnto him for want of discretion, knowledge and foresight of the good fortune which was offred him: For he spent so much time in *Athens*, that OCTAVIAN had leisure to prouide all things wanting, from *Italie*, *France*, *Spaine*, and other prouinces in his subiection: and leuying 80000. chosen and trained souldiers, and aboue 20000. horse, seeing that hee taried so long, he sent him word, that for as much as he had ships and prouision fit thereto, he should draw neere to *Italie*, where he staied in the field to giue him battaile, promising to giue him free Ports and Hauens, where he might safely take landing without any interruption, to the end that he might the more commodiously order and prouide all things thereto necessarie. Whereto ANTONY answered, that it would be better if hee would determine this quarrell in person against him bodie to bodie, which hee would willingly accept; notwithstanding that he was now old and crazed, and the other young and lustie: and if he liked not hereof, he would stay for him with his people in the fields of *Pharsalia*, in the same place where his father IVLIVS CÆSAR fought with GNEVS POMPEIVS.

These Ambassades and messages passing betweene them, without effect; ANTONY drew his Armie by land, and his Nauie by sea, towards the coast of *Italy*; and OCTAVIAN amassing his ships in *Brundusium*, embarked his legions, and crossing the Sea came to a place called *Torna*, in the prouince of *Epire*, which is now called *Romania*. And after certaine notable matters which passed, the two

Epire, Romania.

armies drew neere the one to the other, and the like did the Nauies by ſea. OCTAVIANVS Nauie (as PLVTARCH affirmeth) conſiſted of 250. galleys, but better appointed and ſwifter, then MARCVS ANTONIVS his galleys were, which were more in number, although (as I haue ſaid) the authors agree not: but the moſt common opinion is, as I haue ſaid. But howſoeuer it were, MARCVS ANTONIVS perſwaded by CLEOPATRA (who euen in this alſo was the cauſe of his perdition) would needes trie his fortune in a battaile at Sea, notwithſtanding that in his armie by land hee had the aduantage. CLEOPATRA did this (as ſome write, and as it after appeared) thereby to haue the better meanes to flie if the battaile ſhould be loſt. ANTONY chuſing 22000. men out of his armie, put them aboord his fleete, which was neere at hand: and OCTAVIAN, who refuſed not the combat vpon the water, made his prouiſion alſo for the battaile; and ſhipping himſelfe aboord the galleys, committed the charge of his armie by land to TAVRVS: and ANTONY doing the like, left his with CANIDIVS; in ſight of both which, the two moſt mightie men, with the beſt troupes and Nauies of the world, tooke the Seas, which fought for no leſſe matter then the Empire and Monarchie thereof: Which was deferred for three daies ſpace in deſpite of both parties, the Seas ſwelling ſo high that they could not gouerne their veſſels. The fourth day they came to encounter at a Cape called *Acius*, which is in *Epire*, not farre from whence were their armies by land. The battaile was one of the moſt fierce and cruell that hath been written of: for it laſted tenne houres before that OCTAVIAN, who was the victor, did wholy obtaine the victorie, although that ANTONY ſtaied not ſo long therein: for as CLEOPATRA knew better how to mollifie and ſoften mens harts, then to encourage them; in the hotteſt and greateſt furie of the battaile, with a feminine minde vnable to endure the ſight of ſo fierce a ſpectacle, ſhe fled away in her galley, whom ſeuentie of her other galleys followed; which is not to be wondred at, but how ſhe durſt ſtay ſo long. But the vnluckie MARCVS ANTONIVS, who all his life time had been a moſt valiant and excellent Captaine, that day metamorphoſed into CLEOPATRA, ſeeing her galley flie, wherein he had fixed his heart and eyes, went out of his, for that it ſeemed too heauy, and embarking himſelfe in another more ſwift (deſiring rather to flie with CLEOPATRA, then to preuaile without her) followed her, without reſpect of his armies by land or ſea, which remained: and ouertaking her, he went aboord the ſame galley wherein ſhe was; wherein hee ſailed three daies without ſeeing or ſpeaking to her, for ſhame (as it is moſt likely) for the great weakenes which he had ſhewed. And after ſome wandring, he arriued in the harbour at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where he afterwards ended his life, as we will declare.

The battaile at Sea betweene Octauianus and Marcus Antonius.

The ſhamefull flight of Marcus Antonius.

His Nauie which he left fighting, although without a captaine, made reſiſtance ſo long as I haue ſaid, and there were ſlaine thereof aboue fiue thouſand men: but in the end it was wholy ouerthrowne, more through want of a captaine, then through any force of the enemie: although ſome write, that the lightnes and ſwiftnes of OCTAVIANS gallies was a great helpe vnto him, and ſo he remained conqueror, and graunted life and pardon to the conquered, and had in his power three hundred of their gallies. And in the armie by land there wanted neither conſtancie, nor faith to their captaine ANTONIE although abandoned by him, which remained ſeuen dayes in their campe readie to giue battaile, without accepting any compoſition or offer, ſent or made vnto them by OCTAVIAN, with a ſhew that they would yet haue ſtayed longer time, if CANIDIVS, whom ANTONIE left in his ſteede, had not abuſed his charge, as he which placed him there-

Octauianus his victorie.

in,

in,had done. For it was ſo, that after ſeauen dayes were paſt, in the night ſecretly he fled from the campe to ſeeke ANTONIE, and abandoned the armie, which being forſaken,yeelded to the enemie; and OCTAVIAN vſed his victorie with great clemencie: which being obtained, he either thought it not good, or could not at that time purſue ANTONIE, but tooke his way towards the citie of *Athens*, where taking order for all matters in *Græcia*, by reaſon of ſome commotions in *Italie* (as SVETONIVS recordeth) he returned thither, where he ſtayed ſomewhat longer then he would haue done,aſwell for that which is aforeſaid,as the euill weather to ſaile in,which followed.

After all this, OCTAVIANVS hauing ſet all things neceſſarie in a readines, he ſailed with great power into *Egypt*, with a determination to make an end with MARCVS ANTONIVS (as indeede he did) and arriued at the citie of *Alexandria:* wherein ANTONIE recouering courage, and Queene CLEOPATRA making great preparation for the warres, in the time of OCTAVIANVS his ſtay, had leuied great forces, both of foote and horſe for their defence. They had alſo a great nauie by ſea, as well of CLEOPATRA, as of thoſe which came from other places: and MARCVS ANTONIVS with his old courage,which now too late and to no purpoſe he recouered, tooke the field and entertaining a skirmiſh with CÆSARS horſmen, which were then landed and ſtrongly entrenched, he vſed ſuch skill, and charged them with ſuch dexteritie, that he made them flie to their ſtrength: and being returned to the citie, he againe ſent to challeng OCTAVIANVS to fight with him body againſt body. Whereto CÆSAR anſwered, that MARCVS ANTONIVS had other waies and meanes enough in a readines to die,without dying by his hands.

ANTONIE receiuing this anſwere, determined to die fighting, although it happened not ſo. The next day in the morning he againe ſallied forth into the fields, with an intent to fight; and ſtanding vpon a high ground, and looking towards the ſea,he ſaw that his nauie and gallies moued, and made towards OCTAVIAN his fleete, which he thought they had done, with determination to fight; and ſtaying a little to ſee the ſequell, within a while, he ſaw them ioyne together in good friendſhip and companie, by meanes of a ſecret practice paſt betweene them. Which when he ſaw, and fearing the like in thoſe which he brought with him to the field, he returned to the citie, miſtruſting and affirming that CLEOPATRA had betraied him, although that in truth ſhe was blameles therein, and ſhe being aduertiſed of what ANTONIE had ſaid, ſtoode in feare of him; and withdrew hir ſelfe into a ſtrong temple or ſepulcher: and commaunding the doores thereof to be ſhut and fortified, ſhe ſent ſome fainedly to tell him that ſhe had ſlaine hir ſelfe with her owne hands. Which MARCVS ANTONIVS beleeued as ſtedfaſtly, as though he had ſeene it, and refuſing to liue any longer without hir,or to ſtay to die fighting,after he had vttered certaine ſpeeches,he ſtabbed his poiniard into his owne breſt, and ſo (deadly wounded) he fell downe vpon a bed in a ſwoune: And within a while commingagaine to himſelfe,being aduertiſed that CLEOPATRA was yet liuing,he made himſelfe to be carried thither where ſhe was: who receiued him with ſomany teares and ſuch pitifull complaints,that he being ſo neere to death, began to recomfort her, ſaying, that ſhe ought not lament for him,neither to hold him for infortunate, ſith hee accounted not himſelfe for ſuch, for he had been a great captaine and very mightie, and in the end died ouercome by the Romanes. Her he counſelled to yeeld to the mercie of OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and ſpeaking theſe words, his ſtrength failing within

alittle while after he dyed: and ſo ended the power and life of MARCVS ANTONIVS. I haue peraduenture more largely diſcourſed hereof, then to the breuitie of my hiſtorie did appertaine, becauſe it was a caſe ſo notable and ſingular.

OCTAVIANVS hauing intelligence of this aforeſaid, and of the ſmall order and guard of the citie, marched thither with his forces and entred the ſame, and ſent to comfort CLEOPATRA, and to make great offers vnto her, to the end that ſhe ſhould not kill her ſelfe, and going to ſee her in perſon, he did the like: but all his care little auailed. For ſhe being aduertiſed, that he would ſend her to *Rome*, and would place her and her ſonnes in his triumph, choſe rather to dye, then that he ſhould triumph ouer her: and ſome ſay, that ſhe tooke poiſon which ſhe had prouided for that purpoſe, wherewith ſhe killed her ſelfe. Others (and this is the moſt common) that ſhe put to her arme an Aſpicque (which is a certaine kind of Serpent or venemous Adder) to the end that it ſhould ſting her, which was brought to her in a basket of flowers; ſo as ſhe was found dead without any ſigne of any blow or wound, but as though ſhe had bin aſleepe. Whereat OCTAVIAN was much grieued, not without great admiration at the valour and great mind of that woman, and commaunded her to be buried in the ſame Sepulchre wherein ſhe had entombed her ſelfe, together with MARCVS ANTONIVS, with whom ſhe had liued and raigned 14. yeares, ſhe being 39. yeares old when ſhe dyed, and MARCVS ANTONIVS 56. or (after ſome) 53.

The death of Cleopatra.

OCTAVIANVS eaſily pardoned all thoſe which had ſerued or ſent ſuccour to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and alſo his children, which were ſeauen, by three women, FVLVIA, OCTAVIA ſiſter to OCTAVIANVS, and CLEOPATRA, ſauing the eldeſt, which he commanded to be ſlaine, and the like he did by CÆSARION CLEOPATRAS ſonne by IVLIVS CÆSAR, of whom we haue alreadie made mention, the eldeſt (they ſay) he ſlue vpon particular diſpleaſure which he conceiued againſt him, and CÆSARION, by the counſell of ARRIVS a Philoſopher, who told him that it would not do well to haue many CÆSARS.

This matter touching MARCVS ANTONIVS being ended, and the kingdome of *Egypt* being made a tributarie prouince, he departed from thence, and afterwards paſſing through *Syria* and *Aſia* the leſſe, leauing all quiet and in peace; he paſſed into *Græcia*, and there doing the like, he came into *Italy*, where hauing ended all ciuill warres, and hauing the whole Empire ſubiect to himſelfe alone; he entred into *Rome* in triumph, with the greateſt feaſts and ſolemnities of the Senat and the people of all *Italy*, that could be deuiſed or imagined. It was granted vnto him to triumph three times, to wit, for the victorie in *Illyricum*, and for the victorie in his battaile by Sea, and the ouerthrow of MARCVS ANTONIVS, the conqueſt of the kingdome of *Egypt* and Queene CLEOPATRA, whoſe ſtatue was placed in his triumph, with the Aſpieques ſet to the veines of her armes.

And ſo OCTAVIANVS throughlie finiſhed the building and erecting of the Monarchie, which his Vncle IVLIVS CÆSAR had began and founded, which (as it ſeemeth by PAVLVS OROSIVS his computation) was ſixteene yeares after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR. And although that he obteined it by meanes hardly iuſtifiable, yet truly he afterwards gouerned it moſt iuſtly and wiſely, and was one of the beſt Princes that euer was in the world, gentle, mercifull, liberall, iuſt, valorous, endued with many vertues and excellencies, moſt happie and fortunate in all his affaires, and beloued aboue meaſure of all the world.

As there was now no man to contend with OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and he ſo beloued of all men (as is aforeſaid) the people and Senat of *Rome* gaue him a

new

new name which before then was neuer heard of, AVGVSTVS; and ſo he was afterwards called CÆSAR AVGVSTVS: a name which they held for holie, venerable, of high maieſtie, and which appertained to the gods and their temples, as we find it vſed by CICERO, VIRGIL, OVID, and other authors; although that ſome deriue it from the verbe *augeo*, in Latin, to increaſe, becauſe that OCTAVIAN enlarged and increaſed the Empire; and ſome others giue it other deriuations, but whether ſoeuer be the moſt certaine, it was giuen him for the moſt honorable name of all others: they alſo intituled him father of his countrey, and gaue him all other titles and names which they could deuiſe.

CÆSAR AVGVSTVS (for this name henceforth we will ſometimes giue him) ſeeing himſelfe now in ſuch reſt and without warre with any body in the world, commaunded the temple of IANVS to be ſhut, which they religiouſly obſerued, that during the warres it ſhould ſtand open, and neuer had bin ſhut but twiſe from the foundation of *Rome*, according to TITVS LIVIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, PLVTARCH, and other Authors: one, in the time of NVMA POMPILIVS ſecond King thereof; and the other after the end of the ſecond Punick warres which they waged with *Carthage*, at what time as TITVS MANLIVS was Conſul. I know that ſome Authors ſet this ſhutting vp of IANVS his temple by OCTAVIAN to be a great while after, at the time of the birth of Chriſt our Sauiour. But I in this place follow the authority of PAVLVS OROSIVS a chriſtian Author, who vſed great diligence and truth, and is of 1200. yeares antiquitie, who reckoneth that CÆSAR AVGVSTVS ſhut this temple three times, and that this was the firſt, and I hold his opinion for certaine: for he is aſſiſted by the authoritie of TITVS LIVIVS, who in his firſt booke affirmeth, that AVGVSTVS did ſhut this temple after the warres with ANTONY: and LVCIVS FLORVS and other Authors ſet downe that this temple was ſhut after that. And hereby it appeareth that OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR did ſhut the temple of IANVS more then once, and euery one ſheweth his time when, and PAVLVS OROSIVS all, which was thriſe, ſetting downe the time to euery one of them as he noteth, which is alſo drawne out of SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS, following the letter as PHILIPPVS BEROALDVS followeth. I haue a deſire to ſet this downe here (although it little importeth) to the end that the varietie and difference which the reader ſhall finde among the authors ſhall not offend him, and that he may know that I haue an approued author whom I follow, although I name him not, if he ſhall finde ought written by me contrary to that which he hath read. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR liuing in this peace and tranquillitie, omitted no part of his care for the gouernment of the Romane Common-wealth and prouinces thereof; creating and ſending thither Pretors, Proconſuls, and other gouernours, which were excellent men to rule and gouerne, and himſelfe gaue direction and was very diligent in all things touching iuſtice, cuſtomes, religion and publike buildings: ſo as in all things, his raigne was moſt happie, peaceable and quiet, and ſo did it continue ſo long as he liued.

How many times the temple of Ianus was ſhut.

Note the ſaying of the Author.

VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS ſpeaking like a Gentile, doth ſo extoll his raigne, that he ſaith, that men could not deſire or aske any thing of the gods, neither thinke nor imagine ought; neither could the gods giue that to men, which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, after his victories and returne to *Rome*, did bring and giue to the Romane people, and the whole Empire. Notwithſtanding that this was then ſo eſteemed (as great minds naturally deſire libertie) yet in that ſo proſperous a time, ſome people and nations were ſo bold as to ſhake off the

Romane

Romane yoke, and to moleſt and diſquict the Empire, as the Spaniards, the nations of *Illyricum* and the Pannonians. In *Spaine* the Cantabrians, which are the Alaueſes and Biskains, the Aſturians, and part of *Gallicia*, which were not onely diſcontented to obey, but paſſing their limits, began to make warre againſt the ſubiects to the Empire. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR knowing this, holding it to be a doubtful warre and of importance, cõmanded (as ſaith PAVLVS OROSIVS) the Temple of *Ianus* to be opened, & determined to go thither himſelf in perſon, and to ſend other captaines to follow the other wars. In the time of theſe wars, which were firſt, or laſt, the authors doe handle very confuſedly, ſo as I cannot bring it to light: whereof it might be that ſeuerall of theſe things did concurre at one time. But OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS tooke his iourney into *Spaine*, and began the warre with three armies againſt the people before named, which rebelled; which warre was very doubtfull and deſperate, and laſted fiue yeeres. In this time paſſed many conflicts; and although that CÆSAR did oppreſſe the Cantabrians and Aſturians, and draue them to the rockes and mountaines; yet they did ſo well defend themſelues in them, that it behooued him before he could ſubdue them to raiſe a great Nauie in the coaſt of *France*, to inuade the Sea coaſt of *Cantabria*, *Aſturias* and *Gallicia*, at which time he draue the people of thoſe countries to ſuch extremities by land, that he compelled them to yeeld and ſubmit themſelues to his obedience: His great fauourite AGRIPPA, ſeruing him well and faithfully in all this warre (as in all the reſt) whom he maried to his daughter IVLIA, which at that time was the widow of his nephew MARCELLVS, ſonne to his ſiſter OCTAVIA, with whom ſhe had been maried. And ſo CÆSAR accompliſhed the full ſubiection of all *Spaine*, aboue two hundred yeeres after that the Romanes began to make their firſt warre therein: ſo as no prouince coſt the Romanes more bloud, more toyle, and more time then *Spaine*. And this long and doubtfull conqueſt being finiſhed (*Paulus Oroſius* ſaith) that OCTAVIAN eſteemed the ſame ſo much, that hauing eſtabliſhed peace in *Spaine*, in ſigne thereof he againe commaunded the doores of *Ianus* his Temple to be ſhut, and himſelfe came to *Rome* in great triumph. But this Temple continued not long ſhut: for ſome Nations of the Germanes aroſe & kept a ſtir (although at diuers times) ſo as the Temple was againe opened to make warre againſt them, which were the inhabitants of *Noricum*, which is now *Bauaria*, and the *Pannonies*, which are *Auſtrich* and *Hungary*, as is aforeſaid, and the two *Miſsias* which are *Bulgaria* and *Seruia*, and alſo *Illyricum* which is *Slauonia*, although at another time tamed by him; and the prouince of *Dacia*, which now is *Tranſiluania* and *Walachia*, and ſome others alſo. Againſt all theſe Nations, the moſt happy Emperour CÆSAR AVGVSTVS ſent his Captaines and armies, among which were his ſonnes in law, ſonnes of his wife LIVIA, TIBERIVS NERO, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, and his brother DRVSIVS NERO, of whom LIVIA was with childe when OCTAVIAN maried her: and theſe two brothers (although the warre laſted ſomewhat long) tamed thoſe Nations, & obtained great victories in Germanie and the confines thereof, eſpecially TIBERIVS (as SVETONIVS writeth in his life, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his hiſtories) who in three yeeres ſpace ſubdued the *Pannonies*, *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*: for which victories, he afterward entred into *Rome* in Ouacian triumph, with great honour and ſolemnitie. And another Captaine whoſe name was MARCVS CRASSVS (as LVCIVS FLORVS and TITVS LIVIVS report) ouercame and put the *Miſsians* to flight in their owne countrie, a nation which had neuer ſeene the Romanes; which (as LVCIVS FLORVS recordeth) being readie

readie to giue battaile, in manner of iuſtification, ſaid to the Romane armie: Tell vs, who you are that ſeeke to grieue vs? Whereto they were anſwered: We be Romanes the Lords of Nations. Whereto they anſwered: It ſhall be ſo, if we be ouercome. And ſo they were afterwards, both they and thoſe alſo which conſpired with them. But OCTAVIAN had not theſe victories without ſome croſſes: for in this warre died his ſonne in law DRVSVS, who was highly extolled and eſteemed for his great acts and victories, for whom he and the Empereſſe LIVIA his mother were very ſorie. But that was farre greater without compariſon, which he conceiued for the miſhap which befell to QVINTILIVS VARRO, who being Captaine of three legions in *Germany*, and being retchleſſe, was ſurpriſed by the Almaines, and himſelfe and all the reſt ſlaine, and two ſtandards with the Imperiall Eagles taken: wherewith he was ſo exceſſiuely grieued, that they write, that he cried out very vnaduiſedly, and knocked his head againſt the walles, ſaying, QVINTILIVS VARRO, giue me my legions againe. Of his ſonne in law DRVSVS there remained two ſonnes, called GERMANICVS and CLAVDIVS, which he had by ANTONIA, OCTAVIAN his neece & daughter of his ſiſter OCTAVIA and of MARCVS ANTONIVS: of which, CLAVDIVS was Emperour: and this GERMANICVS which maried with AGRIPPINA, daughter of IVLIA which was OCTAVIANS daughter, was father of CAIVS CALIGVLA, who afterwards was alſo Emperour. But theſe loſſes confirmed the victories which his ſonne in law TIBERIVS obtained: Wherefore OCTAVIAN maried him to his daughter IVLIA, who was a widow by the death of AGRIPPA, cauſing him to put away AGRIPPINA the daughter of the ſame AGRIPPA, by his firſt mariage, to whom he was maried, and had by her one ſonne named DRVSVS: ſo as after many notable victories, and taming of ſometime one nation, and ſomtime another, which were compelled to ſue for peace, OCTAVIAN againe commaunded the Temple of *Ianus* to be ſhut, and from thencefoorth all things ſucceeded vnto him moſt proſperouſly.

The ſubiects of the Empire were very obedient vnto him, and all others ſent him ambaſſades ſeeking his fauour and friendſhip, offering him their ſeruice: the Indians a people of the fartheſt part of the Eaſt, and alſo the Scythians which inhabite in the North, and the Parthians a people moſt fierce and vntamed, ſent their Ambaſſadours to him, giuing ſecuritie to keepe the peace, and deliuered the Standards and Eagles taken in the battaile, wherein MARCVS CRASSVS was ſlaine. There came alſo Kings, friends and ſubiects to the Empire, to *Rome*, to doe him honour, as his familiar friends, laying aſide their Enſignes and royall Robes; and many of them built cities to his name, for his honour, calling thē Cæſareas in remēbrance of him: ſo did HERODE in *Paleſtina*, & IVBA in *Mauritania*, & others. *The greatnes of the Romane Emperours.*

The world being in this quietnes and generall peace, fortie and two yeeres being fullie expired, ſince that OCTAVIAN, after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR, came to *Rome*, from which time is commonly accounted his Empire. In this peace and reſt of times was borne IESVS CHRIST our Lord and Sauiour in *Bethlem*, of the holie wombe of our bleſſed Ladie the Virgin MARY; HERODE being King of *Ieruſalem*, placed there by the Romanes (hee who ſlew the innocent children) comming to the world in humane forme and nature, to ſaue and redeeme mankinde with his bleſſed death and paſſion, whoſe moſt holie life, myſteries and infinite miracles ought not to be mixed with prophane matters, and therefore I will not intermeddle to treate thereof. But returning to my purpoſe, I ſay, that OCTAVIAN enioying ſo great proſperitie

and good fortune, was not altered in his naturall condition, as in other Princes it hath happened, but rather made more gentle, milde, iuſt, and affable, more curteous, more liberall and more temperate. He eſtabliſhed wonderfull good orders and lawes, for the amending and reformation of abuſes and euill cuſtomes: he erected in *Rome* and without it, great and ſumptuous edifices, and beſtowed great liberalitie and fauours vpon all ſorts of people: he reioyced the people with feaſts and playes in ſundrie manners, going himſelfe in perſon thereto, and ſent Colonies and inhabitants to ſundrie parts and prouinces: he made an excellent and ſingular good order for the gouernment and gouernours of the whole Empire. The like hee did for the warre and martiall diſcipline; he ſhewed himſelfe plaine and ſociable to his familiars and friends, and honoured and loued them much. Some conſpiracies which were diſcouered againſt him, he puniſhed without rigour, giuing more pardon then puniſhment and correction. Of murmurings and defamatorie libels he neuer ſought nor deſired to know the authors, but with great grauitie anſwered, giuing ſatisfaction, and purging himſelfe of thoſe things which were imputed vnto him. He was much giuen and affected to letters and learning, and was very learned and eloquent, and compiled bookes and notables workes: He did much honour and reward the wiſe and learned men of his time, wherein were many very notable in all Artes. But for all theſe vertues and perfections, and other which for breuitie I write not, yet he eſcaped not to be noted of ſome vices, cauſed through humane weakenes and great libertie, principally to be much giuen to women, although that in eating, drinking, in his apparell and ornaments, he was very decent and temperate: he gaue himſelfe alſo exceſſiuely to play at dice, and other games then accuſtomed. But SVETONIVS ſaith, that the moſt part thereof was vpon ceremonious and feſtiuall daies, which ought well to be noted for a ſhame and example to our time, wherein Chriſtianitie is profeſſed. For that is accounted by many for brauerie and valour, which to OCTAVIAN being an Heathen and vnbeleeuing Prince, was noted and imputed for vice. Wherewith to conclude and make an end of his hiſtorie, as is reaſon, I ſay, that although that in many things hee was happie and fortunate, yet beſides all his troubles and daungers, he was vnhappie and infortunate in his children and ſucceſſion: for by foure wiues, with which he was maried, onely by SCRIBONIA, which was his third wife, he had one daughter named IVLIA; and yet this one ſcarcely proued honeſt of her bodie: ſo as for want of ſons to ſucceed him, he firſt adopted for his ſonne, his nephew MARCELLVS, his ſiſter OCTAVIAS ſon aforenamed, with whom he firſt maried this his daughter IVLIA: and MARCELLVS dying without iſſue, he maried her to his fauourite AGRIPPA, who alſo left her a widow, as is aboue ſaid: but he left by her three ſonnes, and two daughters, the daughters prouing no honeſter then their mother, and two of his ſonnes died in OCTAVIANS time, hauing bin firſt by him adopted. Wherefore deſiring to ouercome the ill lucke which he had herein, he adopted the third, who was called AGRIPPA as his father was, the which adoption he afterward reuoked for ſome diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him, and taking this care for his ſucceſſion, he adopted and made his ſonne in law TIBERIVS NERO, his ſonne, whom, as is aforeſaid, he married to his daughter IVLIA, who, as I ſaid, was AGRIPPA his widow. But hee commaunded TIBERIVS when he adopted him, that he (notwithſtanding that he had a ſon called DRVSVS) ſhould alſo adopt his Nephew GERMANICVS ſonne of his brother DRVSVS, who, as is aforeſaid, died in *Germanie*, becauſe he had married his neece AGRIPPINA the daughter of

The vertues and qualities of Octauianus.

IVLIA:

IVLIA: and by this meanes came TIBERIVS to be OCTAVIANVS his ſucceſſor, more through the diligence of his mother then any good liking that his father in law had to him; who rather was, and ſeemed to be very ſorrie, that he ſhould ſucceede him.

And things ſtanding in this ſtate, OCTAVIAN being now ſeuentie and ſixe yeeres old and odde dayes, and hauing raigned aboue fiftie and ſixe yeeres, and being the beſt beloued and moſt obeyed prince, that euer was in the world, death ouertooke him: the cauſe thereof was a flux which held him for certaine dayes, whereof in the end he died in the citie of *Nola* (whither he came ſicke from *Naples*) a quiet and peacefull death, in the fifteenth yeere after the birth of Chriſt our redeemer. His death was generally lamented, and there was an vniuerſall ſorrow and heauines ouer all the whole Empire for him: for he happened wiſely and vprightly to gouerne that, which by force and cunning he had gotten. OCTAVIAN was of a meane ſtature, and of a very good ſhape and proportion of his body, exceedingly faire of geſture mixed with honeſtie and grauitie, his eyes were exceeding cleere and bright, he was very aduiſed, and loued to ſpeake quicke and briefly.

The death of Octauianus Cæſar Auguſtus.

Octauian his proportion of body.

THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR TIBERIVS.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the good Auguſtus, ſucceeded his ſonne in law the wicked Tiberius Nero, who was moſt ſubtill, and knew how to diſſemble and faine to loue thoſe well which he hated, and to hate thoſe which he loued. He fained himſelfe vnwilling to accept of the Empire, to ſee who was his friend and who his enemie: and whereas before this dignitie, he was very orderly and prudent, he became afterward ſo diſorderly and ſuch a drunkard, that he was called in ſcorne Biberius. In his time died Ieſus Chriſt and Iohn Bap-

tiſt in Ieruſalem, he cauſed Germanicus a great Captaine to be ſlaine, although he made ſhew to Agrippa to be very ſorie for it. He ſubdued many prouinces which rebelled againſt the Romane Empire, and was no leſſe cruell then libidinous, and of theſe three vices (to wit) crueltie, incontinencie, and gluttonie, it is hard to ſay, which was leaſt. He ruled the Empire foure and twentie yeeres, and was no great enemie to Chriſtians: and proponed in the Senate whether Chriſt ſhould be accepted for a God or no, whereto the Senate conſented not. Finally, he died through the treaſon of Caligula, whom he had nominated his ſucceſſor, being ſeuentie and eight yeeres old: which he did, as it was thought, to the end that Caligula his vices ſhould make his to ſeeme leſſer, who was ſo wicked and cruell, that he wiſhed that the world might end at his death.

AFter the excellent and good Emperor OCTAVIAN, ſucceeded his ſonne in law, and adopted ſon the wicked and peruerſe TIBERIVS NERO, vnworthy truly of his ſucceſſion and of the Empire: for he was one of the moſt cruell and wicked men that euer was in the world: notwithſtanding that in OCTAVIAN his time, in *Germanie* and in other parts he did many great and notable feats in armes. In the beginning of his Empire he made ſhew of a good prince, and did many good deedes, but afterwards (as this was but fained) he diſcouered his malice, and gouerned cruelly, couetouſly, and diſhoneſtly. This TIBERIVS (as I haue aboue ſaid) was the ſonne of TIBERIVS NERO and LIVIA his wife, which OCTAVIAN afterwards tooke to wife, of both ſides deſcended of the auncient family of the CLAVDII, whoſe grandfather by his fathers ſide was TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS NERO; and by his mothers ſide hee deſcended from APPIVS CLAVDIVS PVLCHER, and by adoption he likewiſe deſcended from the LIVII, an excellent family, although but Plebeian, for Conſulſhips, cenſures, and triumphs. He was of a tall and ſtrong body, and had a large breſt and broade ſhoulders, whereto all parts of his body were anſwerable: he had a faire face, and great eyes, and ſo cleere, that they affirme a ſtrange thing of him, which is, that awaking by darke in the night, for a good ſpace he cleerely ſaw the place wherein he lay, and al that therein was, aſwel as though he had had a light. He was a man of great ſtrength, and had the vſe of both his hands alike; whereas commonly euery man vſeth the right hand with greater dexteritie then the left, and had ſo great ſtrength in his fingers, that with a fillip he would (as often as he liſted) breake a pages, or a yong mans head, as SVETONIVS reporteth. He was very learned both in Greeke and Latin, and principally delighted in poeſie, and made many verſes in both tongues, which truely was ill employed in him, ſeeing he ſo little profited thereby. When OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS fell ſicke, TIBERIVS was gone towards the prouince of *Illyricum* or *Slauonia*, and his mother LIVIA ſeeing that his ſicknes encreaſed, ſent in great haſte for him, and he happily arriued at the citie of *Nola*, CÆSAR AVGVSTVS being euen neere his end, but yet in ſuch time as he could ſpeake, and (as SVETONIVS reporteth) conferred with him a great while in ſecret: Although CORNELIVS TACITVS ſaith, that it is not certainely knowne whether he found him aliue at his comming or no; for his mother the Empereſſe had ſet ſomany gards that the death of OCTAVIAN was not knowne, vntill that all had agreed and conſented that TIBERIVS ſhould rule, and ſucceede him. And at that time was AGRIPPA Nephew to OCTAVIAN, and ſonne of his daughter IVLIA, by AGRIPPA her ſecond husband ſlaine by the hand of a Tribune, who had him in keeping (as it was thought) by the commaundement of his father in law TIBERIVS, and by the counſell of his mother

The linage and corporall conſtitution of Tiberius.

Tiberius his learning.

mother LIVIA, to the end that hee ſhould bee aſſured of the ſucceſſion.

In *Rome* libertie now was ſo forgotten, and the Monarchie was ſo eſtabliſhed by cuſtome of ſo many yeeres continuance, vnder the raigne of OCTAVIANVS, that notwithſtanding that there were Conſuls, Pretors, Tribunes, and other names of dignitie and magiſtracie; yet there was in a manner no man in *Rome* that did remember and vnderſtand the manner of the old gouernment, which was before that IVLIVS CÆSAR ſuppreſſed the Common-wealth; and the death of OCTAVIAN being knowne, there was no man that durſt to name or to ſpeake of libertie, but ſo ſoone as TIBERIVS came to *Rome*, to him was preſently giuen the gouernment and adminiſtration of the Common-wealth. And he was the firſt Emperor that did quietly and peaceably inherit the Empire, ſo as he needed not to make a conqueſt thereof, as IVLIVS CÆSAR and OCTAVIAN had done. And although that before that he would accept thereof, he cauſed himſelfe to be much entreated, and made great ſhew to haue no deſire to the Empire, yet afterwards it was plainely perceiued, that he did but faine it, to the end to know euery mans good will towards him: For to all thoſe which yeelded to accept of his excuſes, and did not importune him, he bare a perpetuall hatred; for although that one way he excuſed himſelfe, yet in many other things he began to vſe the authoritie of an Emperor, taking a guarde, and muſtering the armies, as Emperor.

Hauing accepted and receiued the Empire, there were ſome occaſions offered him, which put him in great feare and heauines: the firſt was, that the armies in *Pannonia* or *Hungarie*, mutined, and reuolted from IVLIVS BLESVS their captaine, a captaine called PERCENIVS being principall of this reuolt, and they ſent to require many exceſſiue things: againſt which TIBERIVS ſent his ſon DRVSVS, whom he had by AGRIPPINA, with whom he was married before he married IVLIA. It happened alſo that the legions which were by the riuers ſide of the *Rhine*, as the cuſtome was, did the like, through the abſence of GERMANICVS their captaine before named, TIBERIVS his adopted ſonne and Nephew: And thoſe of *Pannonia* were not onely not contented with the paies and exemptions which they required, but they preſumed to chuſe a new Emperor againſt TIBERIVS, nominating their captaine GERMANICVS, who (as is before ſaid) was TIBERIVS his Nephew and adopted ſonne, and preferred before his naturall ſonne, by the commaundement of OCTAVIAN. But GERMANICVS was ſo loyall, that when theſe newes were brought vnto him, he not onely refuſed their offer, but with great danger and hazard of his life, and with much trouble pacified thoſe alterations.

TIBERIVS was another way aſſaulted: for he was aduertiſed that one LVCIVS SCRIBONIVS a principall man, and one which bare great ſway in the common-wealth, had ſome ſecret practiſes againſt him: but he freed himſelfe from all theſe matters, and they were redreſſed, although not without great difficultie. For his ſon DRVSVS on one ſide (after ſome treaties) brought the legions of *Pannonia* to his obedience, and did iuſtice on PERCENIVS. And GERMANICVS (as I ſaid) after ſome great matters (which CORNELIVS TACITVS reciteth at large) made thoſe of *Germanie* to obey: and not therewith content, he paſſed the riuer of *Rhine* (which commonly was the bounds of the Romane Empire on that part) and made war within the countrie of *Germanie*, in good order and with good ſucceſſe. While theſe matters were a doing, & for ſome ſpace after, TIBERIVS did cloake and conceale his accurſed inclination and vices; and (as I ſaide in the beginning) performed

What goo d Tiberius did in the beginning.

formed many partes of a good, diſcreete and gentle prince, wherewith he deceiued the people, eſpecially thoſe which did not particularly know him; whereof (although they be recited before their time) it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe ſome, to the end that (as of a venemous beaſt) that which is profitable and medicinall, may be taken. Firſt, many of the names and titles of honor which were offered him by the Senate, and other honors and ceremonies, he refuſed, and would not conſent that they ſhould erect or builde vnto him any temples; and forbad them to ſet vp his ſtatues and images without his expreſſe commaundement: and if at ſometime he did permit it, it was vpon condition that they ſhould not place it among the images of the Gods.

He ſeemed alſo to grieue to heare himſelfe praiſed, croſſing and interrupting them in ſpeeches which did it. One, in a diſcourſe called him Lord, whom he commaunded to vſe that word no more: but inſolencie and preſumption ſince that time hath ſo encreaſed, that that which at that time ſeemed pride in an Emperor, there is now none, be he neuer ſo baſe, but preſumeth that he deſerueth the ſame. The like diſcretion did TIBERIVS ſhew in other words, which were alſo proper to the gods, and the things to them appertaining. He fained alſo patience and meekenes: for although that in the Senate there paſſed ſome matters contrarie to his will and opinion, and that in other affaires they gainſaid him, yet he ſeemed not any way to be diſpleaſed or offended therewith. And vnderſtanding that ſome ſpake ill of him, and murmuring, vſed iniurious ſpeeches againſt him, he ſhewed no diſcontentment or alteration thereat: but ſaid, that in a free citie, mens tongues ought to be free, and men might lawfully ſpeake freely. And whereas the Senate would haue exhibited an information, and haue proceeded againſt thoſe which had written defamatorie libelles againſt him, he would not conſent thereto, ſaying, that he had not ſo little to doe, as to loſe ſomuch time about ſuch matters: affirming that he would doe nothing againſt them which ſpake ill of him, but trouble them with keeping account of what he ſaid and did; and if that were not ſufficient, it ſhould ſatisfie him, to loue them as little as they loued him.

In the beginning TIBERIVS bare great reuerence vnto the Senate, and gaue them ſo great power and authoritie in all things that hee did nothing without their counſell, willing that all ſhould be done by their aduiſe and conſent. In execution of iuſtice and gouernment he made many good beginnings, taking care, and order that there ſhould be no theeues nor robbers by the high wayes ſide in all *Italie*, but that men might trauel in ſafetie: and that iuſtice ſhould be executed in townes and villages. The enſignes and pretorian cohorts which in *Rome* were the Emperors guarde (to eaſe the citizens of their gueſtes and other troubles) he made to encampe and lodge themſelues without the citie in the fields, where they ſhould continue and abide: which although that then it ſeemed profitable, yet afterwards it bred great inconuenience and domage. By theſe aforeſaid meanes, he not onely cloked and couered his crueltie, pride and ambition, but he was ſo double and falſe, that but euen his auarice and couetouſnes, (which of all other ſeemeth to be the moſt apparant paſſion) and his incontinencie and diſhoneſtie, he knew ſo well for a time to maske and diſſemble, ſhewing himſelfe to be no way couetous: So as when ſome gouernors of prouinces gaue him to vnderſtand of meanes how to encreaſe his rents & reuenues, he anſwered, that a good ſhepheard ought to ſheare his flock, but not pill them: and ſo he diminiſhed certaine tributes, and ſhewed fauours to certaine particular perſons.

The pretorian Cohorts were the Emperors guarde.

The fained vertues of Tiberius.

The ſpeeches of a good paſtor, and the minde of a Wolfe.

ſons. His diſhoneſtie he ſought to couer, by ordaining a publike informer againſt diſhoneſt and adulterous Matrones of *Rome*, which he did (as it afterwards appeared) to the end that there ſhould be no other adulterer but himſelfe. He did other ſuch like things (which for breuitie I omit) which ſeemed to grow from a good roote and meaning: but it failed in the end; for he fauned to bite, and drew back, to come againe with the greater force: As we will hereafter declare in part, for the whole cannot be related, as it was neither ſpoken for the filthines thereof, which is the occaſion that that order and ſtile cannot be obſerued as behooueth: for certainly the diſorderly and obſcure liues cannot be cleerely and orderly written. And beſides this, the diſgrace and crueltie which hee vſed to his wife IVLIA, forgetting that by her, as for her dowrie, he enioyed the Romane Empire: for hee neuer liued nor kept companie with her after the death of OCTAVIAN.

One of the firſt ſignes that he ſhewed of an euill Prince and gouernour, was, that notwithſtanding that there came great complaints againſt the Proconſuls, Pretors, and Prefects, placed in Prouinces; yet hee would not remoue them, nor alter them: which was againſt the order and cuſtome of *Rome* and his predeceſſor OCTAVIAN; which ſome attributed to his negligence and careleſnes; others iudged it to be of malice, and ill diſpoſition, to the end that many men ſhould not enioy the honour and profit which grew in ſuch charges. He began after this to enuie and to beare hatred againſt GERMANICVS, becauſe hee was preferred before his ſonne DRVSVS, and it grieued him to ſee his good ſucceſſe in the warres of *Germanie*. Wherefore to finde occaſion to remooue him from that charge, he diſſemblingly cauſed the triumph to be granted vnto him, for the victories which he had obtained, and wrote to him many times to come to triumph: but GERMANICVS vnderſtanding his euill intent, deferred his comming. It happened in a while after that the King of the Parthians aroſe, and made warre againſt the Romane Empire, breaking the peace eſtabliſhed in the time of OCTAVIAN, entring into the prouince of *Armenia*, the King whereof was ſet there by the Romanes: wherewith TIBERIVS was nothing diſpleaſed, thereby to haue the better occaſion to draw GERMANICVS from his captainſhip and gouernment of *Germanie*, vnder colour to ſend him to the warres of the Parthians, as he did. And ſo GERMANICVS being ſent for, came for this purpoſe, hauing within few daies before wonne a great battaile, and ſlaine tenne thouſand of his enemies, and entred into *Rome* in a ſolemne triumph, and (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) hee brought thither with him the enſignes which QVINTILIVS VARRO had loſt, and preſently began to prepare for the warre againſt the Parthians.

A little before GERMANICVS his triumph, there aroſe a man in *Italie*, who named himſelfe to be AGRIPPA, nephew to OCTAVIAN (whom we haue ſaid to be ſlaine by TIBERIVS his order) to whom it ſeemed of ſome importance, and much looſe and ſeditious people ioyned with him, which cauſed a great tumult in *Italie*; this man alleaging that he ought to be Emperour, and not TIBERIVS: But as he had a weake foundation, ſo was he ſoone ouerthrowne, taken priſoner, and brought to TIBERIVS, and finally was executed, although ſecretly. And euen about the ſame time TIBERIVS committed a notable great wrong and crueltie: for hauing with gracious and amorous words allured ARCHELAVS King of *Cappadocia* to come to *Rome* (who was a friend and vaſſall to the Romane Empire) for fained and vniuſt cauſes he made him to be accuſed and apprehended, and afterwards to die in priſon, and his countrie was made a tributarie prouince. *Cappadocia made a prouince.* In the like manner he dealt with many Princes and great men of *Spaine*, *France*,

Gracia, and other parts. Alſo the iourney which TIBERIVS commaunded to be made againſt the Parthians, was much haſtened by reaſon of the death of ANTIOCHVS King of *Comagena*, and PHILOPATER King of *Cilicia* in *Aſia*, vaſſals to the Empire: by meanes of whoſe death ſome alterations aroſe in thoſe prouinces; for ſome would haue a King, and others would be gouerned by the Empire.

GERMANICVS being in a readines for his iourney into the Eaſt (as hee was commaunded) departed from *Rome*, carying his wife AGRIPPINA and his children with him: betweene whom and LIVIA the mother of TIBERIVS was great enuie and emulation. There was alſo at this time great controuerſie and parts-taking, both in words and liking, in TIBERIVS his Court; ſome taking part with GERMANICVS, who (as before is ſaid) was his adopted ſonne and nephew: others held of DRVSVS his ſonne legitimate. TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA euer ſought to aduaunce the reputation of DRVSVS, and in ſecret to diſgrace GERMANICVS: for which occaſion he gaue the charge of all the legions of *Illyricum* to his ſonne DRVSVS. And to the end, that GERMANICVS ſhould not be too mightie in the Eaſt whither he went, he made GNEVS PISO captaine of the prouince and legions of *Syria* (who was a mighty man, and in *Rome* greatly allied, and of a great houſe) becauſe he held with DRVSVS, and diſpoſſeſt CRETICVS SYLLANVS of that charge, for that he was a frend to GERMANICVS. This PISO was married to a Romane Matrone called PLACINA, of the ſame condition, but of an hautier heart then her husband; to the which husband and wife the Emperour TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA gaue in charge, to ſtirre vp and procure hatred and enmitie againſt GERMANICVS; yea and his death alſo: as it after appeared. And with this determination they departed from *Rome* towards the Eaſt, where PISO preſently, with gifts and flatterie, began to draw to himſelfe the loue and good will of the armie againſt GERMANICVS, and to murmure and ſpeake ill of him: who, while as PISO practiſed theſe things, tooke ſo good order in the warre and gouernment, that hee placed a King in the prouince of *Armenia*, who was a friend and ſubiect to the Romanes; and the kingdomes of *Comagena* and *Cilicia* being voide by the death of their Kings, he reduced into prouinces, and placed in them Pretors and gouernors. In *Comagena* QVINCIVS SERVIVS, and in *Ciliicia* QVINTVS VERANIVS; moderating in them both the royall ſubſidies and tributes. And after this he tooke ſo good order, that hee compelled the King of the Parthians to ſue for peace and friendſhip: which hee graunted and concluded, to the honour of the Empire. And while as he was buſied about theſe things, PISO and his wife neuer left to murmure againſt him, and to blaſpheme him openly: which he diſſembled, knowing from whence it did proceed. And hauing made an end with the Parthians, hee departed from thence to viſit the prouince of *Egypt:* and in his abſence (although it were not long) his competitor PISO plotted ſuch matters againſt him, that when he vnderſtood of his returne, he departed out of that prouince. But as he had plotted and practiſed his death, he went not farre off, but remained ſome daies in an Iland: in which time, GERMANICVS comming on his way, was poyſoned by the practiſe of PISO, but by the direction and counſell of TIBERIVS (as it was thought) wherewith he dyed ſuddenly, leauing behind him ſonnes and daughters; among which was one named CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was afterwards Emperour. For which cauſe it hath been very expedient to make ſo much mention of his father GERMANICVS, who if he had liued had been Emperour and ſucceſſor to TIBERIVS.

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The excellent Captaine GERMANICVS being dead in ſuch manner, as is aboue ſaid, his wife AGRIPPINA came to *Rome* with her children, and brought with her the aſhes of her deceaſed husband. The Emperour TIBERIVS made ſhew of great ſorrow (although fained) for the death of GERMANICVS: the like did LIVIA and her ſonne DRVSVS, who then was come to *Rome*, who in truth was very glad thereof: for by the death of GERMANICVS he did aſſuredly hope to ſucceede in the Empire. But true and vnfained was the ſorrow which all the people of *Rome* conceiued for the death of GERMANICVS, and great were the fauours and loue which they ſhewed to AGRIPPINA and her children: and great was the enmitie and hatred they bare againſt PISO, whom they openly charged to haue murdered him; who preſuming on TIBERIVS his fauour (being altogether ſhameleſſe) came to *Rome*, where, in the behalfe of AGRIPPINA and her friends, he was accuſed for the aforeſaid murder. Which TIBERIVS diſſembling, (as one who was not to loue him any better then the reſt) he was driuen to ſuch a plunge in the accuſation, that before that the matter was determined, hee was found dead in his bed (as it was thought) by his owne hands: although (as CORNELIVS TACITVS ſaith) it was neuer certainly knowne: but there were many opinions cõcerning the ſame. Who alſo writeth that a mighty man named TAFARINAS roſe in *Africa* in the prouince of *Numidia*; and leuying great forces, ouerthrew certaine Romane cohorts, thinking to haue been able to poſſeſſe the countrie: againſt whom went the Proconſul LVCIVS ASTRONICVS with an armie: and comming to a battaile he ouercame and put them to flight, to their great domage and loſſe. Which (as it ſeemeth) happened in the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS; although afterwards the ſame TAFARINAS was againe ouerthrowne, by the Proconſul BLESVS, in a ſecond rebellion.

The next yeere following, the Emperour TIBERIVS made himſelfe to be choſen Conſul, and his ſonne DRVSVS for his companion, as at other times hee had done: and faining that it behooued him for his health, he went foorth of *Rome*, to the end to ground and eſtabliſh DRVSVS in the gouernment of the Empire; for of his brother CLAVDIVS vntill then he made ſmall account: but God diſpoſed of all in another manner. In the ſame yeere many cities in *France* rebelled, being vnable to endure the intolerable tributes and extortions which TIBERIVS anew impoſed vpon thẽ. The captaines & mouers of this rebellion, were two hardy men, the one called FLORVS, and the other SACROBIS, which did ſo much trouble the countrey, that they put *Rome* it ſelfe in great feare, a great deale being there reported more then was true. But this did nothing trouble TIBERIVS; ſo much had hee forgotten all vertue and goodnes, giuing himſelfe wholy ouer to vice and ſenſualitie in his old age. But CAIVS SILIVS, who was Captaine of thoſe parts, did ſoone repreſſe the troubles of *France*, who with his legions came agãinſt thoſe which rebelled, and ouerthrew and put them to flight in a battaile, and ſlew a great number of them: and ſo he pacified that countrey, and his ſonne DRVSVS did principally employ himſelfe in the gouernment. TIBERIVS paſſing the moſt part of the time in *Campania*, betweene whom and his mother LIVIA began ſome ſecret (which grew to publike) quarrels and enmities, he being very vnreuerent and vndutifull; and ſhe much diſcontented with his manner of gouernment, and chiefly for the priuate familiaritie betweene him and ELIVS SEIANVS, whom he fauoured ſo much that he made him captaine of the Pretorian cohorts, and gaue him many other dignities: and finally made him ſo great, that he preſumed to contend with his ſonne DRVSVS, and his preſumption was

ſuch,

ſuch, that by wicked practiſes and deuices, he allured to his diſhoneſt luſt the wife of the ſaid DRVSVS, daughter in law to TIBERIVS, whoſe name was LIVIA daughter of GERMANICVS. And committing this adulterie (with a conceit to ſucceed in the ſteed of DRVSVS) he practiſed his death, and found meanes for an Eunuch his ſeruant, to poyſon him: which tooke effect, and DRVSVS died thereof, and left one ſonne named TIBERIVS, as his grandfather, and it was not then knowne who was the cauſe of his death. Whereof aroſe great murmuring in *Rome*, although it little grieued the greateſt part: for they deemed that GERMANICVS his three ſonnes ſhould haue ſucceeded in his place, which they much loued for their fathers ſake, whoſe names were CLAVDIVS NERO, CAIVS CALIGVLA, and DRVSVS. This happened in the ninth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS, which was the manifeſt beginning of his misfortunes: we may ſay the like of the Common-wealth; for from that time forwards, all his actions and purpoſes had ill ſucceſſe, and his deteſtable vices diſcouered themſelues, and the ſubiects endured infinit cruelties, robberies, outrages and oppreſſions: as alſo in this ſame yeere, TAFARINAS againe rebelled in *Africa*, who in his laſt rebellion eſcaped by flight: and hauing leuied much people, in the end was the third time ouerthrowne in battaile, and wholy defeated by PVBLIVS DOLABELLA the Proconſul.

In *Rome* the wicked SEIANVS (TIBERIVS his fauorite) although that at the beginning he made ſhew publikely to fauour GERMANICVS his ſonnes, which (as it hath been ſaid, and it was thought) ſhould haue been TIBERIVS his ſucceſſors: But afterwards all his ſtudie and practiſe was to abaſe and ruinate them, and to that end, procured falſe accuſations and ſuſpitions to be ſowne againſt all ſuch as tooke their, or AGRIPPINA their mothers part. And to bring this and other his wicked deuiſes to effect, he procured TIBERIVS to returne from *Rome* whither he was come: who following the others counſell, aſwell for this, as the more freely to giue himſelfe to his deteſtable vices, went into the Ile of *Capra*, which lieth vpon the coaſt of *Naples*, where he remained for a time, and being returned into *Italie*, making his progreſſe into diuers places, neuer came any more to *Rome*; neither in the reſt of his life is there any more to be ſpoken, but of his vices and cruelties, whereof in ſome we will make ſome briefe relation. Before which it is requiſit that all men know, that during this peregrination of the Emperor TIBERIVS in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt true God and man ſuffered his death and paſſion, PONTIVS PILATE being preſident or gouernor of *Ieruſalem* in the prouince of *Iudea*. And to the end that it may be the better knowne and vnderſtoode how PILATE came to concur with one of the HERODES, and how many there were of the HERODES, of whom mention is made in the holy Scriptures, which is a matter whereof ſome haue made a doubt, in few words I will here ſet downe: which was in this manner, as the euangeliſt teſtifieth, and as out of Saint IEROM and IOSEPHVS it is gathered. HERODE the great ſonne of ANTIPATER, who was called HERODE ASCALONITA, was placed there by the Romanes, and hauing raigned many yeeres, was the ſame to whom the three Kings came from the Eaſt guided by a Starre, and he who murthered ſo many innocent children, and ſome of his owne children alſo, when Chriſt was borne; who within ſhort ſpace after died, and by his death his ſonne, whoſe name was ARCHELAVS, had the kingdomes of *Iudea*, and of *Idumea*; and to his other two ſons (for the other three died before their father) were giuing certaine Tetrarchies, whereof to this HERODE ANTIPAS

The paſſion of Chriſt our redeemer.
Ioſephus in his antiquities in his 15. 16. 17. and 18. bookes, and in his firſt and ſecond of the warres of the Iewes.
Saint Ierom vpon the ſecond chapter of S. Matthew.
The Herodes how many they were.
Herodes Aſcalonita.
Saint Mathew the ſecond chapter, 1.

ANTIPAS (which was one of them) was allotted the Tetrarchie of *Galile*, and by this meanes he is called Tetrarch; and this was he which put Saint IOHN BAPTIST to death, and he, to whom PILATE ſent Chriſt, who diſdained him. And to PHILLIP his other ſonne was giuen the Tetrarchie of *Trachonitis*, and the other brother, who (as I ſaid) had the title of a King, was accuſed to OCTAVIAN, and by him depriued and baniſhed into *France*, to the citie of *Vienna*, by meanes whereof PILATE was ſent to gouerne that prouince; and by this meanes it happened that Chirſt died in the time of PILATE and of HERODE ANTIPAS the Tetrarch, from whom the Tetrarchie afterwards was alſo taken by CAIVS CALIGVLA, and he died baniſhed in *Lions* in *France*, and his Nephew the ſonne of his brother ARISTOBVLVS, which was one of the three which their father ſlew in his life time. And HERODE AGRIPPA was hee, to whom CAIVS CALIGVLA reſtored the kingdome of *Iudea*. And afterwards the Emperor CLAVDIVS gaue the Tetrarchie of *Galile* to his Vncle: and this was he, who put Saint IAMES to death, who beginning to perſecute the Apoſtles, died ſtriken by an Angell, as Saint LVKE beareth record.

Herodes Antipas.
Saint Luke chapter 2.
Herodes Agrippa.
The acts of the Apoſtles chap. 12.

Chriſt being put to death by the ſentence of PILATE, and he knowing afterwards that Chriſt was riſen againe, by the report of thoſe which he himſelfe had ſet to watch his bodie, and being alſo informed of the many miracles which he did in his life time (notwithſtanding that he was an idolator and a wicked iudge, and had adiudged him to die) yet TERTVLLIAN and EVSEBIVS in his eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his ſeuenth booke, moſt ancient and true authors, doe record, that by his letters, he aduertiſed the Emperor TIBERIVS thereof, to the end that he ſhould conſider and determine, whether Chriſt ſhould be held for a God or no; and TIBERIVS ſent to the Senate to conſult thereof, he giuing his opinion that he ought to be ſo: but the Senators, as the diuels ſchollers, counſelled TIBERIVS that he ſhould not doe it. Which (as theſe authors affirme) was becauſe that he had not firſt made the Senate acquainted therewith, which pretended by an auncient law which they had, to haue the ſuperintendence in all matters of religion: yet TIBERIVS notwithſtanding that the Senate conſented not to his opinion, commaunded that the chriſtians ſhould be free from perſecution; but he neither embraced the faith of Chriſt as he ought, neither left his ſinne and vices.

Pilate made relation of the miracles which Chriſt wrought to the Emperor Tiberius.

Firſt he gaue himſelfe to his old vice of exceſſiue gluttonie and drunkennes, for which cauſe from his youth (in ſteede of TIBERIVS NERO) they called him BIBERIVS MERO, which ſignifieth a drinker of the beſt: and euen in this his old age, he hath been often knowne to ſit all a whole night, and part of the day, at a banket, giuing gifts and rewards to ſuch as dranke moſt, and in fauour thereof he inſtituted a new office and magiſtracie, as maiſter of delights and ſports. After this, his chiefeſt buſines was in abominable luxury and incontinencie, which was ſuch and ſo abominable that chriſtian eares can hardly endure the hearing thereof, nor chriſtian hand write the ſame, wherefore I will paſſe it ouer in ſilence. Let this ſuffice, that it was horrible and deteſtable, and not contented to commit it himſelfe, he induced and drew others thereto, and gaue iewels and rewards to thoſe which inuented and committed moſt filthines. And this wicked old Emperor, perſeuering in his libidinous ſinne, forgot not his crueltie and couetouſnes, whereto he was no leſſe addicted: for hee encreaſed his ſubſidies and tributes in ſuch manner, that the prouinces became ruinate and deſolate; and committed many other extortions of the like qualitie.

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As for his crueltie, all the examples cannot be repeated, they did ſo exceede: for he condemned the moſt principall and beſt men in *Rome* to death, and confiſcated their goods, for very light cauſes, and moſt of them forged. One he put iuſtly to death, and with much reaſon cauſed him to be ſlaine, which was his great fauorite SEIANVS, for many ſinnes which he had learned of him (as DION COCEIVS recordeth:) but for the reſt, it is a matter ridiculous, and otherwiſe lamentable, for what cauſes they were accuſed and condemned. One he cauſed to be ſlaine, becauſe that commending BRVTVS and CASSIVS, he ſaid, that they were the laſt Romanes: another he cauſed to be ſlaine, becauſe that in a tragedie which he had compiled, he ſpake ill of AGAMEMNON: another Romane Knight he commaunded to be ſlaine, becauſe that in a garden he had taken vp a Capon: and for other ſuch like matters as theſe, he made to be ſlaine ſixteene, of twentie noble old men; which he had choſen for his counſellors. And he forbare not to execute theſe cruelties vpon his allies and kinsfolkes: for beſides that which is alreadie ſaid, he commaunded his Nephew GERMANICVS to be ſlaine, and afterwards the three ſonnes which he left, ſeeing them to growe in eſtimation; the two elder of them he cauſed to be accuſed by falſe witneſſes, and he himſelfe wrote ſuch things to *Rome* againſt them, that in the end they were condemned to death, the one of them deſperatly killed himſelfe, and he cauſed the other to pine to death with hunger, as SVETONIVS reportteh. It was a maruell that he had not done the like by the third, whoſe name was CAIVS CALIGVLA, and by their Vnele CLAVDIVS; but it is to be beleeued that he would haue done it, if he had liued a while longer. Theſe executions hee thus commaunded to be done, to the end that his crueltie might attaine to the higheſt degree, which were not ordinarie: for before their death, they paſſed hunger, torments, and diſgraces, to qualifie them. Finally, to conclude, they were ſo many and ſo fearefull, that many which were condemned, ſlew themſelues, ſome with poyſon, and ſome with yron, for feare; for TIBERIVS did execute his furie with ſuch crueltie, that he accounted it a deede of charitie, to put them to an ordinarie kinde of death: ſo as for that one killed himſelfe before that he could execute his rage vpon him, he cryed out aloud, oh how hath CORNELIVS eſcaped me? for ſo was that mans name: and to another, which entreated him that he would not deferre his death, TIBERIVS anſwered, I am not ſo much thy friend, as to doe ſo. And employing himſelfe in theſe deuiliſh exerciſes, wherein he perſeuered euen vntill his death; ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, breaking the peace and league which he had contracted with GERMANICVS, was ſo bold as to enter into the prouince of *Armenia*, and the limits of the Empire, and alſo the Sarmates inuaded the prouinces; for which TIBERIVS tooke no care, neither leuied any new armie; but they defended themſelues with their ordinarie legions and armies the beſt that they could.

Now, foraſmuch as in many places of this hiſtorie, mention is made of legions and armies, which the Romanes ordinarily held in their prouinces, in time both of peace and warre, I hold it fit to declare what they were, for the better vnderſtanding of what is alreadie, and ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Which is a great argument, to conſider how great the wealth and power of the Romanes was: and although that ſome authors doe treate thereof, I will onely ſet downe what CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth in the fourth booke of his hiſtories, an hiſtoriographer of great authoritie. He firſt ſaith, that in the two ſeas, of the one, and other ſide of *Italie*, to wit, in the Adriatique ſea, now the gulfe of *Venice*; and

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in the Sicilian ſea called Mediterranean, they maintained two great nauies of gallies and ſhippes for their guarde and ſecuritie, and for the ſafe paſſage of Merchants, and ſuch other neceſſarie occaſions as were offered. Another great nauie they maintained vpon the coaſt of *France*, betweene *Spaine* and *Italie*; beſides thoſe which they had in a readines and cauſed to be builded, when any occaſion of warre was offered. Their armies by land were diuided in manner following: vpon the *Rhines* ſide in the coaſt of *France*, they held eight legions, to keepe thoſe countries which they poſſeſſed in *Germanie*, and to reſiſt the Germanes and other northerly nations, and theſe ordinarily were the moſt experienced and beſt ſouldiers: And although that the number of a legion did chaunce to encreaſe and diminiſh vpon diuers occaſions, yet the ordinarie in the time of the Emperors was (after VEGETIVS and MODESTVS) that euery legion ſhould containe ſixe thouſand and one hundred footemen, and ſeuen hundred twentie and ſixe horſemen. Of theſe they held in *Spaine*, three ordinarie legions; and in *Africa*, in the prouince of *Carthage*, two; and in *Mauritania* one; and two for the guarde of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and in the prouinces of *Meſopotamia* and *Syria* (to wit) in the lands contained betweene the *Syrian* ſea, the furtheſt end of the *Leuant* ſea and the riuer *Euphrates*, which was (for a long time) the bound of the Romane Empire, they held foure legions. And heere in *Europe* (beſides thoſe which I haue alreadie named) they had other ſixe legions, in this manner: in *Auſtrich* and *Hungarie* they had two; and in *Seruia* and *Bulgaria*, as many; and other two in *Slauonia*; and neere vnto the citie of *Rome*, were alwayes lodged twelue Cohorts, nine of which were called Pretorian, and the other three Vrbane, which by turne did guarde the Emperors palace. Of all theſe Cohorts (according to the ſame authors) the firſt and moſt principall of them contained one thouſand, one hundred and fiue footemen, and one hundred and thirtie two horſemen; and the others equally each of them fiue hundred and fiftie footemen, and threeſcore and ſixe horſemen. Beſides all which, they alſo had in diuers cities and prouinces, companies of horſemen, which were friends and ſubiects to the Empire; and alſo other companies of footemen, which were called Auxiliaries, which were not trained after the Romane order and diſcipline: ſo as they continually held and paied fiue and twentie legions, beſides thoſe which were payed by their friends. And this was in time of peace, for the authoritie and guarde of the Empire; for when there were any warres (according as neede required) they reinforced their armies, and encreaſed the number of their legions.

Nauies and fleets maintained by the Romanes in ſundrie places and prouinces.

A legion of how many foote and horſe it conſiſted.

Pretorian and Vrban Cohorts.

Auxiliarie forces.

With the force of theſe great garriſons the Romane Empire maintained and defended it ſelfe, notwithſtanding the want of care and diligence in the Emperors, as in TIBERIVS, of whom we now diſcourſe, who (as is ſaid) ſpent the reſt of his life vntill his death in diuelliſh exerciſes, which being much wiſhed for by all the world, ouertooke him in a houſe of pleaſure neere to *Naples*, hauing raigned twentie and three yeeres Emperor, in the ſeuentie and eight yeere of his age, and thirtie and nine yeeres after the brith of Chriſt. In what manner he died, the authors agree not, for ſome ſay that hee was poyſoned, by his Nephew and ſucceſſor CAIVS CALIGVLA: others ſay that being ſicke as it was thought mortally, and ſeeing that hee made ſome ſhew of recouerie, for feare that hee would mend, the ſame CALIGVLA ſmothered him with a pillow, or with the couering of the bed, he hauing ordained him for his ſucceſſor. Notwithſtanding that by reaſon of a certaine prophecie which hee held, he had determined to haue ordained his Nephew TIBERIVS the ſonne of DRVSVS for his heire,

whom DION COCEIVS in his hiſtories ſaith, he would not name, becauſe he was not aſſured that he was his ſonnes ſonne, for the ſuſpition which he held of his mother; and alſo becauſe that the Mathematicians and Aſtrologians, to whom he was much affected, and gaue credit, had told him, that he ſhould liue but a little while, and that CALIGVLA ſhould kill him: and ſo vpon a time being very much offended, he ſaid to CALIGVLA, thou wilt kill me, and another ſhall kill thee. It is alſo imagined, that TIBERIVS choſe CALIGVLA for his ſucceſſor, for that he knew his euill and wicked inclination, hoping that with his vices, he would deface and blot his ſinne and wickednes out of remembrance; and alſo for that he beleeued, that he would extinguiſh the Romane nobilitie; and was ſo wicked and cruell that he deſired that all the world might end with his life, and ſo he was ſometime wont to ſay, that he wiſhed, that when he ſhould die, that then the heauens and earth might be diſſolued: but he deſerued not to ſee the heauens; and all the earth reioyced and was glad when he died, as all authors write, and this was the end of TIBERIVS.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS CALIGVLA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

CAligula before that he was made Emperour, was ſo acceptable and in ſo good grace with the people and Senate of Rome, that when he was made Lord, it is vnknowne whether was the greater, either the ſorrow which was in Rome for the death of Octauian, or the ioy which it conceiued for the ſucceſſion of Caligula. But after that he was made Emperour, in a manner, as though that with his dignitie he had chaunged his naturall inclination, he became ſo wicked and infamous, that I cannot ſet downe his diſhoneſties, without offending the honeſtie of him that ſhal reade the ſame, nor without a burthen to his modeſtie that ſhall write it. He made the bridge at Baias, a worke of no leſſe fooliſhnes, then great expence. He deflowred three of his owne ſiſters,

ſiſters, and of his Palace (with reuerence be it ſpoken) he made a brothel of Romane Matrones. He was ſo couetous, that he raiſed a taxe vpon the whores, and a ſhare of their gettings. He vſed to walke vp and downe vpon Crownes, and was ſo prodigall, that ſometimes he cauſed moſt precious iewels to be diſſolued with vinegar and put into his meate; and was finally in all his actions ſo contrarie to himſelfe, that no man knew how to behaue himſelfe towards him. He would be called and reputed for a God, which name he ſtained with ſuch abominable crueltie, that he was worſe then the diuell, and ſhed ſo much bloud, and made the wilde beaſts which he kept, to the end to deuoure men, to drinke and ſucke ſo much, that thoſe which were condemned to be ſlaine by them, rather choſe to kill themſelues, then to endure the torments which he deuiſed in his moſt cruell minde for them. He died of thirtie wounds giuen him by certaine which conſpired againſt him, hauing raigned almoſt foure yeeres, whoſe death was ſo acceptable to the people, that it is hard to ſay whether was the greater ioy, that which was conceiued when he was made Emperour, or that when he left the Empire, together with his moſt vituperable life.

CALIGVLA the ſonne of GERMANICVS ſucceeded TIBERIVS in the Empire, who during the time of his raigne, was in the higheſt degree of all kinde of wickednes abominable: and his words and deedes were ſo pernicious and deteſtable, that in truth it is a ſhamefull and vnworthie matter, hauing written the liues of ſo worthie men, as were IVLIVS, and OCTAVIANVS CÆSARS, and their ſo heroicall acts: now to deſcend to the ſinke and bottome of the ſinnes, crueltie, and ribauldrie of CALIGVLA. For although there wanted not in TIBERIVS to be abhorred and to be ſorrie for, yet ſome part of his raigne was good, and before that he had been an excellent Captaine, and had enlarged the dominion of the Empire, for which cauſe his euill conditions might be ſomewhat the better tolerated: but this being wanting in CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was a man of no ſuch valour (although in the beginning he deceiued the world with an apparance of ſome good deedes) yet it maketh the remembrance of him the more deteſtable, and his hand that ſhall write the ſame, the more heauie. But becauſe I am not to make choiſe of Emperours, of whom I am to treate at my pleaſure, but to continue the proceſſe and courſe of my hiſtorie, wherein my principall foundation is, to obſerue the truth, and cleauing thereto, to continue my troubleſome iourney: Let him which ſhall reade it conſider how deteſtable and abominable his doings were, and how ſmall time his Empire indured, which attained not to foure yeers complete; and the end which he made, to the end that he may flie and abhorre them, and may do the like by ſome others which followed, like to him, or worſe.

Caligula in the higheſt degree abominable.

In Caligula vvas nothing that was good.

After the death of TIBERIVS CÆSAR (as I ſaid) the ioy which the Senate and people of *Rome* conceiued was incredible, and therewith they accepted and approoued the Empire of CAIVS CALIGVLA, whom before his death TIBERIVS had adopted and nominated for his ſucceſſour, for the loue and goodwill which they bare to his father GERMANICVS, and for the pitie and commiſeration which they conceiued for his death, affliction and wrong done to his houſe. For theſe cauſes was he accepted and ratified by all the Prouinces, and prouinciall armies: for his father being Captaine generall in *Germanie*, and in the Eaſt, he was bred vp among them, and this name of CALIGVLA was giuen him for a certaine kinde of hoſe, called Caliga, wſed among men of warre, which hee did vſe to weare. Comming from the place where TIBERIVS died, to *Rome*, a great number of the moſt principall people of all eſtates went foorth to entertaine him vpon the way, with exceeding ioy, notwithſtanding that hee came mourning with the dead bodie of TIBERIVS, which the ſouldiers brought to be burnt at

VVherefore he vvas called Caligula.

Rome, according to the cuſtome in that time. And comming with great ſolemnity to *Rome*, hee was obeyed with vnſpeakeable gladnes and goodwill, they giuing him new names and Epithetes, ſignifying great reuerence and loue.

Caligula his geſture and diſpoſition of bodie.

CALIGVLA was a man tall of ſtature, great boned and corpulent; but his necke and his legges were very ſmall and ſlender, deformed and vnſuteable to the reſt of his bodie; his countenance was horrible and vgly; and after that he was Emperor, he took pleaſure to feare and amaze people with his lookes: and to this effect it is written, that beholding himſelfe in a glaſſe, he would ſtudie what countenance to ſet, to ſeeme more fierce and terrible. His eyes and temples were very hollow, his forehead broad, his complexion yellow, his head very bald, and in thoſe parts of his head where he had any haire, it was very thinne, all the reſt of his bodie being marueilouſly hairie. He was a man very vnſound and vnhealthy, and in his youth was troubled with the foule euill, and other diſeaſes, and afterwards (as we will preſently ſhew you) he was ſo ſick and euill of bodie and mind, chaunging his conditions with the Empire: for before that time, he was euer held for good. Wherefore it is ſaid of him, that he had been the beſt ſeruant, and was the worſt and moſt wicked Lord in the world. The firſt thing he did after he was Lord, was to diſanull and make voide the teſtament of TIBERIVS, which he had made two yeeres before, wherein he made him & his nephew TIBERIVS his coheires: whereto the Senate did willingly agree, & euery man deuiſed & imagined how to gratifie him and doe him ſeruice, with ſuch loue, that within few daies after he was confirmed in the Empire. Going foorth of *Rome* to recreate himſelfe vpon the Sea at the Ile of *Capra*, and in other Ilands vpon that coaſt, they made vowes and ſacrifices for his health and returne: and the writers affirme, that there were ſlaine 170000. beaſts, according to the rites and ceremonies then vſed: And he then making ſhew of a man, and not of a beaſt (as his deedes did afterwards make manifeſt) preſently commaunded the aſhes of his mother and brethren to be brought to *Rome*, and there to be ſumptuouſly buried. He then tooke for his companion in the Conſulſhip, which hee then would execute, his vncle CLAVDIVS brother to GERMANICVS, who in the time of TIBERIVS liued priuate and in diſgrace; and young TIBERIVS, which was nephew to TIBERIVS the Emperour, faining to loue him, and to beare him goodwill, and to doe him honour, he made captaine and prince of all the Romane youth. Seeking by counterfeit goodnes and bountie, to draw to himſelfe the goodwill of the people; he did twice giue vnto euery bodie (excepting none) a certaine quantitie of money, which they called Congiarius; and to all the Senate, and to all thoſe of the order of Knighthood (which were a degree betweene the communaltie and the Nobilitie) he made a moſt ſolemne banquet. And faining alſo that he meant to gouerne with iuſtice, he commaunded OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR his Inſtitutions to be ſought out, which TIBERIVS interrupted and brought out of vſe. He commaunded alſo great playes and feaſts to be made in *Rome* of Sword-plaiers, which were men which to ſhew pleaſure to the beholders, fought and killed one another; and certaine men on horſeback which they called Troians. He alſo appointed certaine huntings, wherein were ſlaine a great number of Lions, Panthers, Boares, Beares, and other wilde beaſts: and beſides this, Comedies and other ſhewes which were made in the Theater, and other kinds of ſports and pleaſures to delight the people, whoſe loue and grace he then procured. And beſides that which is alreadie ſaid (as SVETONIVS reciteth) principally in the beginning of his Empire, ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, who rebelled and was an enemie,

mie, came to ſome ſpeech with the Captaine of the Romanes, which commaunded the legions in *Syria*, and fearing the new Emperour whom he yet knew not, made peace with him; and paſſing the riuer *Euphrates*, which was the bound of the Romane Empire, came in perſon to adore and to doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, and to the Imperiall ſtandard and Eagle: ſo as the little, vntill this time, may be reported of CALIGVLA, as of a wiſe and diſcreete prince; and the remainder ſeemeth to be of a ſenſeleſſe man and a brute and ſauage beaſt. The beginning wherof was one of the greateſt fooleries or vanities that euer was ſeene in the world, which was to make ſuch a feaſt as was neuer heard of, and to ſhew greatnes and vanitie, and to be able to walke and tread on the Sea as well as vpon the land: Or (as others ſay) becauſe he would imitate King XERXES, who paſſed his armie out of *Aſia* into *Europe* ouer the ſtreight of *Helleſpont* vpon a wooden bridge: he commaunded to be brought together, and to be new built all the ſhips which he could get, which were infinite; and in a bay or a creeke which the Sea maketh neere to the hauen of *Baias* in *Campania*, from one point of the land to the other ſide of the Bay, which are about three miles diſtant, hee commaunded a bridge to be made vpon the ſaid ſhips, ſet in two rankes, faſtned and moared together with anchors, chaines and cables, which made them to ſtand fixe and firme: he commanded this bridge to be made of boords, ſo ſtrong and eeuen, and to lay ſo much earth vpon the ſame, that it ſeemed to be firme ground, and one of the ſtreetes of *Rome*. And bringing for this worke a great number of Artificers and labourers, with an vnmeaſurable charge; he alſo cauſed houſes and lodgings to be builded vpon the ſame bridge; as writeth DION, who declareth this matter more at large then all the reſt.

Peace vvith the King of the Parthians.

A vvonderfull bridge made by Caligula.

This worke being finiſhed, and hee with all the Court of *Rome* going thither, with an infinite number of people which from all parts came to ſee this ſpectacle, hee moſt proudly attired in robes of gold and pearle, with a crowne of Oaken boughes vpon his head (which was called *Ciuica*) on horſebacke, accompanied with men of warre, and all the Noble and gentlemen of *Rome*, entred at one end of the bridge and road to the other; and lying one night vpon it, the next day hee returned, riding in a Chariot drawne by moſt excellent faire horſes, in manner of a triumph. DION writeth, that the night when he lay vpon the bridge, he cauſed ſuch an infinite number of Torches, Lant-hornes, and other lights to be lighted and ſet vp, that the cleerenes thereof did wholy ouercome the darknes of the night, in all that ſide of the mountaines neere adioyning; and that CALIGVLA vaunted and boaſted that he had made of the night, day; and of the Sea, land. And ſpending herein two whole daies, in all which time the Sea happened to be ſtill and calme, he ſaid; that *Neptune* (whom they held for the god of the Seas) did it for feare, and to doe him reuerence. The fruite which enſued of this ſtrange follie, was great famine and ſcarcitie of corne, and other neceſſaries, for that the ſhips were ſtaied about this bridge, to make the which there needed an incredible number of them. Such like benefits as this, did euer follow the actions of CALIGVLA. Wherefore before that I ſpeake of the reſt, to ſay the plaine truth, it is to be vnderſtood, that many were of opinion, that to this man was giuen a certaine drinke and medicine by his wife, whoſe name was CESONIA, wherewith ſhe made him mad and out of his naturall wits; ſhe giuing it him, to the end that he ſhould loue her: for he hauing been at other times maried, had put away his wiues; ſo as his crueltie and riots were by ſome attributed to his fooliſhnes and want of wit. Of this opinion is IOSEPHVS in the 18. booke of his Antiquities, and the Poet

THE LIFE OF SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THE ONE AND TWENTETH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Eptimius Seuerus hauing taken the Empire more by force, and by feare, wherein he did put the Senators and people of Rome, then for any right he had thereto: the first thing that hee did, was to reuenge the death of Pertinax, by depriuing all those which had slaine him and sold the Empire, of all militarie dignitie. Afterwards entring Rome with great pompe, hee perswaded the Senators and people to hope well of him, and to bend their weapons against Pescenius Niger, who was called Emperour; Whom finally after many changes of fortune, hee ouercame. He likewise ouerthrew Artabanus King of Persia, and tooke the citie of Tisphonte, wherein was all that Kings treasure, and ouercame Albinus, who was made Cæsar. This Seuerus was a man addicted to the warres, ambiguous, ambitious, constant in his resolution to bring any thing to passe that he had once vndertaken, and therewith very wise and circumspect in all matters appertainning to the preseruation of his estate, and the gouernment of the Empire. Finally, oppressed with a long infirmitie, and particularly with an intolerable

intolerable paine in his feete, he died, hauing ruled the Empire eighteene yeeres; vſing no leſſe wiſedome in preſeruing it, then he had ſhewed boldnes and audacitie in getting it.

AFter IVLIANVS, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS ſucceeded in the Empire, who onely among all the Emperours was borne in *Africa*, in a citie called *Leptis*. His fathers name was GETA, and his mothers FVLVIA PIA. He had two Vncles by his mothers ſide, which were Conſuls in *Rome*; his grandfathers name by his mother was MACER, and by his fathers ſide, FVLVIVS APIVS. IVLIANVS being dead in ſuch manner as we haue declared, and SEVERVS marching with his armie towards *Rome*, as againſt his enemies; vpon the way certaine Ambaſſadours met him, which in the name of the Senate and people of *Rome* yeelded to him their obedience, and gaue him the title and enſignes of Emperour, certifying him of the death of IVLIANVS. He receiued this Ambaſſade in preſence of the armie, being marſhalled and in armes; and gaue gifts to the Ambaſſadours, and entertaining them with great honour, continued his iourney towards *Rome*, where aſwell the Pretorian ſouldiers ſtoode in feare of him, for that they had ſlaine the Emperour PERTINAX whom they knew he loued, as alſo all the Romane people, for the deſire they had that PESCENIVS NIGER ſhould haue been Emperour; who in the Eaſt (as is ſaid) was called ſo. SEVERVS when he came neere to *Rome*, ſent commaundement that all the Pretorian ſouldiers ſhould come forth to receiue him, clad in ſhew of peace, leauing their armes in their campe; and they did ſo, hoping thereby to haue pleaſed and pacified him by ioyfully obeying his commaundement. And he concealing what he purpoſed to doe, hauing onely acquainted ſome of his fauorites and captaines therewith, attended their comming in the field, in a place which he had choſen for that purpoſe; and they comming to doe him reuerence, were compaſſed about by his armie: and making a ſhort ſpeech vnto them, he reproched them with the crueltie and treaſon which they had vſed in killing the Emperour PERTINAX: Which being ended, he made them to put off the clothes and apparell which they ware, and to put away their daggers and poiniards from them (for other weapons they had none) and then he pronounced ſentence againſt them; wherein he depriued them of the honour of ſouldiers, and baniſhed them from *Rome* and a hundred miles about. And he preſently ſent to their campe to take their armes from them, and the imperiall enſignes; and ſo they were puniſhed and diſgraced, although not ſo much as they deſerued, for the cruell murther which they had committed, and the ſelling of the Empire.

The linage of Seuerus.

The puniſhment of the Pretorian ſouldiers which ſlew Pertinax.

This being done, SEVERVS entred into *Rome*, with his whole armie, with their Enſignes diſplaied, and his ſouldiers in armes, apparelled in the beſt and moſt ſolemne manner that they could. The number of people was ſo great and ſuch, that it was a moſt faire and ſtately ſpectacle to behold. The Senate went to the gates of the citie to receiue him, and there ſaluted him after the accuſtomed manner; and the people receiued him with bleſſings and applauſes: notwithſtanding that it was odious vnto them to ſee him come armed, and in warlike manner. And hauing performed the ſolemnities, and viſited the Temples, as the manner then was, he went to his lodging in the Imperiall palace: and the next day he commanded the Senate to be aſſembled, whither he alſo went accompanied with armed men, wherein (as he was a wiſe man and well aduiſed) hee made a very ſmooth ſpeech, giuing them great hope of good gouernment, and excuſing himſelfe for taking

Seuerus entred Rome with enſignes diſplaied

vpon

vpon him the name and authoritie of Emperor, without their conſent and good-will firſt obtained; alleaging that hee did it, to the end to come to reuenge the death of PERTINAX, and to free them from the tyrannie of IVLIANVS: for that it was a thing vnworthie the Romane Empire, that he ſhould liue therein which had bought it with money. In concluſion, he ſpake ſo faire, and vſed them in ſuch manner, that they went thence ſatisfied and well content: yet ſome of the old Senators which better knew his condition, gaue little credit to his words; for they held him for a man that was very double, ſubtill, and a great diſſembler: and notwithſtanding that he was ſo, yet in truth he was a moſt ſufficient man in any thing, very valiant in armes, and before that he was Emperour had gouerned great prouinces and attained to be Queſtor, Tribune, Pretor, Proconſul, and Conſul; and had held Captainſhips and charges, wherein he purchaſed the name and renowne of a valiant, wiſe, and excellent Captaine. And if a man well conſider how the Empire was then diuided betweene three Lords, and with what valour he ſubdued the whole, with the other warres and dangers which happened in his time; he may very wel be eſteemed for a very valorous Emperor & excellent Captain, and may be compared with any of thoſe in ancient time. Beſides all which, hee was very learned, and a great Mathematician, a good Orator and Philoſpher. But his proweſſe in armes was ſo great, that it may not be written by me (conſidering the breuitie which I vſe) ſauing running, and ſo to expreſſe ſuch things as are moſt cleere and reſplendent, and although in haſte, yet will they gliſter in their ſight which ſhall behold the ſame.

The valour and learning of Seuerus.

After that hee had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, hee tooke ſpeedie order for the reformation of abuſes in the citie, by reaſon of the diſſenſions and tumults paſſed. He alſo preſently honoured and buried the Emperour PERTINAX, and in remembrance of that good old man, he tooke to himſelfe his ſurname, calling himſelfe SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PERTINAX. He paid and gaue gifts and rewards to his men of warre, and alſo to the people of *Rome*; and as the cuſtome of the new Emperours was, he made diſtributions and gaue large gifts. He alſo married two daughters which he had, with two principall men, one called PROBVS, and the other ECIVS; and after that he had giuen great dowries with them, he vſed ſuch meanes that they were choſen both Conſuls. And whereas at that time there was great ſcarſitie of corne in *Rome*, he tooke ſuch order, and that with ſuch expedition, that the citie was ſufficiently prouided for and furniſhed: which courſe he held euer during all the time of his raigne, in ſuch ſort that therein was neuer any want. All theſe things and other, concerning the gouernment of the Empire, he performed with ſuch expedition, that hee remained there but thirtie daies: for from the firſt day that he was Emperour, he determined to addreſſe his iourney towards the Eaſt with his armie againſt PESCENIVS NIGER, who (as is ſaid) was called Emperour, and was very mightie and an excellent Captaine. And hauing made preparation for his iourney, he ſent a Captaine and new legions into the prouince of *Africa*, to guard the ſame; to the end that by the way of *Egypt* and *Libya*, PESCENIVS NIGER ſhould not make any profit of that prouince. And the better to leaue all things in ſafetie behinde him in the Weſt (for hee was in feare of CLODIVS ALBINVS a Nobleman and a Senator of *Rome*, who was Captaine of the Legions in *Britannie*, and was a man of a great parentage, rich, and well beloued) he bethought himſelfe how he might compaſſe him and make him his friend, by giuing him the name and title of CÆSAR and his ſucceſſor, whereof he aduertiſed him with very louing and gracious ſpeeches;

ches: by which meanes for that time he remained in quiet and in peace. This being done, leauing the beſt order in *Rome* that he could, and ſuch as was moſt expedient (nominating and chooſing companies and Pretorian Cohorts to remaine in the citie, in place of thoſe which hee had caſſiered and degraded from the honour of the militarie Art and profeſſion) he departed thence, continuing his iourney with the beſt and greateſt force that he was able to leuie on euery ſide. And PESCENIVS NIGER being aduertiſed of the comming of his enemie, as vntill then he had liued idle and careleſſe; ſo now with great diligence and expedition he leuied ſouldiers: and beſides the ordinarie armie which he had, with all ſpeede he ſent ſome Captaines to ſtop the paſſages out of *Europe* into *Aſia* the leſſe; and alſo ſent to craue aide of the Kings of the Parthians, and of *Armenia*, and other Kings and Tetrarches of the Eaſt; from which, and from the prouinces which were vnder his obedience, there came great power and reliefe vnto him: And ſo the world was diuided into two factions and heads; and there began one of the moſt cruell warres that euer had been therein, as well for the force and valour of the Captaines, as for the power and multitude of ſouldiers; which warre was waged in many parts, both by ſea and by land. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS paſſed out of *Europe* into *Aſia* the leſſe, although with great trouble and difficultie, hauing many skirmiſhes, and being often aſſailed by PESCENIVS his troupes, who ſent againſt him an excellent Romane Captaine called EMILIANVS, who was Generall of all his forces: and this EMILIANVS hauing drawne together all the power which PESCENIVS ſent him, and all the reſt that he was able to leuie out of *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, and other prouinces of *Aſia* the leſſe, tooke the field, in the way whereby SEVERVS was to paſſe: wherein followed many great skirmiſhes and encounters, and in the end a moſt cruell and terrible battaile, wherein EMILIANVS was ouerthrowne. After this battaile, the conquered troupes which eſcaped, went to PESCENIVS NIGER, who with all his power was in the citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*; from whence he departed to meete with SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS vpon the way as he was comming: and marching towards him (after ſome matters of leſſer importance which paſſed) the two Armies drew neere the one to the other in a great plaine by the Sea ſide in the countrey of *Cilicia* (as HERODIANVS reporteth, yet SPARCIANVS and EVTROPIVS differ therein) in the ſame place where DARIVS was the firſt time ouerthrowne by ALEXANDER the Great; where (by the conſent of both the Generals) they came to a battaile with the moſt and beſt ſouldiers that then were in the world; which by reaſon of the experience, valour, and wiſedome of the Captaines, was moſt cruell: For fighting the greateſt part of the day without any apparant aduantage, the number of the ſlaine and wounded was ſo great, that the ſtreames of water which ranne through the fields, were ſo full, and died with the bloud of men and horſes, that there ſeemed to bee no water therein: A great number of diſarmed people of the inhabitants thereabouts, ſtanding vpon the tops of the hils to behold the battaile, and to ſee whether partie ſhould haue the victorie. Which when either partie by all meanes poſſible had endeuoured to obtaine, in the latter end of the day PESCENIVS NIGER was ouerthrowne, without failing in any point in what hee ought, and was moſt expedient for a good Captaine to haue done: for in truth SEVERVS his ſouldiers were more expert and better trained in the warres then his were; and ſeeing there was no other remedie hee fled, but was followed and afterwards found by SEVERVS his ſouldiers, which ſmote off his head, and carried it through the Campe vpon the point of a launce.

Seuerus againſt Niger.

Emilianus ouerthrowne by Seuerus.

A battaile betweene Septimius Seuerus and Peſcenius Niger.

Peſcenius Niger ouerthrowne and ſlaine.

The linage of Pescenius Niger.

This PESCENIVS NIGER was a man of meane parentage; yet some say that he was noble and ancient: his fathers name was ANIVS FVSCVS, and his mother was called LAMPRIDIA. He was a man indifferently well learned, and obtained great riches. He was sharpe and quicke of condition, and euer followed the wars, and was an excellent souldier; and afterwards performed the charge committed to him, with great discretion and courage: for they write of him, that hee was a valiant and much commended Tribune; a very singular and excellent Captaine; a most seuere and vpright Lieutenant Generall; a most wise and prudent Consul; and in all things happie and fortunate, sauing that he was onely infortunate in being Emperour, not knowing how to gouerne himselfe therein. So as it plainly appeareth, that men doe oftentimes desire and purchase to themselues shame and perdition, by presuming to attaine to honour and rest.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS hauing obtained so notable a victorie, with all speed aduertised the Romane Senate thereof, and as a conqueror did his will vpon the conquered, cruelly killing many of those which had taken part with NIGER: and principally he destroied the citie of *Antioch*, by reason that it (more then any other) had aided and assisted his aduersarie, whose wife and children he commanded to be banished from *Rome*. And to the contrary hereof, hee gaue gifts and rewards to those which had done him seruice and assisted him; and repaired the harmes and dammages which some cities, which held with him, had receiued by NIGERS souldiers. For in truth this man was very cruell in punishing offences, and in persecuting his enemies; and very liberall and gratefull to his friends, and most bountifull in rewarding those which had done him any seruice. In all the prouinces of the East, after this victorie, he found no resistance, sauing among the Parthians, the Persians, and the Adiabenians, very mightie Nations, which for the loue which they bore vnto NIGER, and the ancient hatred to the name, Romane, presently tooke armes against SEVERVS; and hee in person went against them, and had many battailes and incounters, and obtained great victories, which I haue no time to relate: so as hee inlarged the Empire and the Romane name, and pacified the prouinces.

The fift persecution of the Primitiue Church.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS hauing brought all his purposes to so good and prosperous estate, being seduced by the diuell, so persecuted the Catholike Christian Church, that an infinite number of the faithfull were put to death; and this was the fift persecution of the Church. For which occasion (as PAVLVS OROSIVS noteth) God would not permit that he should long enioy the Empire in peace: for he was aduertised from *Rome* how that ALBINVS, who (as we said) was Captaine in great *Britannie*, and whom he made CÆSAR when he went for the East, was risen in armes, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour; and that hee was of very great power, and much beloued of the Romane Nobilitie: for hee was natiue of *Rome*, and of a great and noble familie. But he being of a hautie minde little regarded those difficulties: and setting all things in order in the East, with his armie tooke his way towards *Rome*, to the end from thence to goe against ALBINVS, as against a tyrant and a rebell. And passing from *Asia* into *Europe* ouer the streight at *Byzantium*, which is now called *Constantinople*, hee wholy destroied that citie; becausse that when he passed by it towards *Asia*, that citie would not receiue him; and so he left it leuell with the ground (which was one of the most famous cities in the whole world) and remained so desolate vntill the time of CONSTANTINE the Great; as in his time we will declare.

Albinus in armes against Seuerus.

SEVERVS trauailing thus towards *Rome*, his aduersarie ALBINVS being aduertised

uertiſed thereof, came out of *Britannie* into *France*, where hee raiſed a mightie armie; part whereof he ſent to keepe the paſſages in the Alpes, thereby to hinder him in his way, who was alreadie arriued at *Rome*, and was vpon his way comming to meete him: before which time he put PESCENIVS NIGERS children to death, to the end thereby wholy to extinguiſh all remembrance of him: And he going to the warres, appointed his ſonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS for his ſucceſſor, and intituled him CÆSAR; and chaunging his name, he commaunded him to bee called AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. And drawing neere to his enemies, the warres began in a moſt cruell manner betweene them; wherein in the beginning in ſome encounters, SEVERVS his captaines were ouerthrowne by thoſe of ALBINVS his partie. But after that hee had paſſed the Alpes, and was entred into *France*, the warre was kindled in many parts; and in many conflicts and skirmiſhes fortune ſhewed her ſelfe variable, the victorie inclining ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometime to the other; vntill at laſt neere vnto the citie of *Lions*, (wherein ALBINVS was) either partie drawing together his whole power, they fought one of the moſt bloudie battailes that euer was written of: which continued the greateſt part of the day without any apparance of aduantage. Firſt the victorie ſeemed to bee of ALBINVS his ſide: for his battalion was of ſuch force, that it made SEVERVS to retire, in ſuch ſort that his ſouldiers began to flie; and it ſo happened that SEVERVS his horſe fell with him, and euery man held him for dead: and ALBINVS his ſouldiers began to crie victorie, victorie; taking no care but to follow the execution. Then LETVS one of SEVERVS his Captains, which vntill then had neuer charged; with a very great troupe of armed men which he brought with him, renued the fight, in ſuch ſort, that SEVERVS was reſcued: and being remounted vpon another horſe, charged with ſo great force and rigor, that he tooke the victorie out of ALBINVS his ſouldiers hands, which accounting themſelues victorious, obſerued no order: and the matter was ſo handled, that ALBINVS his troupes were driuen to turne their backes; and SEVERVS followed the execution, killing them euen to the gates of the citie of *Lions*. The number of thoſe which were ſlaine and wounded, was infinite; and the citie was preſently entred, and ALBINVS taken; and his head being ſtriken off, was brought to SEVERVS. A man may well beleeue that hee was not a little ioyfull when hee ſaw it, conſidering that a little before hee was wounded and caſt to the ground, and by all men accounted for dead, and his enemies victorious; and eſcaping all this, he now ſaw himſelfe an abſolute Lord, victorious, and his enemies confounded. Wherefore let euery Chriſtian reader conſider how inconſtant all things are in this life; and that a man neither can, or ought to repoſe his aſſured confidence in any thing in this world. Great were the cruelties which SEVERVS committed after that he had obtained this victorie: for truly if this Prince had not been ſo cruell and greedie of ſhedding of bloud, and in matters of gouernment as hee was, I am of opinion that no man either before or after him, had excelled him; conſidering the actions and enterpriſes which hee brought to an end, whereof I write but the ſumme.

Seuerus put to death Nigers children.

A great battaile betweene Seuerus and Albinus.

The crueltie of Seuerus.

Theſe things being paſt, SEVERVS preſently wrote to the Senate and people of *Rome*, aduertiſing them of his victorie, and ſending them ALBINVS his head, commaunded that it ſhould be ſet vpon the end of a pole in the publick place, and all thoſe Senators which of ALBINVS his partie were ſlaine in this battaile, he commaunded to be quartered; and thoſe which were taken aliue, he commaunded to be ſlaine. He was ſo cruell and vindicatiue (that ſome write) that he

mounted vpon a very fierce great horſe, and vpon him rode many times ouer the dead bodie of ALBINVS: which is not much to be maruelled at, conſidering from how cruell and barbarous a nation he was deſcended. Some write, that he firſt cauſed his bodie to be torne in many pieces, and to be throwne into the riuer *Rhodanus*. And SPARCIANVS ſaith, that he commanded his wife and children to be ſlaine, and did by them as he had done by ALBINVS, and ſo he made a number of his kinſemen and friends which with him were found in *Lions* to be ſlaine, and with them other principall noble men of *France* and *Spaine*. He concluded the victorie which he gat neere *Lions* only in *Rome*, there to make an end of the warre, and after this victorie he preſentlie aſſaulted certaine cities and holds which continued friends to ALBINVS, which he ſubdued, not without great trouble and danger. And as he was buſie in theſe matters, newes was brought him that one of thoſe legions which he had left in *Arabia*, did mutine, and tooke part with ALBINVS before this battaile: and ſo he leauing *France* and *Germany* in peace and quiet, and ſending into *Britanny* the ordinarie captaines, to keepe the inhabitants in ſubiection and in peace, he came victorious and triumphing to *Rome*, bringing his armie with him, where he was moſt ſolemnely receiued, with great ſhew of ioy and contentment, although that in truth they ſtood in great feare of him: whither when he came, he paid his ſouldiers with larger allowance, then euer theretofore had been ſeene; and the firſt day that he went to the Senate, in diſgrace and deſpite thereof, he renewed the titles and memorie of the wicked Emperour COMMODVS, and made him to be canonized, and adored as a God. He alſo condemned to death, & confiſcated the goods of a great number of noble perſonages of *Rome* which had been Pretors, Conſuls, and Senators, for that he found that they had been friends to ALBINVS, and of his faction, ſhewing letters which he ſaid were written by them, wherein they had offered their perſons and goods to ALBINVS ſeruice; alleaging other reaſons & proofes, which peraduenture were forged. Finally, he vſed great crueltie, and put many to death, whereby he extremely enriched himſelfe both in goods and treaſure, whereof ſome he diſtributed and gaue to others: but principallie, he enriched and aduanced to honor in the higheſt degree, one whoſe name was PLANCIVS, a great fauourite of his, who alſo was an *Africane*, and his countrieman, whom he made Prefect of the Pretorian cohorts, and afterwards he married his ſonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, with his daughter, whoſe name was PLAVTINA; and then he made him his companion and equall, and made the Senat to giue him the enſignes and prerogatiue of the Empire; by reaſon whereof PLANCIVS grew yet more prowd and inſolent. Matters ſtanding in the ſtate as I haue ſaid, the fierce and mightie SEVERVS ſtayed but a ſmall time in *Rome*, in which ſpace he executed many cruelties vpon thoſe which had been friends to NIGER and ALBINVS, putting to death a great number of noble perſonages moſt cruellie and horriblie, together with many matrones, and Romane Ladies: and to the contrary, he ſhewed himſelfe very liberall and bountifull, and beſtowed many fauours vpon others, and became alſo very popular, and ſought to be pleaſing and acceptable to all men, and to that end made the greateſt and moſt coſtlie feaſts and games that euer were made in *Rome*, and deuided money amongſt the people. But he ſtayed but a little while there (as I ſaid) for knowing that matters were in no ſecuritie in *Aſia*, principallie that the Parthians infeſted the bounds and frontiers of the Empire, and deſirous to be reuenged of certaine Kings, which had aſſiſted his enemie NIGER, as he was moſt valorous and deſi-

Seuerus came triumphing into Rome.

Plancius a great fauourite of Seuerus.

rous

rous of honor and warres, although old and gowtie: yet with his accuſtomed celeritie he departed towards the Eaſt, and being come into *Aſia* ſooner then any man would haue beleeued, he preſently began the warre in *Armenia*, marching againſt BARZEMIVS King of the Atrenores, who had been PESCENIVS NIGERS friend: The King of *Armenia* durſt not make any reſiſtance, but ſent him preſents, ſuing for peace, and gaue him ſuch hoſtages as he required. Whereupon finding no reſiſtance, this valiant Emperour returned againſt *Arabia fœlix*, wherein there was a mutinie, and there tooke and ſacked ſome cities: and from thence returned to the frontiers of the Atrenores, and beſieged the citie of *Atras*, or *Atramas*. But being vnable to take it, for that it was very ſtrong and well furniſhed, in great furie he went againſt the Parthians, and the Perſians, and beſieged the famous citie of *Teſiphonte*, wherein King ARTABANVS lay with all his power and houſhold: and after many aſſaults, encounters, and ſlaughters of men of either ſide, he entred the citie by force of armes, and the King eſcaping by flight, his children and treaſure fell into the hands of SEVERVS, which was held for a very great victorie: for the Romanes ſtood in greater feare of the Parthians, then of any other nation of the world.

Seuerus his enterpriſes.

SEVERVS preſentlie wrote to *Rome*, aduertiſing them of his victories and good ſucceſſe, and ſent them the deſcription of the countries, cities, riuers, battailes, and aſſaults which he paſt, drawne and painted in tables.

When he had here ended all things at his pleaſure, he bountifully and liberally paid his Souldiers: and comming into *Paleſtina*, and from thence into *Egypt*: he was deſirous to ſee the Pyramides, and other great and auncient monuments in that Countrey: And from thence he returned to *Rome* in great triumph, loden with the ſpoyles and riches gotten by his victories in the Eaſt. And at this his comming, hee married his eldeſt ſonne to PLAVTINA, daughter of his great fauourite PLANCIVS, which marriage BASSIANVS ANTONINVS ſolemnized much againſt his will; and ſo would not conuerſe or keepe companie with her. Whereupon there began great diſliking and diſſenſion betweene PLANCIVS and BASSIANVS. And PLANCIVS knowing himſelfe to be the richeſt and mightieſt man in all the Empire, and ſeeing that SEVERVS was now old, with whom he was in great fauour; and fearing that if BASSIANVS ſhould ſucceede him and inherite the Empire, he ſhould be ill intreated at his hands: he reſolued to kil both the father and the ſonne, and to make himſelfe Emperour, making choice (to doe this exploite) of a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whereof hee himſelfe was Pretor. But it pleaſed God that this his treaſon was diſcouered by the ſame Tribune: and the ſame day that he thought to haue put the Emperours to death, hee by them was commaunded to bee ſlaine. Which is an excellent hiſtorie, as hee may well perceiue which will reade HERODIANVS: and ſo according to his deſerts with his life, he ended his pride. After that SEVERVS had eſcaped this danger, he ſpent his time in viſiting ſome cities in *Italy*, in hearing complaints and doing iuſtice, and in moſt ſumptuous workes and buildings in *Rome*, and other cities: and ſeeking to bring vp his ſonnes vertuouſly, and by abating their pride, to reconcile them and make vnitie betweene them; for they did ill agree, and were very vnquiet and ill affected the one to the other: He deſired to eſtabliſh peace and amitie betweene them, for that hee had determined that after his death the Empire ſhould be diuided betweene them, and to that end inueſted them both therein: And ſo this poore old Emperour laboured in vaine to reforme the euill inclination of his ſonnes. And liuing in reſt from warre, although not without

domeſticall care, he receiued letters importing, that the inhabitants of great *Britannie* were in armes, and rebelled in ſuch ſort, that his Legions there were in ſuch daunger, that they were at the point either to bee ouercome and loſt, or at leaſt to flie and abandon the countrie; which he tooke very diſpleaſantly. And to the end that the Empire in his daies ſhould not be diminiſhed by the loſſe of that Iland (it being of ſuch importance) hee determined to goe thither himſelfe in perſon to pacifie the ſame. And without any delaying of time, went thitherwards with all his forces: and being arriued in *Britannie*, the inhabitants conceiued ſuch feare, by reaſon of his ſudden comming vpon them, that as hee was a warriour, if he had been inclined to peace, they would haue come to any reaſonable compoſition: but hee rather deſiring to puniſh them, made cruell warre againſt them, which was both very tedious and daungerous, by reaſon of the lakes and many euill paſſages for his men in ſeuerall places in that countrie; ſo as he was conſtrained to make many bridges and other deuices, with wood and timber, for his ſouldiers to paſſe: And ſo hee obtained many victories, and pacified and ſubdued the inhabitants. And to the end that his Legions from thencefoorth might liue in greater ſafety, and that the Picts and Scots ſhould not ſo freely paſſe their bounds, (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and EVTROPIVS report) he commanded a moſt ſtrong wall to be made, which did croſſe the Ile from ſea to ſea, which wall was two and thirtie miles in length, wherein (as I conceiue) hee did but either finiſh, or repaire that wall which the Emperour ADRIAN had made before: which truly was a worke worthie the greatnes of SEVERVS his minde, and the mightie wealth of *Rome*. Which when he at his pleaſure had ended, in like manner as hee had done all his other enterpriſes, his old griefe did ſo much torment him, that he deſired and ſought meanes to end his owne life: and hauing raigned eighteene yeeres and tenne moneths, he died in the ſame Ile of *Britannie*.

The Britaines ſubdued by Seuerus.

The death of Seuerus.

This Emperour was one of thoſe which fought more battailes, and obtained more victories, then any other that euer ruled the Romane Empire before him. For he ouerthrew and brought to confuſion three mightie Romane Emperours, and many other Kings, and ſubdued an infinite number of prouinces and cities. He tooke ſo good order for the preſeruation of his treaſure, and was ſo couetous and greedie in gathering the ſame together, that notwithſtanding his great expences, and the infinite great gifts and rewards which he beſtowed: yet hee left more readie money and treaſure in his treaſurie and Exchequer, then any other Emperour of his predeceſſors. He paid and maintained, and left in the Empire ſo many legions of ſouldiers, that there was no cauſe to feare any King or Nation in the world. Hee left in *Rome* ſo great abundance of wheate, wine and oile, as was ſufficient (as SPARCIANVS writeth) to maintaine and victuall the ſame for fiue yeeres. He erected wonderfull workes and buildings in *Rome*, and in other parts, and in many things perfourmed the part of a good gouernour, and of a wiſe and prudent Prince: So as the Romanes vſed to ſay of him (noting his cruelties and couetouſnes; and afterwards his prouiſions and victories) That it had been good that this Emperour had neuer bin borne, or that he ſhould neuer haue died: and ſo after his death he was highly extolled and commended. He left for his equall ſucceſſors in the Empire his two ſonnes, the one called BASSIANVS, and the other GETA: and when he lay a dying, the laſt words that he ſpake to thoſe which were with him were theſe: When I tooke vpon me the gouernment of the Empire and of the Romane Common-wealth, I found it tyrannized and out of order; and now being old and gowtie, leaue it in peace and ſubiection to my ſonnes (if they

The words of Seuerus at his death.

they prooue good)a firme and ſetled Empire; but if they prooue euill,feeble,and without force,and readie to fall. This good Prince was ſo temperate and ſpare in his diet,that hee did ſeldome eate any fleſh: for his common foode was ſalades, pulſe,and fruites of his countrie; but he vſed to drinke ſomewhat deeper; yet neuer ſo that he was at any time diſtempered therewith. He was of a very comely perſonage, repreſenting authoritie and maieſtie,and was tall of ſtature, and vſed to weare a long white beard; his haire was curled and gray, and he ſpake with a deepe ſounding voice. Finally,his perſonage and minde were fitting for an Emperour of *Rome*. He liued(as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and others do teſtifie) ſeuentie yeeres,and died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and three. *Anno Dom.* 203.

THE LIFE OF BASSIANVS ANTONINVS CARACALLA, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND fourth of thoſe which were called ANTONINI, and of his brother GETA, being the two and twentith Emperour of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the deceaſe of Seuerus,his two ſonnes, Baſſianus Antoninus Caracalla, and Geta,tooke the Empire; which two being borne of ſeuerall mothers (as brothers oftentimes vſe to doe)the one deadly hating the other,ſought one anothers death and deſtruction. But Caracalla which was a warlike man and bloudie, vnable to endure the companie of his brother, which led the life of a Philoſopher rather then of an Emperour: and vnable to endure that his brother for his good parts ſhould be ſo much beloued by the Romane people as he was,failing to kill him ſecretly with poiſon, in the end ſlew him openly in the lap of his mother in law, which was Geta his mother; remaining ſole in the Empire. And knowing himſelfe to be generally hated,he diſpoſed of himſelfe to viſit the Empire: and whereſoeuer he came

he ſought to imitate the faſhions of the countrie wherein he was; ſometimes attiring himſelfe after the Germane faſhion: then after the Greeke: beſides that he would be called Alexander, and be reputed another Achilles, for that he had trauailed the countries of thoſe Princes. He was very inhumane and cruell, and ſo diſhoneſt in his life that hee ſhamed not to marrie his ſtepmother Iulia, which was mother to his brother Geta, who alſo was ſo ſhameleſſe as to conſent to ſo wicked a mariage. But they both ended accordingly as they deſerued: for the Emperour was ſlaine by the practiſe of Macrinus, at ſuch time as he went to eaſe his bodie; and ſhe hearing the newes, falling into deſpaire killed her ſelfe, he hauing held the Empire ſixe yeeres.

SEVERVS being dead, his two ſonnes, which he had by ſeuerall women, accordingly as he had ordained remained Emperours. One of them he had by MARTIA which was his firſt wife; and the other by IVLIA, as is alreadie ſaid. The eldeſt had to name BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, and the other GETA; both very young men, and in vertue farre vnlike to their father, chiefly BASSIANVS CARACALLA which was the eldeſt: Although that in his youth being but a childe, hee ſeemed to make better ſhew of himſelfe, to be of a gentle condition, and of a good wit; and profited very much in learning (as SPARCIANVS writeth) and therefore was much beloued and greatly accounted of: but afterwards, with his yeeres, and the Empire, he altred his condition, and in crueltie not onely ſurpaſſed his father, but any other cruell Prince of all that euer were; as though he had been borne at one birth together with NERO.

So ſoone as he was ſworne Emperour in *England*, where hee then was (for his father carried both his ſonnes with him, and his wife IVLIA alſo, which was mother to the ſecond ſonne) ANTONINVS CARACALLA practiſed with the armie to chuſe him onely for Emperour, and to diſinherite his brother GETA. But the men of warre would not conſent thereto, becauſe that GETA was choſen CESAR and ſucceſſor to his father by them; and BASSIANVS ANTONINVS was nominated by his father SEVERVS. Whereupon being out of hope to bring his purpoſe to effect, accompanied with his brother and mother in law, they agreed to come to *Rome*, and brought with them the bodie or aſhes of their father SEVERVS. But there preſently began ſo many ielouſies and ſuſpitions betweene the two brothers, that it was daily feared that the one would kill the other; notwithſtanding that IVLIA (as though ſhe had been mother to them both) vſed all poſſible meanes to haue pacified them, and to haue brought them to liue louingly and like brothers together: which ſhe could neuer bring to paſſe, and ſo vpon the way either of them did lodge and eate apart; and either of them ſtood vpon his guard, for feare of the other. And being come to *Rome*, were receiued with great ſolemnitie, triumph and ioy; but in their palaces they tooke their lodgings apart, and each of them had his guard and particular officers from the other: and they neuer viſited, ſaw, or ſpake the one to the other, except when they went to the Senate: ſo great was the hatred and enuie which the one bare to the other.

Enmitié betweene Baſſianus and his brother Geta.

The firſt thing they did after their comming to *Rome*, was to burie their father, whom they canonized for a Saint, placing him among the Gods, as the cuſtome was to doe, by thoſe which were good Emperours. And ſeeing that occaſion will often be giuen to reade of ſome Emperours which haue been deified; in my opinion it ſhall not be amiſſe, in this place to recite the ceremonies which were then vſed therein. The order which they held (the Emperour being dead) was to aſſemble the Senate, to conſider whether ſuch an Emperour had deſerued or were worthie to be placed among the Gods or no: and finding him to haue been wicked,

In what manner the Romanes deified their Emperors

wicked, the Senate would not be present at the ceremonies vsed at his funerall: but if he had been a good Prince, they all went in mourning attire to doe him honour at his consecration. The manner to consecrate him, was first to burie him without any ceremonies; then they made his image of wood, which resembled a pale sickly weake man, which they placed vpon a high scaffold ouer the entring into the Pallace; which image was clothed in faire rich attire, and on the one side thereof sate the Senate, and on the other side the Romane Matrons, where they sate from the Sunne rising vntill the comming in of the euening, doing nothing but groane and sigh. This order they obserued the space of seuen dayes, in which the Phisitions came and felt the pulses of this Statue, saying, that the Emperour would surely die: at which words, they lamented and scriched out. The sixt day the Phisitions said that he was dead, then the most auncient men carried the image on horsebacke in a beere to a place, which was called the old place; passing thorough that way which was called *Via Sacra*. In this place was erected an edifice after the fashion of a throne, with staires round about it, and vpon this throne they placed this Image; on the one side of the staires were many children, which were gentlemens sonnes of *Rome*; and on the other side, a number of young Romane damsels which sung some heauie and sorrowfull songs and ditties; and the boyes sung hymnes in praise of the dead Emperour. From thence they carried the Image with the beere to the field of *Mars*, where was another scaffold made of most drie wood, vpon which they placed this Image. Vpon that day people came from all parts of *Italy* to *Rome* to see the solemnitie: and euery one there present, was bound to cast vpon the staires, certaine precious odours of sundrie sorts. After this the Senators made shew of a skirmish on horsebacke; and after them the two Consuls gaue a turne vpon their chariots richly adorned, being followed by all the most ancient old men in *Rome*, and those which had bin Captaines in the warres on foote: all which after that they had gone round about this scaffold, making sundrie shoutes and exclamations, fell to the ground. Then came he which did inherite and succeed in the Empire, and with a burning torch gaue fire to this throne or scaffold; which, for that it was made of most drie wood, in short space was set all on fire.

But before any of these ceremonies were performed, the Senate prouided a great Eagle, which being set on that side where the image of the dead Emperour was, while as this image did burne, the Eagle was very finely let loose; which, according to her nature, mounting aloft into the aire, the people said that it was the Emperors soule which flew to heauen there to inhabite amongst the gods: which HERODIANVS doth write at large in the historie of these two Emperours. GETA the younger brother was of a more gentle nature: for shewing himselfe milde and courteous, he began to be generally well beloued of all men. ANTONINVS CARACALLA was sharpe, and would be obeied for feare; and enuying the loue which he saw al men beare to his brother GETA, & the reputation wherin he was held, he deuised with himself how he might secretly kil him with poison, or otherwise howsoeuer: he also sought to get the goodwill of the Pretorian souldiers, giuing them many gifts, doing them many fauours, & giuing them leaue to do what they listed. So as it was easily to be perceiued, what manner of gouernment there would be in the Empire, wherein were two Emperours with equall power and authoritie, and so contrarie in condition each to other, that being brothers they practised and desired each others death; and in matters of iustice and gouernment were euer contrarie in opinion; and for Captaines and gouernours which were

Bassianus sought meanes to put his brother Geta to death.

were to be made, each ſought to preferre his friends and fauourites, and did the like in chuſing of Conſuls and other Magiſtrates: And ſo all things went by fauours and in contention. And there were committed intolerable diſorders, and iniuries, either of them perſecuting the contrarie faction, without daring to puniſh thoſe which were of their own partie, for feare to make them their enemies: whereof grew an vniuerſall preiudiciall detriment to all the prouinces, and generally to the whole Empire. Wherefore to auoide theſe troubles and inconueniences, ſome practiſed to make a diuiſion of the Empire; and that ANTONINVS BASSIANVS ſhould remaine in *Rome* and gouerne the Weſt; and that GETA ſhould gouerne *Aſia* and all the Eaſt. But this tooke as little effect: for IVLIA, mother to GETA, hindred it, thinking to bring them to ſome compoſition, and to make them friends: and when ſhe thought that ſhe was in the right way to haue brought them to concord and agreement, BASSIANVS CARACALLA, which was more proud and preſumptuous, and who in truth did ſcorne his brother, as well for that he was his younger, as for that he gaue himſelfe more to his booke and to ciuill diſcipline, then to armes and chiualrie; hauing alwaies about him honeſt and learned men: hee determined to kill him in what manner ſoeuer; which hee had till then aſſaied to doe by ſecret and coloured meanes, thinking with himſelfe that he was and ought to be ſole and onely Emperour, and could not endure any riuall or companion in commaund. And with this cruell determination, as they were lodged both in one palace, GETA being one day with his mother, nothing ſuſpecting any open violence, although hee miſtruſted ſecret practiſes: BASSIANVS iuſt at the time wherein euery bodie was at dinner, ſuddenly entred his brothers lodging, and with the aide of thoſe which came with him, ſlew his brother in his mothers armes, before he was able to put himſelfe in defence, or could be reſcued: and hauing committed this deteſtable murder, with the like furie and haſt, as he had done this fact, he ſallied forth at his pallace gates, compaſſed about with his friends and ſeruants, and ſhewing great amazement, cried out, that his brother would haue killed him, and ſaid to thoſe which ſaw him, that he had eſcaped an extreame danger of death, but his innocencie had preſerued him. And calling to his guard, commaunded them to conuay him to his Pretorian Cohorts, where he might remaine in ſafetie, for ſo long as he continued within the citie he ſtood in feare of his life.

Baſſianus ſlew his brother Geta in his mothers armes.

Thoſe which heard him, not knowing what had paſſed, beleeued what he ſaid, and both thoſe which heard him, and heard him not, followed him; and the people began to be much troubled to ſee their Emperour ſo out of ſeaſon, and in ſuch haſte in ſuch maner to go to the camp. When he came to his camp, where in truth by reaſon of his former practiſes, he was better beloued then his brother, the firſt thing that he did was to go to a place apart, where their enſignes and banners were, which they held for religious and ſacred; and then he began with great exclamation to ſay, That he gaue infinite thanks to the gods for deliuering him from ſuch, and ſo imminent a danger. And the ſouldiers flocking about him, maruelling at his ſo vnſeaſonable comming, he put himſelfe in the middeſt of them, and with a huge voice began to implore their aid and ſuccour, telling them that his brother would haue ſlaine him, and being aſſailed by him, was reſcued, and had fought, and God had giuen him the victorie, although with great difficultie; and that he now fled vnto them from the furie of thoſe which would haue ſlaine him. He ſpake and fained the matter with ſuch efficacie, that the ſouldiers beleeued him, and notwithſtanding that he expreſſed not ſo much, yet they plainely

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perceiued that he had ſlaine his brother, as he gaue them to vnderſtand: and incontinentlie he promiſed them, ſeeing that he remained ſole Emperour, that he would beſtow vpon them the accuſtomed fauours, gifts and rewards; and preſentlie ſending for a great ſumme of money which remained of his fathers treaſure, he diuided it amongſt them: wherewith hauing gotten their good wils, although that ſome were hard to be perſwaded thereto, and did contradict it, yet in the end they proclaimed him ſole Emperour, and approued the death of his brother GETA, pronouncing him a rebell, and an enemie to the Romane commonwealth. BASSIANVS remaining all that night in the camp amongſt the ſouldiers, the next day compaſſed with men of warre, returned into *Rome*; and aſſembling the Senate, he went thither, and brought in his guard with him, wherein he made a ſet Oration (which HERODIANVS writeth at large) excuſing himſelfe, and grieuouſlie accuſing his brother, affirming that he was openlie aſſailed by him, but being reſcued, in defending himſelfe, he had ſlaine his brother. The Senators, ſome for that they were his fauourits, and others for feare, approoued his death: and he to iuſtifie his wickednes with greater crueltie, began to proceede againſt men of all eſtates, as though that they all had been guiltie, and had practiſed his death, committing infinite murthers and cruelties. Firſt, he commaunded all his brothers ſeruants to be ſlaine, together with many Senators and Romane Knights, which had taken his brothers part. He alſo made PLAVTINA, the daughter of PLANCIVS which had been his wife, to be put to death. He ſlew POMPEIANVS nephew to the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS the Philoſopher, and ſonne of LVCILLA and of POMPEIANVS. He cauſed alſo all the Gouernours and Captaines to be ſlaine, which his brother had placed in the Prouinces. To conclude, he murthered an infinite number of principall men, and men of eſtate: ſo as in all parts of *Rome* moſt horrible murthers and cruelties were committed, for which he is accounted one of the worſt and moſt cruell Emperours that euer ruled the Romane Empire, and was generallie hated and abhorred of all men, ſauing of the Pretorian ſouldiers only, whoſe loue and good will he bought with his money, and therewith did continue them for his friends (by ſuffring and induring them, and giuing them libertie in all things) permitting them to commit whatſoeuer outrage or inſolencie they would. Hauing exerciſed himſelfe in theſe abhominable cruelties, his owne conſcience accuſing him, and knowing how much he was abhorred in *Rome*, he determined to depart from thence, and to go to viſit all the prouinces of the Empire, which he did, and in his iourney plaid many mad pranks, ſome of which in truth were very ridiculous. And purpoſing to go into *Germany*, where *Rome* euer held great armies in garriſon againſt the northerly nations, which could neuer be brought to any perfect ſubiection: he gaue it out in ſpeeches that he went to reforme the legions, and to viſit the prouinces: and taking his way towards the riuer *Danubius*, where (to win the harts of that countrey people) he followed the faſhions vſed in that countrey, hunting and killing fierce wild beaſts, and apparelled himſelfe as a Germane, praiſing and eſteeming their faſhions better, then the faſhions of the Romanes, and choſe ſuch of the Germane ſouldiers as ſeemed to be moſt ſtrong and actiue for his guard. He ſought alſo to win the good will of other men of warre, ſhewing himſelfe very affable and ſociable, helping them in perſon in their bodily exerciſes, eating and drinking with them ſuch things as they did, and doing many other things like a ſouldier, and a man of warre: whereby he made himſelfe beloued both of the one and the other, although that he forbare not to commit ſundrie

Crueltie vſed by Baſſianus, in putting many great men to death.

Baſſianus his trauailes and faſhions.

drie cruelties, killing certaine principall men amongſt them.

And hauing ſet all matters in ſuch order as he thought good in *Germany*, taking his way towards *Thracia*, he paſſed through *Macedonia*, where a notable folly poſſeſſed him: for heere he made ſhew to be much affected to ALEXANDER the Great, and to publiſh his noble acts; and ſent commaundement to erect his ſtatue in many parts of *Rome*; among which he ſet vp one with two faces, the one reſembling ALEXANDER, and the other himſelfe, deſiring to make others to beleeue (himſelfe being ſo perſwaded) that he did very much reſemble him: and for that he had read that ALEXANDERS neck ſtood alittle awry towards one ſhoulder, he counterfeited the like; and ſo within few dayes, of an *Almaine*, he was become a *Macedonian* in apparell, behauiour and faſhion; and one ſquadron of his army he commaunded to be called a Phalanx, for ſo were they called in that kingdome; and ſome of his Captaines he cauſed to be called by the names of ſome of ALEXANDERS Captaines. Hauing made this ſhew in *Græcia*, he tooke his way towards *Aſia*, where he deſired to ſee the ruines and relicks of *Troy*; and ſeeing the Sepulchre of ACHILLES, another humour tooke him, which was to reſemble ACHILLES; ſo as he ſeemed to trauell the countries like a Player, with Comedies and making ſhewes; at which his lightnes and mutabilitie, the Romanes which were with him were much diſcontented and aſhamed.

Extreame crueltie executed by Baſſianus vpon the citizens of Alexandria.

Trauelling through *Aſia* the leſſe, and thence into *Soria*, he went into *Egypt* (as he ſaid) to ſee the citie of *Alexandria*, becauſe that ALEXANDER the great was founder thereof, where he was moſt ſolemnely receiued, and with great ioy, for which he ill requited them: for although that he ſhewed them a pleaſant countenance, yet ſecretly he was very angry with them: for he vnderſtood that they had vſed quips and ieſts of him behind his back, and gaue him nicknames conformable to his vices, and the cruelties which he committed. Matters, in truth, not ſo hainous as could deſerue ſo cruell puniſhment, as that which he inflicted, which was: that the people being vpon a day aſſembled together to ſee certaine publike paſtimes, he made them to be compaſſed about by his ſouldiers, and an infinite number of them of all ages, conditions, and degrees to be ſlaine, to the great feare, griefe, and terror of the whole citie.

After this his ſo great inhumanitie done in *Egypt*, he returned towards *Paleſtina*, and trauelling towards the Eaſt with a very mightie armie, of his fathers excellent old ſouldiers: he inuaded the land of the Parthians, which ſuſpected no ſuch matters, and did great ſpoile in their conuntries (as SPARCIANVS, SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR, and HERODIANVS doe write) for vpon ſafe conduit and aſſurance of peace which he made to the Parthians, he obtained ſome victories, deceiuing their King ARTABANVS, giuing him to vnderſtand that he came of purpoſe to marrie with his daughter, and the other comming to receiue him in peaceable manner, was ſodainly ſet vpon. But the King (by great hap) eſcaped by flight. And although that this his victorie were of ſmall importance, yet he made great boaſt, writing to *Rome* long and proud letters thereof; and in all theſe actions he forbare not to be cruell: but to gouerne vprightly and to doe iuſtice, as he ought to haue done, he tooke no care. He was very gluttonous, and vnmeaſurably giuen to wine, luxurie and diſhoneſtie of life, ſo as he married with his own mother in law, IVLIA: yet HERODIANVS maketh no mention thereof, but ſeemeth to be of a contrarie opinion; for he euer ſpeaketh of IVLIA, as though ſhe had been mother both to BASSIANVS and GETA: But SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth it, and alſo EVSEBIVS, EVTROPIVS and SPARCIANVS ſay, that

Gluttonie and incontinencie of Baſſianus.

it

it passed in this manner. IVLIA was a most faire woman, and vpon a day, the mother and the sonne in law standing talking together, she carelesly or dishonestly, as it afterwards appeared, letting fall a vaile which she ware, discouered part of her brest: which when BASSIANVS saw, he said, if it were lawfull, I would haue that which I see: she forgetting all honestie, and that she was mother to GETA whom BESSIANVS had slaine, answered, to thee any thing that thou desirest is lawfull: dost thou not know, that the Emperour maketh lawes and is subiect to none. When he heard her say so, setting aside all dutie and loyaltie which he ought to his dead father, and his liuing mother in law, he resolued to marrie her, and celebrated his nuptials with the mother of his brother whom he had bereaued of life. But to returne to the Historie of his life, it passed in this manner, that comming from his inuasion against the Parthians, he staied some daies in the countrie of *Mesopotamia:* for that countrie was excellent good and commodious for hunting & other sports, wherein within few daies, hauing raigned full sixe yeeres, he was slaine by treason. The manner whereof HERODIANVS writeth, and saith, that he was much addicted to Mathematicians and Astrologians, and gaue great credit vnto them; and in all matters vsed their opinions and iudgements, and had in *Rome* and with him all the Astrologers that he could get; wherein he resembled his father SEVERVS, who did the like. And being fearefull of conspiracies, knowing what he had deserued; he sent to MATERNVS who was the greatest and most priuate friend that he had, whom he left gouernour of *Rome*, commaunding him secretly to assemble all the best Astrologers that he could get, and demaund of them what death he should die; and procure them to giue their opinions, whether that any conspired or practized his death or no. MATERNVS did that which the Emperour commaunded in the foote of his letter, and with great haste answered him (either faining it, or being so aduertised by the Astrologers) that MACRINVS which was his Prefect, and with him in *Mesopotamia*, went about to kill him, and that therefore he should in any case presently dispatch him out of the way; for so did the Astrologers aduise him. Which letter he sent sealed, and made it vp amongst other letters, to be the more secretly conueyed. The whole packet was giuing to the Emperour as he was going into his chariot, to runne for a wager with other chariots; which was a kinde of sport, wherein he tooke much pleasure, and was greatly vsed in those daies. And he for that he would not giue ouer that which hee had pretended, gaue his letters to the said MACRINVS to reade, and afterwards to make relation to him of the contents thereof. MACRINVS reading all these letters, met with that wherein BASSIANVS was counselled to put him to death, whereat he was much astonished, and concealing that letter, made relation to the Emperour of the contents of all the rest. And considering with himselfe that he which wrote that letter would doubtlesse write another, and that at length he should surely die; he resolued first to dispatch the Emperour out of the way: and ruminating vpon the matter, he bethought himselfe of a lustie strong fellow, a Centurion of the Emperours guard, called MARTIALL, who being discontented, murmured against the Emperour and secretly hated him, for that he had caused a brother of his to be slaine, and he himselfe was ill entreated and disgraced. MACRINVS conceiuing this man to be fit for his purpose, after some other discourse told him, that seeing that he had oportunitie to kill the Emperour being euer neere vnto him, hauing charge of his person, hee ought to reuenge the death of his brother, and then flie to him: which with others of his faction would protect and defend him against al such as should

A monstrous fact.

ſeeke to offend him. Some daies after that MACRINVS had laid this plot, it happened that the Emperour comming from a temple wherein hee had been neere to a citie called *Carras*; and riding ſmally accompanied towards the citie, he withdrew himſelfe out of the way behinde a buſh, to doe ſuch things as nature required; with one Page with him to hold his horſe, the reſt for manners ſake being withdrawne: which when MARTIALL perceiued, being one of them, faining that the Emperour had called him vpon ſome neceſſarie occaſion, he ranne haſtily vnto him; and before that he was perceiued, ſtabbed him in behinde; whereof he preſently fell downe dead. SPARCIANVS ſaith, that comming to helpe the Emperour to horſe, he ſtabd him in with his poiniard, and that MARTIALL returning to take horſe, from which he was alighted, he by little and little withdrew himſelfe from the company: but the Page bringing newes of the Emperours death, he began to flie ſo faſt as his horſe could runne; but could not make ſuch ſpeede, but that he was ouertaken by the *Germaine* horſemen of the Emperours guarde: which preſently killed him. The death of BASSIANVS being vnderſtoode by thoſe which accompanied him, there grew a great tumult among them, without knowing with whom to be angrie; for as then it was vnknowne by whoſe order hee was ſlaine, and comming to the dead body of the Emperour the firſt that came to his aide was MACRINVS, who weeping and lamenting, ſeemed to be very ſorrowfull, and no man ſuſpecting him or any other, all men imagining that MARTIALL had murthered BASSIANVS vpon paſſion; and for ſome priuate reuenge. And taking the Emperours dead body they burnt it, according to the cuſtome then: and putting his aſhes into a potte, they ſent them to his wife, and mother in law IVLIA, which was in *Antioche*, who being in deſpaire poiſoned her ſelfe: and ſo they both had ſuch ends as they deſerued. BASSIANVS at the time of his death was fully three and fortie yeeres old, hauing raigned ſixe yeeres Emperour. He left one ſonne which was very yong, whoſe name was ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, which he had by his wife whoſe name was SEMIRA, as SPARCIANVS writeth, AVRELIVS VICTOR calleth her SEMEA, a very diſhoneſt woman and his coſen Germane; which liued like a ſtrumpet. ANTONINVS BASSIANVS was by his ſurname called CARACALLA, for a certaine kind of apparrell which he gaue to the people of *Rome*: he died in the yeere of our Lord 219.

The death of Baſſianus Caracalla.

THE

THE LIFE OF OPILIVS MACRINVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND THE THREE AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ONe Audentius hauing refuſed the Empire; for his excuſe, alleadged his olde age to bee vnfit for the troubles of ſo important a gouernment: but Macrinus without any ſuch conſideration accepted thereof, it being offered him by the ſouldiers, notwithſtanding that hee was the author of the death of Caracalla. He tooke the Empire, made head againſt Artabanus King of Perſia, who roſe in armes againſt the Romanes in reueng of the iniuries done by Caracalla; and being come to a fight which continued two daies, in the end they came to an agreement: Artabanus vnderſtanding of the opprobrious death of his enemie. But that fortune which had prepared a troubleſome raigne for Macrinus, ſaw him no ſooner out of one daunger, but it caſt him into another farre greater, which was this; that Heliogabalus a youth of fifteene yeeres old, being by the meanes of an old woman made Emperour, it behooued him to fight with him; and being ouerthrowne, fled vnknowne through Aſia the leſſe, with intent to come to Rome; but being ouertaken by the ſouldiers which purſued him, in a citie wherein he fell ſicke, he was ſlaine, together with his ſonne Diadumenus; whom he had made his companion in the Empire: Hauing raigned onely fourteene monethes.

BAssianvs being dead, a councell was held in the armie concerning the election of a new Emperour: for there was little account made of his ſonne Antoninvs Heliogabalvs; aſwell for that he was but a child, as alſo for that his mother led ſuch a life, that it was doubted whether

he were the ſonne of BASSIANVS or no. In the army beſides MACRINVS which was Pretorian Prefect, was AVDENTIVS, a man of good ſort and of yeeres, very expert in the warres, and an excellent Captaine: of theſe two they were in great doubt, whether they ſhould chooſe, and in this doubt they remained two daies, and in the end they determined to chooſe AVDENTIVS, who was a diſcreet old man, little regarded the Empire, and conſidering the perils and diſorders, would not accept thereof, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his great age, alleaging, that he was not able to gouerne the Empire as it ought to be, a thing ſeldome ſeene that any man would refuſe the Empire of the world. The men of warre perceiuing that AVDENTIVS would not accept of the Empire, preſentlie made choiſe of MACRINVS, who was the author of the murther and death of BASSIANVS, and ſo was he choſen, and gladly accepted of their election. This MACRINVS was of a very baſe ſtock & parentage, and which with ſmall deſerts, and by way of fauour attained to the office of Pretorian Prefect. So ſoone as he was choſen Emperour, he made a notable flattering Oration to the army, and payed the ſouldiers, and diſtributed much money among them, thereby throughly to win their loue and good will, and addreſſed himſelfe with all haſte againſt ARTABANVS King of the Parthians, who came with great power againſt the Romanes, to be reuenged of the iniurie which BASSIANVS had done them, knowing nothing of his death. He alſo preſentlie nominated and choſe a ſonne of his for his companion in the Empire, whoſe name was DIADVMENVS, whom he made to be called ANTONINVS, aſwell to take away the ſuſpicion of the death of ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, as for that the name of ANTONINVS was very acceptable to the Romanes, in remembrance of the good Emperours ANTONINVS PIVS, and MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS: for all theſe Emperours did leaue their owne names, or together with them did take the name of ANTONINI, vntill that for the abominable and execrable life of ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, they left it, as we will preſentlie declare. He alſo wrote long letters to the Senate and people of *Rome*, reciting the manner of his election, and deſiring them to approue the ſame, with many ſolemne oathes that he was not guiltie of the death of BASSIANVS. The Senate being certified of the death of BASSIANVS, approued the election of MACRINVS, and the election and companie of his ſonne in the Empire.

Audentius refuſed the Empire.

Opilius Macrinus choſen Emperour.

This new Emperour MACRINVS, and his ſonne DIADVMENVS going againſt ARTABANVS and the Parthians, which came very ſtrong both in footemen, in horſemen, and alſo brought many camels with them, and the two armies came to a moſt cruell battaile which laſted two daies together, wherein both the Romanes and the Parthians fought ſo valiantlie, that in both daies the darke night parted the fray, and either partie cried victorie, victorie, although that in truth there was none: for the ſlaughter and number of the dead and wounded was equall.

A cruell battell betweene Macrinus and Artabanus.

MACRINVS knowing that ARTABANVS came greatly enraged by reaſon of the iniurie done him by BASSIANVS, ſent him Heraulds and Ambaſſadors, certifying him of the death of BASSIANVS: and moreouer that if he deſired the friendſhip of the Romanes, that he would graunt it. ARTABANVS being aduertiſed of the death of his enemie BASSIANVS, was very ioyfull of the newes: for vntill then he had no intelligence thereof, and was alſo glad of the peace offred him, which he accepted vpon condition that all ſuch priſoners as were taken by BASSIANVS through treacherie in time of truce, ſhould be reſtored; which was accordinglie performed, and they concluded a peace; and the King of the Parthians returned

Peace betwene Macrinus and Artabanus vpon conditions.

returned home to his countrey; and MACRINVS to *Antioch* in *Soria*. Where he gaue himselfe ouer to lust and sensualitie, forgetting the gouernment of the Empire, delaying his going to *Rome*, whither by letters from thence he was dayly sollicited to come, wherein he committed a very great errour: for if he had left his army, and had gone to *Rome*, and there setled himselfe in the gouernment of the Empire, without all doubt both his raigne and life had lasted longer; but he taking no care of that which he ought to haue done, and which most concerned him, gaue himselfe in *Antioch* to pastimes, pleasures, and banketting: whereat the Romane souldiers began much to murmure, and to make little account of him, moued thereto through their desire to returne into their countrey. They also much abhorred him for that he did most cruellie punish them: for in those times loyaltie was so out of vse, and men of warre had such libertie, were so audacious, and had taken such a custome to make Emperours, that they presentlie began to repine and murmure, yea and boldlie to speake ill of MACRINVS, and to wish his death, within a little more then one yeare after that they had giuen him the Empire, and within few dayes after plotted the same in this manner. In a citie of *Phœnicia* called *Emesa*, was yong ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, who had there a Grandmother, sister to IVLIA wife of SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, which afterwards married with her sonne in law BASSIANVS, sonne of the same SEVERVS. This his Grandmother whose name was MESA, had there another nephew called ALEXIANVS, of whom more shall be said hereafter, and she also had in her companie SIMIAMIRA, mother of the said ANTONINVS, and another which was sister to ALEXIANVS.

The causes of the death of Macrinus.

This MESA was a very rich woman both in iewels and money: for she had been mother in lawe to two Emperours, the father and the sonne, and it is to be beleeued that in their life time there were infinit bribes and gifts bestowed vpon her, and so she remained there after the death of BASSIANVS with her daughters and nephewes. These two cosins her nephewes, MESA made Priests in a most sumptuous Temple which she builded and consecrated to the Sunne, from whence it grew that this ANTONINVS was called HELIOGABALVS, which is as much to say, as a Priest of the Sunne: for the Phœnicians did call the Sun HELIOGABALVS, to which Temple for their vaine deuotions sake came many Romane souldiers of the legions which lay there in garrison, and many from MACRINVS his camp also; which this MESA Grandmother to these youths entertained very courteously, bestowing many gifts vpon them; and she shewing them her nephew HELIOGABALVS, vsed to tell them that this her nephew was sonne to their Emperour BASSIANVS, whom MACRINVS had slaine by treason. With these and such like effectuall speeches, she brought the matter so to such passe, that what with the courtesie which she vsed towards them, and also for that the boy was a most fine child, they generallie began to affect him, some by seeing him, and others by report of him; so as the whole armie loued him, and desired that he might be their Lord and Emperour. And to the contrarie, MACRINVS being generallie hated of all men, some Coronels and Captaines moued by the gifts and large promises made by this MESA vnto them, the greatest part agreed that she should send ANTONINVS to their Camp, and then they would proclaime him Emperour. The good old woman which had bin vsed to Emperours courts, setting all other matters apart, tooke her nephew by the hand and went with him to the Camp, and he presentlie was receiued for Emperour, and they sware obedience vnto him (as writeth HERODIANVS.) But IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS saith,

The policie of Mesa to make Heliogabalus Emperour.

Heliogabalus made Emperour.

saith, that certaine of MACRINVS his legions being in a mutinie came to seeke HELIOGABALVS. But howsoeuer, as both the one and the other might be, HELIOGABALVS accepted of the Empire, being but fifteene yeeres old: and the matter being published abroad, the newes thereof caused great alteration in mens minds, and all men began to affect him, for that he was both sonne and nephew to Emperours, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which they held for blessed and sacred. MACRINVS presently vnderstood these newes in *Antioch*, where hee then was, and made lesse account therof then he ought to haue done, iesting at HELIOGABALVS, for that he was but a childe, and at his mother and grandmother, deeming it sufficient to send a Captaine of his whose name was IVLIANVS, with certaine legions to besiege, and so to ruinate him: which (as it was thought) hee might easily haue accomplished, if hee had himselfe gone presently thither in person. When IVLIANVS with his troupes came, HELIOGABALVS forces were not of sufficient power to giue him battaile; but being in their camp, which was well fortified and victualled, they suffered themselues to bee besieged: but souldiers of the one side conferring with those of the other; and those of the Campe shewing young HELIOGABALVS to IVLIANVS his souldiers, putting them in minde of his father, perswaded them to follow him. Whereof it insued, that they not onely did so, but apprehending their Captaine IVLIANVS, smote off his head, and went ouer to HELIOGABALVS; and the one and the other made such an armie, that MACRINVS determined with his whole power to come and make head against HELIOGABALVS: and doing so, they ioyned battell in the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; wherein conscience and feare made HELIOGABALVS souldiers to fight valiantly; and of MACRINVS side only the Pretorian souldiers fought well, but all the rest of his armie fought retchlesly, and great part thereof abandoning him went ouer to HELIOGABALVS: wherefore he accounting himselfe lost and forlorne, fled from the battaile; and so HELIOGABALVS had the victorie. MACRINVS and his sonne, with certaine of their friends which would not forsake him, trauailed with the greatest speed that they could make, secretly, through the cities of *Asia* the lesse, and came into *Bithynia*, with determination to get to *Rome*; where MACRINVS knew that his comming was much desired. But falling grieuously sick in the city of *Chalcedonia*, those which HELIOGABALVS sent to pursue him, found him there; and bringing letters and commaundement to the citie, through the fame of HELIOGABALVS his victorie they were obeyed; and MACRINVS lying sicke, voide of all fauour and friendship, together with his sonne, was there put to death, within one yeere and two moneths after that hee was chosen Emperour. And being dead, all men fixed their eyes and thought vpon HELIOGABALVS.

Iulianus a captaine sent by Macrinus slaine by his owne souldiers.

A battaile vvhere Heliogabalus had the victorie, and Macrinus fled.

Macrinus falling sicke in Calcedonia, being ouertaken by such as Heliogabalus sent after him, was by them slaine.

Surely it is a wonderfull and pitifull matter to consider of the infelicitie and miserie of those times, to see how many Emperours were murthered, and how wicked and vitious the most part of them were, and how small time they raigned; and that which maketh me most to wonder, is to thinke how lightly they were slaine, notwithstanding that they were Lords of the whole world. And how easie a matter it was for a Captaine, hauing the fauour and friendship of fiue or sixe Legions, to make himselfe to be obeyed. So as it seemeth that he which first had intelligence of the Emperors death, and was any thing friended, and therewith durst to aduenture, was commonly chosen for his successor, as wee said of IVLIANVS: And that which is worse, that he which murdered the last Emperour commonly became his heire; as wee see in MACRINVS and others. And touching him, of whom

whom wee now diſcourſe, one feeble old woman, and a childe of fourteene or fifteene yeeres old were ſufficient to ouerthrow and ruinate him, being an ancient, wiſe and mightie Emperour, and to bereaue him both of his life and Empire, and quietly and in peace to enioy the ſame (if the contentment and rule of the wicked may be called peace and quietnes:) whereby it appeareth more cleere then the light, how variable and inconſtant all things are in this world; and that there is no other firme and ſtable dominion or kingdome, but in the ſeruice of God: whereof the faithfull Chriſtians in thoſe daies had eſpecial care, and ſought no worldly dominion, Magiſtracies, nor Empire, but to liue holie and vprightly: and ſo contemning the world, attained the euerlaſting kingdome of heauen. And theſe vnhappie Infidels forbare not to commit and execute any crueltie or treaſon whatſoeuer, ſo as they might thereby get the ſupreme gouernment and commaund, although it were but for three daies. And God for their ſinnes permitted (for the example of others) that by the ſame meanes whereby they obtained it, by the ſelfe ſame they commonly loſt it; being either put to death by the ſword, or elſe by treaſon, as they had done by others. And that which is worſt of all, together with their bodies, they loſt their miſerable ſoules; in ſuch ſort, as is ſaid, it happened to the Emperour M. ACRINVS, who died in the yeere of our Lord two hundred and twentie.

THE LIFE OF HELIOGABALVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, FIFT OF THOSE WHICH were called ANTONINI, and foure and twentith Emperor of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

HEliogabalus being a Prieſt of the Sunne, attaining to the Empire of Rome, ſo ſoone as he had taken the Imperiall dignitie became ſo wicked, that in filthines he farre ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors.

deceſſors. He was moſt diſhoneſt in his life, more then befitted a laſciuious and intemperate man, and was ſo addicted to women, that he graunted them to hold a Senate by themſelues. When he was neere to the ſea, he would eate no meates but ſuch as were bred farre within the land: and when he was farre from it, he would eate nothing but ſea-fiſh; neither would he eate of any thing that was not of an exceſſiue price. He was inclined to no kind of vertue, neither regarded any but paraſites, ruffians, bawds, and ſuch like perſons, and all his actions were ſo abominable, and his riotouſnes ſo great, that to write the ſame, were to amaſſe an heape of villanie. He made one which was his coſin germane, Caſar, a very honeſt and vertuous young man, whoſe name was Alexianus. He was ſlaine by his ſouldiers, who for that they could not caſt him into a moſt filthie ditch, trailed him through the citie, and threw him into the riuer Tiber, he hauing held the Empire for a certaine time, the truth whereof is incertaine; writers doe ſo much differ therein. And had ſuch a death as his moſt filthie life had deſerued.

MACRINVS dying as he deſerued, ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, without any contradiction, was made Emperour: who in truth proued to be ſuch, that in hiſtories there ought no memoriall to be held of him, nor mention to be made of his life; to the end that if it were poſſible, no man ſhould know that ſuch a monſter as he was, had euer attained to the maieſtie of the Romane Empire, if wee had not alreadie written the liues of CALIGVLA, NERO, VITELLIVS, COMMODVS, and ſuch others. But as one ground commonly produceth vnholeſome hearbes full of poiſon, and which kill; and likewiſe good and holeſome, which heale, and alſo feedeth both ſheepe and ſerpents: ſo in our hiſtorie in recompence of theſe wicked Princes, we will oppoſe OCTAVIAN, VESPASIAN, TITVS, TRAIANE, ADRIAN, ANTONINVS PIVS, MARCVS AVRELIVS, and in part SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, which were ſingular Emperours, and gouerned the Empire with ſuch wiſedome and equitie as was requiſite. And ſo the vices of the one are to be manifeſted, as well as the vertues of the other, to the end, that if any Princes of our time ſhall reade their liues, hee may ſee how abominable and deteſtable their doings were: and ſo eſchewing the euill, and making choiſe of the good, may follow the ſame: and may conſider how little a while thoſe cruell vicious Emperours raigned, and what ſhamefull and vnluckie ends they made: and how that the good liued and gouerned longer time, and ended their daies in peace and quiet, dying of their naturall death, except ſome, which were murthered by traitors, to vſurpe the Empire.

But comming to HELIOGABALVS, after that he had obtained the victory, and that MACRINVS was ſlaine, & he choſen for Emperor, he wrote the moſt louing and kind letters to *Rome* that could be imagined: but the Senate and people of *Rome* did hardly digeſt the newes, for they would rather haue had MACRINVS: but daring to doe nothing to the contrarie, they yeelded obedience to HELIOGABALVS; of whom they preſently conceiued a good hope, for that which they heard of his gallant feature, and of the good conſtitution of his bodie, and for the names ſake of ANTONIVNS, which in *Rome* was exceedingly much beloued and reſpected. In the beginning of his raigne (by reaſon of his ſmall age) all things were ordered by the counſell and direction of his grandmother MESA, and her fauourits; who taking order for all matters in the Eaſt, determined to come ſpeedily to *Rome* with the young Emperour, which ſhe put in execution: but was driuen to ſtay longer then ſhe purpoſed, by reaſon of the winter which was very tempeſtuous: wherefore ſhe wintred in *Bithynia*, where hee began to diſcouer his wicked inclination, giuing himſelfe to moſt odible luxurie, and apparelling himſelfe

Meſa grandmother and gouerneſſe of Heliogabalus.

ſelfe in ſuch attire as was farre vnfit for an Emperour, and feeding on moſt delicious fare, gaue himſelfe ouer to al ſenſualitie: which faults his prudent old grandmother endeuoured by ſpeech and good admoniſhment to reforme and amend: but ſhe nothing profited therein. Being come to *Rome*, he was moſt ſolemnely receiued, where he ſpent the whole time of his raigne in ſuch manner, that we haue nothing elſe to write of this Emperour, but of his abominable vices; which were ſuch, that I neither can nor will deſcribe them for the filthines thereof. The firſt thing that he tooke in hand after his comming to *Rome*, was to build a Temple to his god the Sunne, or HELIOGABALVS, whoſe Prieſt he had bin in *Phœnicia*; he would and procured that the Chriſtians (whoſe number at that time was infinite) ſhould alſo hold that for a Temple, and therein ſhould vſe their ceremonies, make their prayers and doe their deuotion. But it pleaſed not God to permit that the Sunne being a creature, ſhould, in Temples and worſhip, be made equall to the Creator. He ſhewed himſelfe ſo effeminate and ſo addicted to the feminine ſex, that the firſt time that he went to the Senate, he carried his mother SYMIAMIRA with him, and tooke order that her opinion ſhould be demaunded in all cauſes; and that from thencefoorth ſhe ſhould be preſent when any matters of importance were determined: a thing neuer ſeene that any woman vntill then, had any voice in the Senate of *Rome*. After this he made a Chapter-houſe or Senate apart, where women ſhould meete and conſult of, what apparell and attire the Romane Matrones ſhould weare: And proceeding to a farre more ſhamefull practiſe, hee commaunded certaine Stewes to be made in his Palaces of common women, for his friends and his fauourits. And delighting himſelfe ſo much in the companie of ſuch, he commaunded vpon a day all the women that could bee found of that name and life, to be aſſembled together; and he clad in womans attire came into the place where they were, and made a very ſet and ſtudied oration vnto them, calling them *Commilitones*, a word vſed by Captains to their ſouldiers when they would doe them honour; by calling them their fellowes and companions in armes. And the matters which therein were treated of, were inuentions and meanes how to vſe their filthines and abomination: and thither he brought with him, ruffians and bawdes, which were his brokers in thoſe deteſtable actions and meetings. In truth this HELIOGABALVS was ſo deteſtable in all manner of vices, that it cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed. He was ſo great a ſpender and ſo prodigall in his attire, and in the furniture of his houſe, in his fare and diet, and his other follies, that that which is written of him ſeemeth incredible. HERODIANVS and ÆLIVS LAMPRIDIVS write his life, wherein they recount moſt ſtraunge matters, beſides what other authors report of him. All his ſtudie and care was, to deuiſe how hee might ſpend exceſſiuely, and to finde out ſuch dainties and delicates, as neuer had been thought of. Hee neuer ſate but amongſt ſweete ſmelling flowers, mixed with Amber, Muske, and other moſt exquiſite ſweete odours; neither would he eate any thing that ſhould not be of an exceſſiue price, and ſought meanes to make all thoſe things which he did eate to be moſt coſtly; and vſed to ſay, that that meate had no taſte, which was not deare bought. He attired himſelf in cloath of gold and purple, ſet with pearles and moſt precious ſtones: and euen in his ſhooes he wore ſtones of ineſtimable value. The chamber wherein he lay and all his palace, was furniſhed with cloath of gold, of ſiluer, and of ſilke; and his beds were of cloath of gold, of ſiluer, and of ſilke, couered with Roſes and ſweete flowers; among which were ſtrawed many iewels and pearles: And all the way whereupon hee ſhould ſet his feete, betweene his chamber and the place where

Heliogabalus built a temple in Rome, and dedicated the ſame to the Sunne.

A Senate of women made in Rome by Heliogabalus.

The prodigalitie of Heliogabalus.

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he tooke horſe or coach, when he would ride abroad, he made to be couered with the powder of gold and ſiluer: for hee diſdained to tread vpon the earth, as other men did. All his tables, cheſts, chaires, and veſſels of ſeruice for his chamber, euen to the baſeſt offices, as cloſe ſtooles, chamber-pots, and ſuch like, were all of fine gold. He made no account of wax light, but had in his hall and chambers great lampes, which in ſteed of oile burned moſt excellent Balſame, brought from *Iudea* and *Arabia*: and euen his very vrinals were made of Onyx and other moſt precious ſtones. His expences were ſo infinite and ſo exceſſiue, that no Kings reuenewes in the world were ſufficient to defray the charge thereof, but his onely: for he did eate and deuoure all the reuenewes and rents of *Spaine*, *France*, *Africa*, part of *Germanie*, *Italie*, *England*, *Sicilia*, *Græcia*, *Aſia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and of all the Ilands and prouinces of the world; and yet all this was not ſufficient but that he endured want, by reaſon of his prodigious expences: for hee neuer ware any one ſute of apparell twice, being ſuch as wee haue ſaid. His fingers were euer full of rings, and thoſe which he had once put off, he neuer ware any more: and ſo in plate of gold or ſiluer, he would neuer drinke twice of one cup, which hee gaue to him that ſerued and attended on him that day. And the very Bathes wherein hee did vſe to bathe himſelfe, muſt be new builded and furniſhed with perfumes, and moſt precious odours; and after once bathing they were to be throwne downe: ſo as they builded new Bathes continually. His mattreſſes and beds were neither of wooll, flox, nor feathers; but of the fine flaxe of Hares, and of the downe growing vnder the wings of Partridges. He made certaine feaſts in *Rome*, which were the greateſt and moſt coſtly that euer were made: and hee made to the citizens and to the ſouldiers a doale and diſtribution of money and corne, to an indicible value. After the feaſts and ſacrifices were ended, he gaue to the people (as HERODIANVS reporteth) a great abundance of plate, of gold, ſiluer, and other iewels; which truly was the cauſe why they endured this deteſtable man the ſmall time that he liued in the Empire: for the deſire of thoſe gifts and benefits which they enioyed by him, as alſo for that his grandmother, being a moſt wiſe and diſcreete woman, ſought by all meanes to reforme his voluptuous ſenſualitie and rioting, and to procure a good order in the gouernment. But there were great oppreſſions in the prouinces; and the barbarous nations inuaded the frontiers of the Empire. For he gaue all offices and places of charge vnto wicked men, which did accompanie him in his abominations, and by their counſell hee was gouerned: for depriuing all good and vertuous men from all charge, he ſent them into exile.

Zoticus a fauourite of Heliogabalus.

Among which his fauourites, one whoſe name was ZOTICVS was ſo priuate, and in ſuch fauour with him, that hee was held as a Lord ouer all the reſt. This mans counſell was as a law vnto him, and by his direction all offices and Magiſtracies were ſold; and he made Conſuls ſuch as were the ſonnes of ſlaues and men of moſt baſe condition. The like order he obſerued in the chuſing of Captaines and Lieutenants, giuing thoſe charges vnto baſe and ſimple men: for which and his other vices, notwithſtanding that they made benefit of his prodigalitie, yet both the people and ſouldiers began to wiſh his death, ſo as he was oftentimes in great daunger thereof. Which when his mother and grandmother perceiued, they perſwaded him to adopt his coſin germane ALEXIANVS, and to make him his companion in the Empire, who was the ſon of MAMEA his mothers ſiſter, which he performed accordingly, and ALEXIANVS was called ALEXANDER SEVERVS; ALEXANDER after the name of the great ALEXANDER K. of *Macedonia*; and SEVERVS after SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, grandfather to HELIOGABALVS.

Alexander Seuerus choſen by Heliogabalus for his companion in the Empire.

This

This young man was ſo well inclined, and ſo well bred vp, that while as his coſen led a wicked and diſhoneſt life; he ſpent his time in learning, conuerſing with learned men, and ſuch as were good and honeſt, and exerciſing himſelfe in armes and in ſuch other practiſes, as were fit for a Knight and a vertuous gentleman, and ſought excellent maiſters to inſtruct him in all thoſe faculties. Wherefore all men conceiuing good hope of him, began to loue and affect him; and the hatred which they bare againſt HELIOGABALVS daily encreaſed. Which he perceiuing ſought meanes to kill ALEXIANVS, or at the leaſt to bereaue him of the name of CÆSAR, and his ſucceſſor: But he could not bring it to paſſe by reaſon of the diligence vſed by his grandmother in protecting him: and alſo for that the men of warre deerely loued him; but vpon a time they would haue ſlaine HELIOGABALVS for that cauſe, as he was walking in a garden, where he eſcaped by hiding himſelfe in a corner, ſo as he was not ſeene; and through the entreatie of ANTIOCHIANVS who was his Pretorian Prefect, the ſouldiers returned to their campe, where remaining in a tumult and mutining, they highly threatned him; and vpon compoſition, they required that HELIOGABALVS ſhould put from about him, certaine vicious and wicked perſons which were very priuate with him, and which ſold and gaue offices for bribes; and in ſuch manner diſpatched the buſines which men had with the Emperour. They alſo required that certaine of their companies might haue the particular guard of ALEXANDER SEVERVS, to the end that HELIOGABALVS ſhould nôt kill him; and that his fauorites and familiars ſhould not conuerſe with him, for corrupting him with their euill conditions: all which demaunds were preſently put in execution. But after that the furie of the Cohorts was pacified, HELIOGABALVS returned to his former abominable vices, gluttonies, and incredible expenſes. Firſt when he went forth of *Rome* (as ſometimes hee did) he had with him ſixe hundred chariots and horſelitters, the principall lading whereof was moſt diſhoneſt yong boies and wenches, with bawdes and their interpretors, and all was little enough, conſidering his inſatiable beaſtlines: for as he was moſt luxurious, ſo did he account it for a greatnes, to haue the companie of one woman but once; except her to whom he was maried, and that one he neither loued nor regarded. For as HERODIANVS reporteth, he firſt married a Romane ladie of a noble houſe, to whom he gaue the name of AVGVSTA, and other titles; and within a while after he forſooke her and depriued her both of her name and honour: and married himſelfe to a Veſtall virgin; which in the vanitie of the Gentiles was held for a matter ſo religious, that ſhe which had carnall knowledge of a man, was buried aliue. And ſo he alſo left her and tooke another; behauing himſelfe as a moſt beaſtly barbarous man. And amongſt other matters, he did one thing which the diuell himſelfe would neuer haue imagined, which was, that he commaunded that all buſineſſes to be done by day, ſhould be diſpatched by night; and that all ſuch things as were to be done by night, ſhould be done by day; and ſo he aroſe from his bed at the ſunne ſetting, and was then ſaluted as other Emperours were in the morning: and he laid him to ſleepe about day breaking, ſo as it ſeemed that the world went backwards. All his ſtudie was to finde meanes to ſpend exceſſiuely, in his diet, and in all other things. That ſupper which was of leaſt price did commonly coſt thirtie pound waight of gold, which after our computation, might amount to the value of aboue a thouſand pounds ſtarling; and there were ſome which did coſt threeſcore thouſand crownes. And ſometimes he promiſed to giue his gueſts a Phenix to eate, whereof (they ſay) there is but

Heliogabalus his progreſſe.

Heliogabalus his wiues.

Heliogabalus turned the day into night, and the night into day.

Heliogabalus his diet.

one

the preseruation of the countrie, he would be pleased to relieue him against the Queenes inuasions, which daily troubled him.

FERDINAND induced by these reasons, sent (as before is said) CASTALDO to the Frier, who as his Lieutenant Generall comming to *Agria*, leuied 5700. foot-men and 1700 horse, with which passing the riuer *Tissa*, he went to *Debrezen*, where finding ANDREVV BATTOR, and THOMAS NACLAIDI, principall Lords of that kingdome, he went into *Transiluania*: where, whilest he the space of three moneths besieged *Colosuarre* in the behalfe of the Frier, he was aduertised that the Frier through a new composition with the Queene, hauing taken *Alba Iulia*, was retired from the warres; and that he had neuertheless sent him word, that if he would meete him at *Egnet*, he would speake with him. Whither CASTALDO being come, after many discourses and treaties past betweene them, obtaining of the Frier the citie of *Alba Iulia* to winter his people in; he had word from the Queene, that she would come to an agreement with FERDINAND, according to the couenants made with her husband: so that after many conuentions comming to *Colosuarre*, whither were alreadie come the most part of the Lords of that kingdome, ISABEL in the name of her sonne renounced, and gaue vp the kingdome and estate of *Hungary* to CASTALDO; who in the name of FERDINAND accepted the same. After which renunciation, she granted to the most insaciable Frier all his demaunds, which were immeasurable, together with the Archbishoprick of *Strigonium*, being at that time voide. CASTALDO accommodating that prouince according to the order receiued from FERDINAND, and as he thought most expedient, celebrated the nuptials betweene one of FERDINANDS daughters, and IOHN the Queenes sonne. But the ambicious Frier not contented with the agreement, by the meanes of a Frenchman, who was a spie for the Turke in that kingdome, he acquainted SOLIMAN with the whole agreement and composition made betweene FERDINAND and the Queene. Wherewith SOLIMAN being highly displeased, shortly after sent the Beglerbey of *Grecia*; who passing with great celeritie to *Belgrado*, came to *Beche*, and tooke it, with *Beherque* and *Senat*: & hauing without any resistance vpon composition taken *Lippa*, he went without any molestation by the Christians, to *Themesuar*; where encamping himselfe, he vnderstood that CASTALDOS armie was come. Who with much ado hauing induced Frier GEORGE, then made Treasorer of that kingdom, & Vaiuode of *Transiluania*, to leuie forces against the Turke, he brought it so to passe that he constrained the Beglerbey to raise his siege from before *Themesuarre*; notwithstanding that the Frier euer endeuored to hinder CASTALDOS proceedings. The Frier vnderstanding of the Turkes departure, went to *Lippa*; where he stayed not long before that by Pope IVLIVS at the request of FERDINAND being a made Cardinall, he sought to hinder CASTALDOS deseignes, and to betray him and FERDINANDS whole armie into the hands of the Turkes: hoping by this meanes not onely to reconcile himselfe to SOLIMAN, but to become absolute Lorde of *Transiluania* also. Whose wicked practise being made frustrate, CASTALDO continued the siege of *Lippa*, which after many bickerings comming into CASTALDOS power, was giuen in pray to the Souldiers, which loden with spoyle, presently besieged the Fortresse; about which hauing spent some daies, they had taken the same, together with OLIMAN Gouernor thereof, if the Friers villanie had not frustrated CASTALDOS purpose. Who desiring by these meanes to obtaine the Turkes good will, dealt so, that he set OLIMAN at libertie: wherewith CASTALDO being infinitly displeased,

Lippa taken by Castaldo.

sought

ſought to abate the Friers authoritie: but failing of his purpoſe, he diſſembled the matter. And Winter being come, FERDINANDS forces departing out of *Tranſiluania* (he being vnwilling that they ſhould remaine there) ſtayed vpon the frontiers of the enemie. After whoſe departure CASTALDO conducting the Artillery, diſcouered to SFORZA PALLAVICINO that FERDINAND had commaunded Frier GEORGE to be put to death; but being vnable without great circumſpection to bring it to effect, he willed PALLAVICINO to be in a readines, vntill he gaue him further direction. In the meane time repairing to the Citadel at *Lippa*, he ſtayed neere to the citie of *Varadin*, and ſending his armie before, he ioyned with the Frier riding together in one Coach to *Buiſe*, in which place being againe ſolicited by FERDINAND to make away the Frier, CASTALDO ſpeedely wrote to SFORZA PALLAVICINO, that ſo ſoone as poſſible might be, he ſhould with his troupes come to conferre with him, about what courſe was to be taken in this matter. Whereupon PALLAVICINO comming to *Buiſe*, and hauing laid the plot for the Friers diſpatch, he went to ſeeke him iuſt at the time when he ſhould haue ſaid Maſſe: with whom CASTALDO holding a long diſcourſe, ſhewed him euer a good countenance, notwithſtanding that he was in all occaſions croſt by him: and his inſolencie was ſuch that he forbare not openly to negociate with the Turkes. Whereupon CASTALDO directing thoſe which ſhould kill him in what manner they ſhould diſpatch him; he appoynted his Secretarie MARC ANTONIO FERRARI of *Alexandria*, (vnder colour to get the Friers hand to certaine letters which SFORZA PALLAVICINO ſhould beare to FERDINAND) to come to him, vpon the eighteenth day of December, in the ſame yeere. Who comming in companie of PALLAVICINO into the Caſtle with certaine Harcubuzziers, and preſenting the letters to the Frier, to the end that he ſhould ſubſcribe to them; after that the Frier had heedely read them, ſtooping downe to write vpon a little table which was in the chamber, FERRARI drawing his ponyard twiſe ſtabbed him, which being of no ſufficient force to kill him, it behooued PALLAVICINO (who vpon the noyſe ranne into the chamber) to ſet his helping hand to the worke: for the Frier was a gallant ſtrong fellow, turning to him that ſmote him, threw him to the ground, and therewith made ſo great a noyſe, that PALLAVICINO comming into the chamber, and ſeeing FERRARI downe, ſetting hand to his ſword, gaue the Frier ſo ſound a knocke on the pate, that he cleft the ſame in two: an act truely worthie of great reprehenſion, if the behauiour of the man had not deſerued it. For Frier GEORGE was endued with ſuch excellencie of wit, and therwith was of ſo generous and great a mind, and ſo diligent in all matters of importance, that FERDINAND himſelfe (who cauſed him to be ſlaine) would often ſay openly, that he enuied the Vayuode for nothing, but for Frier GEORGE. The Frier dying in this manner ſuddenly, CASTALDO impriſoned his great friend FRANCIS THENDI, who to eſcape from FERDINANDS forces, had after the Turkiſh manner clad himſelfe in Scarlet, whoſe impriſonment was a great helpe to CASTALDO, for THENDI being reconciled, was the cauſe that the Sicoli, a moſt fierce people of *Tranſiluania*, yeelded obedience to the King of the Romanes; which people with others, through CASTALDOS endeuour, within few dayes ſubmitted themſelues. But in the yeere 1542, SOLIMAN vnderſtanding of the death of Frier GEORGE, ſent two armies into *Tranſiluania*, to the end in two ſeuerall parts to inuade the ſame: wherein CASTALDO thinking by fortifying the frontiers, to entertaine the Turkes vntill the comming of an

Meanes vſed by Caſtaldo to entrap Frier George.

The death of Frier George.

armie out of *Germany*, ſent Frier GEORGE his treaſure to FERDINAND; and taking *Seghedin*, had ſundrie ſupplies from the Lords of that kingdome; and fortifying *Lippa* and *Themeſuarre* he gathered thoſe men together which (to auoyde the rage of the Turkes) came to his campe. In the meane time, earneſtly expecting aide from FERDINAND, whom Pope IVLIVS commaunding to purge himſelfe concerning the death of Frier GEORGE for that he was a Cardinall: and ſending three Cardinals to make enquirie of the Homicide, he excommunicated thoſe which had ſlaine him. And FERDINAND vnable to ſend ſuch ſuccours as he had promiſed, by reaſon of the warres in *Germany* betweene his brother the Emperor and MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, perſwaded CASTALDO to beare his fortune in the beſt manner that poſſibly he ſhould be able; promiſing ſo ſoone as he could to relieue him. Who perceiuing that the Moldauian, and MAHOMET Baſha were with a great armie come into *Hungary*, to the end to inuade *Tranſiluania*; he ſent FELIX Earle of *Arco*, to hold the Caſtle of *Braſouia*. And obtaining great reliefe and victuals, from the citie of *Zibonio*, he endeuored himſelfe to reinforce his troupes, and to fortifie many places; but this nothing furthered FERDINANDS proceedings: for by reaſon that the articles of agreement were not obſerued to ISABEL, many of thoſe people rebelled againſt him, and after much contention hee was conſtrained to come to blowes with them: for ſpending much time, ſometime in loſing and ſometime in recouering, the Turkes daily conquered more and more. Which taking *Lippa* and *Themeſuarre* with many other places, by MAHOMETS order, the Baſha, together with the Baſha of *Buda*, marched to the Caſtle of *Drigall*; before which lay SFORZA PALLAVICINO with ſixe thouſand men, Germanes and others: who valiantly aſſaulting the Caſtle, was at vnawares ſet vpon by the Baſha; with whom comming to blowes, and performing the office both of a valiant Souldier, and prudent Captaine, he was in the end ouerthrowne, and ſhortly after with many other Captaines taken priſoner, and brought (by a Turke which charging him in the flanke with his Cimitarre had felled him wounded to the death) to the Baſha: from whom he was afterwards ranſomed for a great ſumme of money. After which, MAHOMET to the great ſlaughter of his people, tooke *Salonch*, built by FERDINAND in a ſtrong place ouer the riuer *Tiſſa*; the loſſe whereof greatly troubled FERDINAND. Who ſeeing that his affaires notwithſtanding the valour and wiſedome of CASTALDO daily went from ill to worſe, and vnderſtanding that the people of *Tranſiluania* were wholy reuolted to the Queene, greatly fauored by MAHOMET Baſha about SOLIMAN; and that they had often practiſed to kill CASTALDO, he commaunded him that notwithſtanding MAHOMETS retreit, deſpairing to take *Agria*, long attempted by his people, he ſhould retire. Which CASTALDO putting in execution, placed the Spaniſh and Dutch ſouldiers in *Zibinio*, and other places neere adiacent: and hauing fortified *Deua*, after much prouiſion made, he went to *Alba Iulia* to winter the reſt of his armie. In the meane time, abſolution came from *Rome* for thoſe which kild Frier GEORGE. And the yeere 1553 being come, FRANCIS THENDI, fauouring the Queenes cauſe, brought it ſo to paſſe, that notwithſtanding the many Councels, wherein CASTADDO was euer preſent, great part of the Lords of *Tranſiluania* in the behalfe of the Queene, tooke armes againſt FERDINAND, and expulſing FERDINANDS forces, reeſtabliſhed her, together with her ſonne in her eſtate.

Pope Iulius excommunicated thoſe which ſlew Frier George.

Sforza Pallauicino wounded, ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by the Turkes, before the Caſtle of Drigall.

That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1554 begun, FERDINAND ſent his Ambaſſadours to his nephew PHILIP in *England*, to congratulate his marriage with

with MARY Queene of that countrie, which ſucceeded her brother EDWARD. And in the yeere 1555 died IOANE mother of FERDINAND, and of the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, in *Spaine*; whoſe death FERDINAND took very grieuouſly. And in the meane time, taking a truce with the Turke, he obtained vpon an acknowledgement of a tribute, peaceably to enioy what he held in *Hungary*. In which time CHARLES the Emperour hauing giuen vp the ſtates of the Low Countries, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, and all his other kingdomes to his ſonne PHILIP King of *England*; FERDINAND ſought to ſuppreſſe and extinguiſh the preaching of the Goſpell in *Germany*; and receiuing letters of his brothers renunciation made to his ſonne, he infinitely commended his reſolution. That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1556 being come, he was aduertiſed that his brother the Emperour hauing renounced the Empire vnto him, was retired into *Spaine*, to leade a ſolitarie life; for which yeelding him thankes by his letters and Ambaſſadours, he went to *Vienna* to make prouiſion for the warres, which (as it was ſaid) SOLIMAN would make in *Hungary*: where ſpending the reſt of that yere, he remained vntill the yeere 1557. In the beginning of which yeere, he interpoſed himſelfe betweene King PHILIP and the Pope, perſwading them to peace: for the Pope induced by his nephew the Cardinall *Caraffa*, made warre againſt the King. And that yeere being ended, in the beginning of the yeere 1558, he was by the Electors according to the will of his brother CHARLES, choſen and proclaimed Emperour: no man but the Pope contradicting his election, who affirmed that the reſignation made by the Emperour CHARLES could not be done without the Popes conſent: but his reproofe being reiected, FERDINAND was choſen and proclaimed lawfull Emperour. Not long after he had newes that his brother CHARLES was departed out of this world, for whoſe death he together with his whole Court was very ſorie: neuertheleſſe ſupporting his griefe, hee celebrated the exequies with great pompe, and preſently ſent his Ambaſſadours to King PHILIP, to condole the common loſſe. And that preſent yeere ending, within a while after the deceaſe of the Emperour CHARLES, and in the beginning of the yere 1559, FERDINAND vſed all endeuour to make peace betweene King PHILIP, and HENRY the French King; which after many treaties being obtained, and alliance made them, he was exceedingly glad, ſith that after the ſpace of ſeuentie yeeres continuall diſſention, peace was now made betweene thoſe two moſt mightie Kings, which was proclaimed through all Chriſtendome. A little while after, in the beginning of the yeere 1560, FERDINAND obtained to be confirmed in the Empire by the new Pope, who willingly approuing his election, deemed it to be ill done, after a peace ſo long deſired, againe to bring *Italy* into new troubles: and ſo following the will of that Prince, he conſented to the calling of a Councell. And in the yeere 1561 he made proclamation to all Prelates and Nations, of a Councell to be held the yeere following, wherein the Articles proponed by the Lutherans ſhould be determined. And in the yeere 1562 a Councell was againe called, to be held in the citie of *Trent*, whither FERDINAND ſending the Prelates of his dominion, perſwaded all the Princes of *Germany* to doe the like: and writing to his nephew King PHILIP, and to the King of *Portugall*, and to all the other Princes of Chriſtendome, he vſed ſuch meanes that al the Princes according to his deſire, ſent the Biſhops of their countries with their particular Ambaſſadours to that Councell, wherein the matters of greateſt importance were handled concerning religion. In which time FERDINAND deſiring that ſome one of his ſonnes after his deceaſe might ſucceede him

Peace betweene King Philip of Spaine and Henry of France

Ferdinand confirmed in the Empire by Pope Pius the 4.

him in the Imperiall dignitie, he called the Princes Electors to a Councell held at *Franckford*, where proponing to them his desire, he alleaged that in respect of the Turke it was requisite it should be so; and after the matter had been long debated, he obtained his purpose to his content: which being concluded, he made his sonne MAXIMILIAN within few daies after to be crowned King of the Romanes. After which ceremonies, going to *Ispruch* to see his daughters, he vnderstood that the truce lately treated of with SOLIMAN not onely tooke effect for tenne yeeres, but that at his suite DON ALVARO DE SANDE was released out
Anno 1560. of prison, together with three other principall Knights taken in the yeere 1560 in the enterprise of *Tripoli*, by DRAGVT RAIS. At that time were great warres in *France* betweene the Papists and the Huguenots, which the Emperour sought to haue pacified, but that nation was so extremely incensed, that the Emperours perswasions could nothing preuaile amongst them.

In the yeere 1564, the Councell of *Trent* being dissolued, FERDINAND came to *Viena*, where falling sicke of an Ague, and knowing by the vehemencie of his disease that his life drew neere to an end, he sent for all his children, which then were dispersed into sundrie places, to whom after he had giuen his blessing, together with many good exhortations, he rendred his soule to God, vpon the fifth
The death of the Emperour Ferdinand. day of Iuly in the same yeere. He was a Prince by all men reputed to be of singular bountie and pietie, and of a most gentle and pleasing disposition, not very strong of bodie, but replenished with so much maiestie, that whosoeuer saw him could not but respect him: for being of a pleasing and affable condition, he would most curteously encline himselfe to euery one that to came salute him. He was naturally merrie, free from surfeiting, and ware his beard rather short then long; and his haire so long that it couered his eies with some bauldnes. He was in all his actions (prosperous or aduerse) alwaies constant, holding all things to happen to him by the will of God. He confessed himselfe three or foure times in the yeere, and with great deuotion receiued the Communion, willing that euery one in his Court should doe the like; so that his house seemed to be rather a regular Monasterie, then a Court of Secular men. He left behinde him many children, and had in all fifteene; foure sonnes, and the rest daughters, which were married to sundrie Princes in Christendome. ISABEL which was his first, was giuen in marriage to SIGISMVND King of *Poland*. ANNE was wife to the Duke of *Bauiere*. MARY to the Duke of *Cleue*. MAGDALEN a chast Virgin. KATHERINE to FRANCIS Duke of *Mantoa*. ELENOR to WILLIAM Duke of *Mantoa*. MARGARET was a Nunne. BARBARA was married to ALFONSE the second Duke of *Ferrara*. VRSVLA a Virgin and a Nunne. HELEN liued but a little while. And IOANE was wife to FRANCIS the great Duke of *Tuscane*. Of sonnes besides the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, he had FERDINAND and CHARLES Archdukes of *Austrich*, and IOHN which died very young. He had but one onely wife, and (as it was said) neuer before nor after knew any other woman but her: which he loued so intierly, that he would not marrie the second time. He much loued learned men, & gaue them great pensions for their maintenance. He neuer vndertooke any warres but for religion: either against the Turke or the Lutheranes, which he vehemently prosecuted. FERDINAND hauing bin King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* foure and thirtie yeeres, and Emperour seuen, to the great griefe of his people and of all the Princes in Christendome ended his daies. After whose decease, his obsequies being celebrated with great pompe, sundrie funerall Orations were made by diuers learned men: and his body being

carried

carried through *Morauia* into *Bohemia*, was by his wiues ſide buried in *Prage*.

THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN THE SECOND, AND CXVII. ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

HIs life containeth not ought elſe, but the countrie, parentage and noble deſcent of Maximilian, With his actes in the warres in Germany againſt the Lantzgraue, his going into Spaine to gouerne the ſame for King Philip, his aſſumption to the Imperiall dignitie, With his warres with the Turkes at Zighet, and the Election of his ſonne Rodulph for King of the Romanes.

THE houſe and family of *Auſtrich* amongſt the moſt principall houſes of *Germany*, is truely euery way very noble, and hath euer been ſo of long time (as it euidently appeareth) not onely through the (in a manner) hereditarie ſucceſſion of the Empire from the father to the ſonne in tenne Emperours, from the yeere 1273, at that time RODVLPH the firſt was choſen Emperor of the Germanes: but alſo in that it hath ſince that time in ſhort ſpace, with admirable felicitie, not onely in *Germany* enlarged the ſmall confines of *Habſpurge* and *Haſſia* (the auncient territory thereof) but through the ſingular protection of the heauens, it hath by enheritance attained to the kingdomes of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, the Duchie of *Auſtrich*, the countie of *Flanders*, with the eſtates of the lower *Germany*, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, with all thoſe countries of the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, (to the wonder of the world, by CHRISTOPHER COLVMBVS a Genowaies, and AMERICVS SEPVSIVS, a Florentine, newly found and diſcouered; which for their greatnes, and the noueltie of the action, are called the new world) together with the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; and

The dominions of the houſe of Auſtrich.

The linage of the Emperor Maximilian.

and lastly the Duchie of *Milan*, farre excelling all other Dukedomes in Christendome. Of which family in the yeere of our Lord 1527, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN the second of that name borne in the citie of *Viena* in *Austrich*, had to his father FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, sonne of PHILIP the first King of *Spaine*, Nephew of MAXIMILIAN the first, sonne of FREDERICK the third Emperours of the Almaines: his mother was ANNE daughter of LADISLAVS King of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia*, Nephew of the great SIGISMVND, sonne of CASIMIER King of *Poland*, and sister to that LEVVES which through the vnaduised counsell of PAVLAS TOMOREVS Archbishop of *Colossa*, in the yeere of our Lord 1526, comming to a field battaile with SOLIMAN King of the Turkes, was not onely through the innumerable multitude of the Ottomans lamentably ouerthrowne; but also when he sought to haue saued himselfe from his enemies, was through the waight of his armour wherewith he was oppressed, and the stumbling of his horse which fell vpon him in a passage ouer a marrish or fenne, miserably drowned.

This Emperor shewing euen from his infancie the excellencie of his wit, was by his father the Emperor FERDINAND committed to very learned men, by them to be instructed in good Litterature, but chiefly in varietie of tongues; wherein in short space he so much profited, that he not onely spake Latin very elegantly; Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch, Hungarish, and Bohemish; but also very perfectly attained to the knowledge of the Sciences, particularly the Mathematikes. So that all men did stedfastly hope that he would proue no way inferior to his auncient progenitors. And he no sooner came to yeeres fit to beare armes, but that he sundrie times gaue no lesse indice and cleere shew of his noble valour therein; earnestly seeking to imitate his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN whose name he bare, which he expresly manifested when in the yeere 1556, in the warres which his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES the fifth made against IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, and PHILIP Lantzgraue of *Hessen*, he went to that warre, sent thither by his father with the commaund of 1200 horse; hauing before that time, been euer present in the warres which his father waged with the Turkes. In that seruice of his Vncle the Emperor CHARLES, he so nobly behaued himselfe, that he therein sundrie times deserued to be compared with his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN; for he constantly enduring with the greatnes of his minde, all those wants and fortunes which the troubles of the warres bring with them, was euer the first man in all seruices, wherein he made no lesse shew of a valiant man at armes, then of a prudent Chieftaine, which made him so deerely beloued by his Vncle the Emperor, that that ciuill warre being ended (which continued little lesse then two yeeres) he considering that his sonne PHILIP Prince of *Spaine* was to be inuested in the Countie of *Flanders*, together with the prouinces of the lower *Germany*, and being vnwilling that *Spaine* should remaine without some man of authoritie to gouerne the same, fearing the fiercenes of that nation ordinarily euer desirous of nouelties: notwithstanding that he was his Nephew, yet by the dispensation of Pope PAVL the third he made him his sonne in law, giuing him his daughter MARY to wife, and therewith made him gouernor of those kingdomes. And those nuptiall rites being celebrated, MAXIMILIAN in the yeere 1548 went into *Spaine*, being first by his father FERDINAND King of the Romanes, made King of *Bohemia*, to whom the Lords of that kingdome sware obedience as to their King and naturall Lord. Before his comming into *Spaine*, passing through *Italy*, he was by all the Italian

Princes

Princes visited and highly honoured; and being arriued at the citie of *Genoa*, and there shortly after embarked in the Galleyes of Prince DORIA, he passed to *Barcelona*, whence taking his way towards *Valiodolid*, where the Spanish court then lay, he was in the name of his espouse and of his cosin germane oftentimes visited by the principall Lords of *Spaine*. Finally, within few daies after his comming to the court, hauing with applause of the Spanish nation celebrated his nuptials, he was established in the gouernment of those kingdomes, in the absence of Prince PHILIP: which he with great quietnes, to the contentment of that people gouerned, vntill that in the beginning of the yeere 1551 the Emperor CHARLES summoned a Councell to be held in *Augsburgh*, whither being by his father sent for, he came from *Spaine* into *Germany*, hauing first left the gouernment of those kingdomes to his wife Queene MARY, and to the Councell royall: and staying there till the end of the Councell, he went with his father the King of the Romanes to *Viena*, where making his abode till the beginning of the yeere 1552, and then passing from *Germany* againe into *Spaine*, to bring his wife into his countries, he came from *Barcelona* (after that he had been molested by the French fleete) to *Genoa*; and from thence comming to *Trent*, he went to *Augsburgh*, where by the Emperor CHARLES the fifth, he was much welcomed, and together with his wife was by the Germane Princes highly honored, but particularly by his father, who then absolutely resigned vnto him the gouerment of the kingdome of *Bohemia*: which to the great contentment of the Bohemians he euer after gouerned so long as he liued. From whence in the same yeere he sent great troupes of men to the Emperor, for his warres against MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, who by reason of the imprisonment of the Lantzgraue PHILIP warring against the Emperor, was proclaimed traitor: but it was not long before the Emperor was freed from that trouble. And MAXIMILIAN recalling his forces, peaceably applyed himselfe to the gouernment of *Bohemia*, without that any matter of moment happened, vntill that in the yeere 1554, he together with his father sent his Ambassadors to congratulate the marriage of his cosin King PHILIP to Marie the daughter of King HENRY the eight, then by the death of her brother EDVVARD, Queene of *England*. In the yeere 1558 he was present at the Coronation of his father, who by the Emperour CHARLES the fifth was adopted Emperor; and for such accepted by the Princes of *Germany*. Afterwards taking his way with his father towards *Viena*, he returned into *Bohemia*; where within a while after, vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle and father in law the Emperor CHARLES, he with great pompe celebrating his Obsequies; sent Ambassadors to his cosin PHILIP to condole the death of the deceased Emperour. In which actions ending the yeere present and next following; in the yeere 1560, after foure moneths vacancie, IOHN ANGELO DE MEDICIS being chosen Pope, and called PIVS the fourth; he sent his Ambassadors to yeeld his obedience to the Church of *Rome*. And in the yeere 1562, FERDINAND desiring that his sonne MAXIMILIAN should succeede him in the Empire, assembled a Councell in *Franckford*; wherein proponing to the Electors his determination, he so handled the matter, that by the common consent and goodwil of all men, MAXIMILIAN was chosen and crowned King of the Romanes; with great applause of the Germanes, and of the Italians, which for his rare qualities deerely loued him. Then beeing according to his fathers desire created his successor, he departed towards *Viena*, first visiting his sisters which were in *Ispruch*, where he remained vntill the yeere 1564, in

Maximilian chosen and crowned King of the Romanes.

which yeere his father died; whose obsequies he together with his brothers sumptuously celebrated. After which, he receiued Ambassadours from the Princes, which as to the successiue Emperour and King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* came to doe him honour, amongst many which thither came, were the Ambassadours of *Spaine* and of *Portugall*. MAXIMILIAN being then receiued and accepted by the Christians for lawfull Emperour; in the beginning of his raigne denied to pay to SOLIMAN the Emperour of the Turkes, that acknowledgement which his father FERDINAND yeelded to pay for the kingdome of *Hungary*: and so the yeere 1565 being come, inuading the state of *Transiluania*, he tooke certaine places. Whereupon SOLIMAN sending a great armie against him, in the behalfe of the Vaiuode IOHN, tooke many townes of importance. But CÆSAR sending LAZARVS SCHVENDY for Generall of his armie, not onely recouered what was taken, but also tooke *Toccay* with some other places, greatly endamaging the Transiluanian; who being aided by the Turkes infinitely troubled CÆSAR, and notwithstanding that by reason of winter, it had been fit to haue retired to haue wintred his armie, yet he desisted not from molesting him. But being vnable of himself to make head against CÆSARS forces, he procured by the Turks meanes to cause MAXIMILIAN to retire from that enterprise: for which, being an earnest sutor, he obtained such fauour, that SOLIMAN in the yeere 1566, with 120000. men inuaded *Hungary*: the forewarning of whose comming, reuealed by a Turke taken prisoner by certaine souldiers seruing his brother CHARLES, was a great furtherance to the Emperours proceedings: for he making prouision accordingly, so ordred the matter that he was relieued by all the Princes of Christendome: particularly by Pope PIVS QVINTVS (who this yeere succeeded PIVS the fourth in the Papacie) and by the Dukes of *Florence*, of *Mantoa*, of *Ferrara*, and by many other Princes as well of *Italy* and *France* as of *Germany*: so that he hauing leuied an armie of threescore and tenne thousand men, made his brother FERDINAND, Archduke of *Austrich*, Generall thereof, who with those forces comming to *Iauarin*, purposed to haue attempted *Strigonium*; but vnderstanding that SOLIMAN departing from *Belgrado* came to *Buda*, and from *Buda* was gone to *Zighet*; he retiring, perswaded NICHOLAS SIDRIN, a Nobleman of singular valour in *Hungary*, to continue in the gouernment of that fortresse, whereof he was Captaine, promising that he would not faile to relieue him. SOLIMAN after many difficulties, being come to *Zighet* (which is situate in a fennie countrie betweene *Croatia* and *Hungary*) within few daies with continuall assaults both by day and night so oppressit, that notwithstanding the great valour of SIDRIN, who failed in nothing that might concerne himselfe or CÆSAR, neither left any thing vnattempted that might hinder the purposes of the Barbarian, vsing all meanes to defend that fortresse: in the end with great slaughter of his people it was by the Turke taken. But that Barbarian had not time to enioy the fruites of his victorie, for being loden with yeeres, and ouercome by his disease, which was the bloudie fluxe, he ended his daies before that he was master thereof; MAMOMET Bassha with great policie and cunning concealing his death vntill the creation of a new Emperour, and vntill that place being of such importance was taken.

Maximilian denied to pay the accustomed tribute to the Turke for the kingdome of Hungary.

Zighet taken by the Turks.

Zighet being taken, NICHOLAS SIDRIN the Gouernour thereof, a man for his worth, his valour, and for his faith and trust incomparable, was slaine. There likewise came into the Turkes power, *Iulia*, besides other places which were taken the yeere before, with incredible losse and domage to the Christians, which without effecting any notable matter in that enterprise (the Turkes armie being retired)

retired) were by the Emperour discharged. And in the yeere 1567, the Emperor through the mediation of MAHOMET Bassha, treating with SELIM (who succeeded his father SOLIMAN in his estate) of a truce, hauing first garrisoned *Iauarin*, retired with his Court into *Viena*, and sought to extinguish the new ciuill warre kindled in *Germany*. For IOHN FREDERICK, sonne of the Elector AVGVSTVS Duke of *Saxony* fauouring GROMPACH, a Rebell of the Empire, it seemed that the ciuill warre would haue begun againe: but GROMPACH hauing surprised the Fortresse of *Gotta* from the Elector AVGVSTVS, who would doe nothing contrarie to the decree of the Councell at *Augsburgh*, where GROMPACH being againe proclaimed a rebell: and hauing amassed together a good number of men of warre, which being drawne to an head, after much resistance, GROMPACH together with IOHN FREDERICK the sonne of Duke AVGVSTVS, were taken prisoners, with whose apprehension the ciuill warres of *Germany* being ended, GROMPACH was quartered aliue, and Duke IOHN FREDERICK detained in prison. The Emperour hauing in the meane time relieued *Schuendi*, who after the departure of the Turkes armie, was by the Transiluanian besieged in *Tocsay*; and shortly after repelling the enemie, tooke many Holds in *Transiluania*, to the great preiudice of the Vaiuode. But vnderstanding that in the same yeere 1567 SELIM had graunted and confirmed the truce required by CÆSAR, with the same conditions that FERDINAND obtained the same, and that SELIM retired his armie: MAXIMILIAN accommodating the affaires of his estate, liued all the rest of his life time in peace, hauing in vaine attempted to recouer *Transiluania*, left through the death of IOHN Vaiuode to STEPHEN BATTOR. Who in the yeere 1574, CHARLES the ninth King of *France* being dead, and HENRY Duke of *Aniow* and King of *Polania*, through his brothers death being called to the Crowne of *Erance*; after much contention was chosen King of *Polania*; notwithstanding that MAXIMILIAN vsed all meanes possible to haue been King thereof, for many of the Electors fauoured him; which failing, he became so melancholike, that he was neuer after that time seene to be merrie, imagining that the wauering instabilitie of the Polacres had bereaued the house of *Austrich* of that kingdome, but yet he left nothing vndone that might disturbe BATTOR. With which actions comming to the end of the yeere 1577, he assembled the Diet of *Ratisbone*, where vsing all meanes that in him lay, that his eldest sonne RODVLPH might remaine his heire in the Empire, in the end by the consent of the Electors, he obtained his suite. And in the same Diet he confirmed FRANCIS DE MEDICIS with the fauour and consent of those Princes, in the title of great Duke of *Tuscane*, graunted by Pope PIVS the fifth to COSMO the great, in the yeere 1566.

Grompach taken and executed.

MAXIMILIAN liuing but a few moneths after the election of his sonne, being betweene fiftie one and fiftie two yeeres old, and oppressed with the retention of his vrine, to the great griefe and sorrow of his people, ended his terrestriall life. He was a Prince for pietie and the bountie of his minde, truly so singular, that if the troubles and ciuill warres in *Germany* had not weakened and diminished the forces and power of the Empire, would not haue left any meanes vnattempted to haue represled the greatnes of the Turkish Empire. His bodie and minde being accompanied with memorable maiestie and iudgement. He was a personage of common stature, had a full face repleniished with grauitie, his head was somewhat bauld, he spake readily all the tongues which at this day are spoken in the most pricipall prouinces of *Europe*, so naturally, as if he had bin

The death of the Emperour Maximilian.

nurſed and bred vp in them. He was moſt diligent and prompt in giuing iudgement, and a great fauourer of men of vnderſtanding, to which he gaue great penſions: and particularly loued Mathematicians, and Antiquaries, as a man which was greatly delighted in both thoſe faculties. He was very actiue of his bodie, and therewith very pitifull. He left behinde him tenne children, ſixe ſonnes and foure daughters. His daughters were ISABEL married to her Vncle PHILIP King of *Spaine*. MARY was wife to CHARLES the ninth King of *France*. ANNE and ELENOR were then but children. His ſonnes were RODVLPH, the now Emperour, and MATTHIAS, in the time of the late Prince of *Orange* was choſen by the Eſtates Gouernour of the *Low Countries*. ALBERTVS afterwards made a Cardinall and Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and ſince then renouncing his Eccleſiaſticall dignities, is married to ISABEL the Infant of *Spaine*, and by her is Duke of *Burgundy*. MAXIMILIAN, and VENCESLAVS. He had but one onely wife, after whoſe deceaſe he neuer would marrie any other. He was blindly very religious, and with great honour and reuerence obſeruing the greatnes of the Popes, he endeuoured to haue cauſed the reſt of the Princes of *Germany* to haue done the like.

THE LIFE OF RODVLPH THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND CXVIII. ROMANE EMPEROR NOW RAIGNING.

THE Imperiall Maieſtie, being become in a manner hereditarie in the houſe of *Auſtrich*, was after the death of MAXIMILIAN the ſecond of that name, with the generall aſſent of the Princes of *Germany*, confirmed to his ſonne RODVLPH King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary*; choſen a little before at his fathers entreatie King of the Romanes; who aſſuming (together with his high dignitie) a minde and thoughts worthie an Emperor, hath euer hitherto in his gouernment ſhewed himſelfe in all his actions ſo rightly honourable, that it is to be hoped (ſparing him life) he will not onely in ſome ſort reſtore to the Empire

the

the ancient dignitie and reputation thereof, but alſo recouer ſuch countries belonging thereto, as are vſurped by ſuch as are enemies to the ſame. Preſently after his coronation, for his better eſtabliſhment in his new dignitie, he ſent to the Pope, to be by him therein confirmed, and therewith to requeſt him to declare him for the eldeſt ſonne of the Church: and then calling a Councell at *Ratisbone*, where vſing all his power, to the end that matters concerning the Romane religion might be reformed, he earneſtly preſſed all the Princes of *Germany* to conſent to his new reformation. And then diſpatching Ambaſſadours to the Emperour of the Turks, to procure a reconfirmation of the truce taken made betweene him and his father MAXIMILIAN, he in the meane time perſwaded his brother MATTHIAS, who was gone into *Flanders* with a reſolution to make himſelfe Lord of thoſe prouinces; that abandoning what he had vndertaken, he ſhould returne into *Germany*; ſhewing him how dangerous a matter it would be, if through his fault the troubles of thoſe countries ſhould be encreaſed: but his perſwaſions as then little auailed againſt his reſolution: but yet ſhortly after through diſcontment betweene the Duke and the States of thoſe countries, he leauing them returned (with little honour) into *Germany*. After this, foraſmuch as the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, one of the Princes Electors, forſaking the Pope, was become a Caluiniſt, and had married a wife, the Emperour and ſundrie Potentates in *Germany* tooke armes againſt him; but eſpecially the Chanons of that Church of *Colen*, which expelling him, choſe another Biſhop, ſo that he was afterwards conſtrained to come to the States of the *Low Countries* for reliefe. And ſo for a ſpace in the beginning the Emperour continued very ſolicitous, to haue aduaunced and eſtabliſhed the Popes lawes and authoritie; not onely in his hereditarie eſtates and dominions, but generally through the whole Empire, vntill that AMVRATH the third, Emperour of Turkes, after long conſultation hauing reſolued to make a generall conqueſt of *Hungary*, together with ſundrie countries bordring vpon the ſame, by the ordinarie incurſions of the Turkes, contrarie to the truce, ſpoyling and robbing his countries, ſo awakened the Emperor, that leauing to hinder the preaching of the Goſpell, he was conſtrained to employ his wits together with his whole power for the defence of his eſtate, againſt ſo mightie a common enemie: who enuying the greatnes of the houſe of *Auſtrich*, for that it in ſundrie parts of the world made head againſt him, about a people called *Vſcocchi* preuily picking a quarrell, he firſt began his warres in *Croatia*; wherein after the ſpoyle of the countrie, the Baſha of *Boſna* tooke the citie of *Wihitz*. Whereupon the Emperour ſolicited the Princes of *Germany* for aide, who conſidering the greatnes of the daunger, promiſed their aſſiſtance. But before that their forces tooke the field, ſixe thouſand foote, and fiue hundred horſe of the Chriſtians, hauing in *Croatia* for their refuge taken the woods, mountaines, and places of hard acceſſe, were by the Turkes ſo oppreſſed, that few of them eſcaped with their liues. For refelling of which outrage, the Emperour aſſembling the States of *Sleſia* and *Morauia*, perſwaded them to vnite their forces with the reſt. But the aides from out of *Germany* came ſo ſlowly, that after the ouerthrow and ſlaughter of ſeuen thouſand men in *Croatia*, the Turkes ſurpriſed the ſtrong Caſtle of S. *George*; wherein after that they cruelly without reſpect of age or ſexe had put to the ſword all that were therein: firing the Caſtle, they departed: and in their retreit cut off a conuoy of three hundred wagons, loden with prouiſion for the reliefe of the ſouldiers garriſoned in that prouince.

The Emperour Rodulph the ſecond ſent to the Pope to be by him confirmed in the Empire, and to be declared eldeſt ſonne of the Church.

Duke Matthias Gouernour of the prouinces of the Low Countries.

After theſe and many other roades and incurſions made in *Croatia*, and in *Hungary*,

gary, the Turkes aduertiſed of the preparation made by the Chriſtian Princes; but chiefly for that the plague was falne amongſt them, leauing ſtrong garriſons in their Holds, they retired; and ſo the warres for that winter ended. But the next ſpring being come, the Emperour writing to the Turke to know the reaſon of theſe ſo hoſtile inuaſions contrarie to the truce, was by the great Turkes owne letter for anſwere put out of doubt whereto he ſhould truſt; who moſt proudly denouncing warre againſt him and all his abbettors, ſent the Beglerbey of *Græcia* into *Croatia*, who with a huge armie beſieging the ſtrong Caſtle of *Siſeg*, in ſhort ſpace tooke it, cutting in pieces, and drowning all that they found therein. This happened vpon the third of September 1593. Theſe inuaſions cauſed the Emperour not onely to craue aide of the Princes and free cities of *Germany*, but alſo of other Princes further remote: which being ſoone graunted, came ſo ſlowly forwards, that SINAN Baſha beſieging the citie of *Veſprin*, and the defendants ſeeing no poſſibilitie long to hold the place, abandoning the citie, were by the Turkes cut in pieces. From thence the Baſha went to *Palotta*, which within few daies ſiege yeelded to the Turkes alſo.

Siſeg taken by the Turks, anno 1593.

But yet a length an armie of the Chriſtians paſſing the riuer *Danubius*, ſo met with the Turkes, that making ſlaughter of a great number of them, they releaſed many Chriſtian Captiues: wherewith encouraged, the Chriſtians preſently beſieged the citie of *Alba Regalis*: but within few daies after, they were aduertiſed of the comming of the Baſha of *Buda*, with an armie of 2000 ſtrong, and thirtie peeces of Ordenance, to relieue the citie and to raiſe the ſiege; whom the Chriſtians (riſing from before the citie) encountring, ouerthrew and put to flight, and in the chace had the execution of the greateſt part of their enemies.

The Baſha of Buda ouerthrowne and put to flight by the Imperialiſts.

Shortly after the Emperors Lieutenant beſieging the Caſtle of *Sabatzka*, garriſoned by the Turkes, did with the Cannon ſo ſoundly beate the ſame, that the breach being made aſſaultable was entred; and all that there lay in garriſon, were put to the ſword; and a ſtrong garriſon left to guard the place: whereby the countrie was freed from their wonted oppreſſions.

The Caſtle of Sabatzka taken by the Chriſtians.

Preſently vpon the taking of *Sabatzka*, the Chriſtians beſieged the citie of *Filek*, a ſtrong place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*; for the vnſetting whereof the Turkes drawing their garriſons in that quarter, leuied an armie of 18000 men, and therewith marched by night vntill they came neere to the citie: whereof the Generall of the Emperors armie being aduertiſed, out of the whole armie made choiſe of 7000 men: with which ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Turkes in their tents, he gaue them ſuch a camizado, that they truſting more to their heeles then their hands were ſo put to rout, that 6000 of them remained in the fields, foode for the foules of the aire: and amongſt them the Baſha of *Themeſuarre*, the Gouernor of *Filek*, and many of great account. At this ouerthrow the Chriſtians beſides 29 peeces of Artillerie tooke 200 Wagons loden with victuals; with which they returned to the ſiege of the citie, which they ſo battered, that the breaches being made aſſaultable, the citie was entred and taken, and the defendants put to the ſworde: thoſe in the Caſtle notwithſtanding reſolute in their defence, within two daies after being by the Chriſtians aſſaulted, and the Caſtle entred, had their throates cut alſo. Yet there remained ſome 800, which being retired to another Caſtle, and ſeeing how the reſt of their company ſped, yeelded vpon compoſition of their liues ſaued, and to depart with what they could carrie vpon their backes. The taking of this citie ſtrake ſuch a feare

An ouerthrow giuen to the Turkes by the Chriſtians, the 20. of Nouember, 1593.

Filek taken by the Chriſtians.

feare into the Turkes in *Setſchine*, *Blauenſteene*, *Sallek*, *Dregel*, and *Palanke*, ſtrong townes in *Hungary*, that they abandoning them, retired ſome to *Hatwan*, and ſome to *Buda* for their refuge. In the ſame moneth were alſo recouered from the Turkes the townes of *Ainacke*, *Sollocke*, and *Weſtke*, by meanes whereof, the countrie was freed round about.

After this, the Turkes in *Siſeg*, *Caſtrowitz*, and *Petrinia* to the number of three thouſand, thinking for reuenge to haue done ſome great exploit paſſed the riuer *Saua*, with a determination to haue ſpoiled the countrie: but they were ſo welcomed by the borderers, that 500 of them remaining vpon the earth for hoſtages, the moſt of the reſt for haſte were drowned; ſo as few returned to beare the newes of their expedition. The ioy for the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians wars this yeere, ſo ſtirred vp the harts of the Germane Princes, that ſouldiers were leuied, Artillerie prouided, and euery where new prouiſion was made for the next yeeres warres. 19. December, 1593. *An expedition.*

In the beginning of March following, the Emperors brother MATTHIAS being Generall of the Chriſtian armie: the citie of *Nouigrade* lying neere to *Buda*, was by the Chriſtians beſieged; wherein the garriſon fearing their owne weakenes, and doubting reſcue: after a battery made, and ſome aſſaults giuen thereto, yeelded the citie to the Archduke, vpon condition of their liues ſaued, and to depart with their clothes on their backes, and their Cemitars by their ſides. This towne gotten (being a place of great importance) was by the Archduke furniſhed with a very ſtrong garriſon, vnder the commaund of REBEY a noble gentleman of *Hungary*. But the Turkiſh Gouernor of *Nouigrade* being retired to *Buda*, was there in reward of his good ſeruice, by the commaund of the Baſha thereof, in the night hanged vpon a tree neere to the gate of the citie. *Nouigrade taken by the Chriſtians.*

About this time the Emperor ſending his Ambaſſadors to the Muſcouite, implored his aide in his warre againſt the Turkes: to whom the Muſcouite promiſed 500000 Ducats in hand, and 400000 yeerely ſo long as the warres ſhould continew, but yet with a requeſt that the Emperor ſhould not conclude any peace with the Turke without his conſent. 1594. *The Emperor beſought the Muſcouite for aide againſt the Turke.*

The Chriſtians hauing long in vaine beſieged *Strigonium* and *Hatwan*, and brought the ſame to ſuch extremitie that they could hardly haue held out any longer: vpon the report of the comming of SINAN Baſha with an armie, they raiſing the ſiege from before thoſe cities departed: by reaſon whereof the poore Chriſtians inhabiting the countrie thereabouts, which had long hoped of libertie, became againe ſeruill to their inſulting enemies; which the Emperor knowing, and therewith conſidering how hardly of himſelfe he ſhould be able to maintaine ſo chargeable a warre againſt ſo mightie an enemie, he by his Ambaſſadors ſued to the Princes of Chriſtendome, but chiefly to thoſe of *Germany*, for aide; and for preuention of the imminent daunger likely to enſue, he ſummoned a Councell to be held in the citie of *Ratisbone*; whither he together with the Princes of the Empire being come; after wonted ceremonies, the Emperor manifeſted vnto them the perfidie of the Turkiſh Emperor, who contrarie to his oath ſolemnely ſworne, had as an enemie to all Chriſtians, with his armies not onely ſpoiled all *Hungary*, but ſundrie other prouinces of the Empire: for redreſſe whereof, and the repreſſing of his inſolent pride, he entreated their extraordinarie aſſiſtance: whereto (although not in ſo ample manner as he required) they condeſcended. But through the preſent want thereof, SINAN Baſha, after the taking of *Dotis* (a ſtrong towne betweene *Strigonium* and *Raab*) with an 1594.

armie of 150000 Turkes and Tartars beſieged the ſtrong towne of *Raab*, which after a moſt furious batterie with 60 peeces of Cannon, and many terrible aſſaults, with the loſſe of many thouſands of men giuen, he became Maſter thereof; not without ſuſpition of treaſon in the Countie HARDECK, who had the commaund of the place: for which his perfidie, he was not long after by the Emperors commaundement committed in *Viena* to priſon; and within ſhort ſpace after, his treaſon being further diſcouered, he was in the ſaid citie vpon a new ſcaffold built of purpoſe for him, iuſtly executed.

Raab taken by the Turkes.

1594. In this yeere the Tartars by the Turkes direction, and not without the conſent of ſundrie great men in *Tranſiluania*; lying in the borders thereof to entrap SIGISMVND BATTOR Prince of that countrie: failing of their purpoſe (the treaſon being diſcouered and ſome of the conſpirators iuſtly executed) brake through the countrie. Wherein they vſing all manner hoſtilitie did irrepairable harme, and there went into *Hungary*, where they ioyned with the Turkiſh armie: hereupon the Prince ioyning in league with his poore oppreſſed neighbours, the Raſcians, reuolting from the Turkes, gaue his ſubiects leaue to take armes againſt them, and to make boote of them and their goods, whereſoeuer they ſhould finde them. The Tranſiluanians herewith encouraged, and in hope of ſome rich prey, taking armes, firſt went to the great riuer *Danuby*, where they tooke certaine Turkes ſhips very richly fraught, and therewith much treaſure, which was bound to the Turkes armie in *Hungary*. The Moldauians and Walachians, vpon the newes of the Tranſiluanians reuolt, and of the great bootie by them taken from the Turkes; and moued by their example, ſhortly after reſolued to doe the like; and therewith ioyned in league with the Tranſiluanian Prince; who alreadie had ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor RODVLPH to *Prage* in *Bohemia*; where betweene the Emperor and the ſaide Prince it was concluded; that in both defenſiue and offenſiue warre to be made againſt their common enemie, the one ſhould aſſiſt the other; and that no truce, peace, defenſiue and offenſiue be made againſt their common enemie: and that neither of or other compoſition ſhould be made with the Turke, without their mutuall conſent and good liking, with ſeuerall other articles too long to be recited. The reuolt of theſe Prouinces was ſo beneficiall to the Chriſtians, and ſo preiuditiall to their enemies, that (as it was ſurmiſed) AMVRATH the great Turke, for anger for the loſſe of them, and of a ſeditious tumult of the Ianiſaries, happened at *Conſtantinople* in December 1594, fell ſo ſicke that he died thereof. After the taking of *Raab*, SINAN Baſha thinking to haue made all ſmooth before him, beſieged the citie of *Romara*, from whence after three weekes hard ſiege, and many terrible aſſaults giuen, hearing of the comming of the Archduke MATTHIAS, he retired to the late gotten city *Dotis*, where he diſcharged his army. The ſpring next following at the Emperors eſpeciall requeſt the King of *Spaine* ſent to the Emprors warres in *Hungary*, 2000 horſe and 6000 foote, vnder the conduct of Countie CHARLES MANSFIELT, a man famous in the low countries for his ſeruice againſt the States, vnder the commaund of the Duke of *Parma*: who departing from *Bruſſels* in *Brabant*, in Februarie came to *Prage* in *Bohemia* in March following.

The Prince of Tranſiluania reuolteth from the Turke.

The Moldauians and Walachians rebell againſt the Turke.

A league betweene the Emperor and the Prince of Tranſiluania.

The death of Amurath the great Turke the 18 of Ianuary 1595.

Sundrie ſupplies ſent to aide the Emperor in his warres againſt the Turke in Hungary.

The ſame ſpring alſo came ſundrie good ſupplies not onely from the Princes of *Germany* but out of *Italy* alſo, as from the Pope, the great Duke of *Tuſcane*, the Dukes of *Ferrara*, and of *Mantoa* with others, which together with the aides of *Germany*, amounted to the number of 50000 foote, and about 15000 horſe,

wherewith

wherewith the Countie MANSFELT being made Lieutenant Generall vnder Duke MATTHIAS, tooke the field, and beſieged the citie of *Strigonium*; which (after a long tedious ſiege and ſundrie bold attempts giuen by the Turkes for the vnſetting thereof) was by the Chriſtians taken, in Nouember 1595. Preſently after the taking of *Strigonium*, the Archduke ſent certaine troupes to attempt the caſtle of *Plindenburgh*, ſituate vpon the riuer *Danubie*, betweene *Buda* and *Strigonium*, which without any great reſiſtance they tooke alſo. The newes of the taking of theſe places, eſpecially *Strigonium*, cauſed great ioy in moſt parts of Chriſtendome; but into the Turkes in *Buda* it ſtrake ſo great a feare, that the moſt part of the better ſort of the inhabitants were at the point to haue abandoned the citie, and had done ſo had not the Baſha, by commaunding the gates thereof to be ſhut, ſtaied their flight.

Strigonium taken by the Chriſtians, an. 1595

About the ſame time that *Strigonium* was taken, SINAN Baſha with a great armie of Turkes hauing made a bridge ouer the *Danubie*, came into *Walachie*, purpoſing to haue reduced the ſame, together with *Tranſiluania* and *Moldauia* into the Turkes obeiſance: but the inhabitants of thoſe countries hauing intelligence of his comming, made ſuch prouiſion for his entertainment, that after a moſt doubtfull battaile (continuing from the morning till night) wherein many thouſand Turkes being ſlaine, the reſt to ſaue their liues were driuen to flie, and amongſt them the old Baſha; who making more haſte then good ſpeede, was like to haue been drowned in a ditch, leauing all his Ordenances, baggage and prouiſion in prey to the Chriſtians.

Sinan Baſha ouerthrowne by the Tranſiluanians.

About the ſame time, the Turkes to the number of about 20000 men, with fire and ſword entring *Croatia*, were by the Chriſtians in ſuch manner encountred and ouerthrowne, that few of them eſcaped with their liues: with which good ſucceſſe encouraged, the Chriſtians beſieging the citie of *Petroüina*, tooke the ſame; the taking whereof cauſed infinite ioy in all that part of the countrie. The old enemie to the Chriſtians, SINAN Baſha, in hope to haue been reuenged for his late ouerthrow, hauing made a new bridge ouer the *Danubie*, againe with an armie of 70000 men entred *Walachie*: againſt whom came the Prince of *Tranſiluania* with as great an armie: but before they two could meete, the Turkes and Ianiſaries were poſſeſſed with ſuch feare, that without ſight of the Prince or his armie they retired, together with their Generall SINAN, who for haſte left his Tent behinde him, with good ſtore of Ordnance, munition and prouiſion for the warres. Vpon whoſe haſtie retreit, the Prince comming to *Tergouiſta* (wherein lay foure thouſand Turkes in garriſon) ſummoned the Caſtle to yeeld: but the Ianiſaries therein ſtanding vpon their defence, refuſed all compoſition: whereupon the Prince by batterie hauing made an aſſaultable breach, the place was entred; wherein the Turkes hauing their throates cut, in the Caſtle were found 42. pieces of Artillerie. Before the Prince his departure from this place, 4000 Turks, which by SINAN Baſha had been ſent a boote haling, being with 60000 head of cattle returned, and thinking to haue found him where they left him, were for their paines taking all put to the ſword. Beſides theſe, many other great exploites were perfourmed by this worthy Prince, and more would haue been, had not the Chauncellor of *Poland* (enuying his good ſucceſſe) ſought and practiſed his ouerthrow; to the great hindrance of the Chriſtians, and aduancement of the Turkes proceedings.

An armie of the Turkes ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians in Croatia.

The cowardly flight of the Turkes in VValachie.

Tergouiſta taken by the Prince of Tranſiluania.

The Spring following, the Emperours armie vnder the conduct of the Baron of *Swarſhenburgh*, taken the field, marched towards *Vaccia* garriſoned by the Turkes;

Vaccia abandoned and fired by the Turks.

Turkes; which hearing of the approch of the Christian armie, abandoning the citie and setting the same on fire, fled to *Pesth*. After their departure, the Christians besieged *Hatwan*, which being taken by assault, all that therein were, without respect of age, sexe, or dignitie, past by the edge of the sword.

In the meane time while these things were a doing, MAHOMET the Turkish Emperour with an armie of two hundred thousand Turkes and Tartars, and three hundred pieces of Artillerie came into *Hungary*, wherein, within few daies after his thither comming, he besieged the citie of *Agria*, (a place of great importance in the vpper *Hungary*) part whereof after a long terrible siege and many desperate assaults giuen, he tooke by force of armes, putting to the sword all that were therein: the rest fearing the like issue, yeelded vpon composition of their liues saued, and to depart with their baggage, and their swords by their sides.

After the taking of *Agria*, MAXIMILIAN the Emperours brother, and then Generall of his armie, ioyning with the Prince of *Transiluania* (who with 18000 men, horse and foote, and fortie pieces of Artillerie came to his aide) taking the field with an armie of 60000 men, whereof 32000 were horsemen, resoluing to giue the Turke battaile, came to the other side of a riuer which parted his and the Turkes armies; where after many bloudie skirmishes and euents of warre, the two armies ioyned in battaile; wherein the Christians fought so valiantly, that hauing put almost all the Turkes whole armie to route; and MAHOMET the great
1596. Turke himselfe with the chiefest of his Bashaes being fled: the Christians euen then when they should haue consummate their victorie, by base greedie seeking for pillage, gaue their vanquished enemies time and oportunitie againe to gather head; and by charging them in this their disorder, to ouerthrow them and put them to flight. In this battaile, of the Christians were slaine 20000 men, and of the Turkes 60000. After this battaile, wherein either partie ranne from the other. MAHOMET thinking it honour enough for him to haue taken *Agria*, retired to *Belgrade*, and thence with much adoe to *Constantinople*; wherein he hath euer since kept himself safe enough from any more hazarding his person in any place of such perill. The rest of this yeere and the next were spent of either side for the most part in skirmishes, and sudden inuasions, without ought done of any great importance.

1598. In the yeere following, which was 1598, SIGISMVND the valiant Prince of *Transiluania*, seeing the countrie of *Moldauia* by the Polonian separated from him and made tributarie to the Turke, and himselfe (as it were) left alone to beare the burthen of the warre against both Turke and Polonian, resolued with himself to resigne the possession of *Transiluania* to the Emperor RODVLPH, as to a Prince then himselfe better able to defend the same: and so retired to liue priuate in peace in *Slesia*, with certaine exhibition sufficient to maintaine him in honorable estate.

In March following, the citie of *Raab* one of the most strong cities in *Europe*, situate in the hither part of *Hungary* towards *Austrich*, was by the wise conduct of the Baron of *Swarzhenburgh* lying then in *Komara*, in a night surprized, and after a long desperate fight possessed; wherein besides two Bashaes and 6000 souldiers slaine, fourescore and tenne pieces of Artillerie were taken, to the great ioy of all *Hungary* and *Germany*; and the extreme raging griefe of the Turkes, who for foure yeeres space had been Lords thereof: it being first besieged by SINAN Basha, with an armie of 150. thousand men the space of three moneths; and then betraied by the Countie HARDECK, who had the commaund of the place.

Raab surprized by the Christians.

After

After this ſo fortunate recouerie of *Raab*, the Chriſtians beſieging *Buda*, put the Turkes to ſuch diſtreſſe, that they abandoning the citie retired to the Caſtle, wherein they were ſo throughly aſſailed by Mines, batteries and aſſaults, that they could not long haue held out, if the Chriſtians had been able to haue continued the ſiege: which oppreſſed by the extremitie of the weather, tired with intollerable toyle, and what was worſe, hearing of the comming of a great armie of Turkes to vnſet the beſieged, they firing the ſuburbes, with great prey retired to *Strigonium*: from whence they were diſperſed to ſundrie places there to lie in garriſon, to be in the better readines for the next yeeres ſeruice. About the ſame time, the Turkes hauing beſieged and battered the citie of *Varadin* in the vpper *Hungary*, were (like as the Chriſtians before *Buda* in the lower *Hungary*) driuen to raiſe their ſiege, and to returne to *Buda*. Which citie the Baron of *Swarzhenburgh* the yeere next following attempted to haue ſurprized, and to haue made an entrie thereinto by meanes of a Pettar, as he not long before had done by *Raab*: but failing of his purpoſe, and being diſcouered he was driuen to depart: but ſhortly after, the Baſha of *Buda* with a troupe of ſixe hundred horſe going to bring in a conuoy of victuals for the reliefe of the citie; fell by chaunce into an ambuſh of certaine hazarders which lay for boote: by the which (after a long fight) being ouerthrowne and taken priſoner, he was brought to the Emperours campe. But the aduenturers returning to trie their further fortune, were giuen to vnderſtand, that the Baſha of *Boſna*, with the Saniacques of *Zighet*, of the fiue Churches, and of *Coppan*, with 10000 Turks were comming (by cutting their throtes) to free the countrie from their incurſions: wherewith nothing diſmaied, theſe aduenturers went to chuſe a fit ground to fight with them, whom at the firſt meeting they charged, and after a long doubtfull fight ouerthrew: in which encounter the Baſha himſelfe with the greateſt part of the Turks, ended their daies.

Buda beſieged and againe left by the Chriſtians.

1598.

1599.

At the ſame time, in the vpper *Hungary*, IBRAIM Baſha with an armie of 50000 Turkes came to *Solnech*; where vnderſtanding of a ſmall armie of the Chriſtians lying at *Caſſouia*, he without daring to attempt ought, retired to *Belgrade*; where he expected the comming of a fleete of ſhips, fraught with victuals and munition for his armie, and for the reliefe of *Buda*, *Alba Regalis*, and other diſtreſſed places, conuoyed vp the riuer by 5000 Turkes: whereof the Chriſtians hauing ſome aduertiſement, lay in waite for them; and at their comming, by giuing a ſudden vnexpected charge, ouerthrowing them, had the ſpoile of the ſhips; wherein the goods were valued to be worth a Millian of gold, among which was to the value of aboue 20000 pound ſtarling in readie money; which was ſhared amongſt the ſouldiers.

A rich repriſall taken by the Chriſtians vpon the Danuby.

In the beginning of the yeere 1600, the Emperor calling a Diet, ſolicited the Princes of the Empire for ſupplies for the warres to be made the next ſpring: which they promiſing, he made the Duke of *Mercueur*, late Gouernor of *Britaine* in *France* (who aſſiſted by the King of *Spaine* with about 4000 Spaniards vnder the conduct of DON IVAN DE LAGVNA; and by the reſt of the league, warred againſt the French King: and now with a great number of French foote and horſe, was come to the Emperors ſeruice) Generall of all his forces.

The Duke of Mercueur Generall of the Emperors forces in Hungary.

Not long after, certaine troupes of Wallons and French men lying in garriſon in *Pappa*, a ſtrong towne in the lower *Hungary*, mutinying and offering to ſell the towne to the Turkes, committed many horrible villanies too long to be related: whereupon the Baron of *Warzhenburgh* vpon intelligence, with an army of 9000 horſe and foote made thitherwards with certaine Pettars, thinking therewith to.

Wallons and French men mutinying in Pappa, were inſtly rewarded

haue

The death of the Baron of Swarzhenburgh sometime Gouernor of Owdenburgh in Flanders for the King of Spaine.

haue ſurpriſed the citie: but failing, he was in a ſallie infortunately with a Musket ſhot ſlaine. But the citie being neuertheleſſe beſet, the mutiners were ſo much diſtreſſed that they reſolued to abandon it, and to flie to the Turkes, which being perceiued, ſuch order was taken, that they ſallying and being diſperſed, many of them were intercepted, and according to their deſerts iuſtly after ſundrie manners ſo tortured, that happie was he that had but his throte cut. And thus ended that mutinie.

Babotſca taken by the Turkes.

Towards the latter end of ſummer in the yeere 1600, IBRAIM Baſha, with a very huge armie of Turkes and Tartars (deemed 200000 ſtrong) came before *Babotſca*, a ſtrong hold in the lower *Hungary*; which after one daies batterie and a breach made, was deliuered into his power. Thence marching with his armie to *Caniſia*, a towne in the borders of *Stiria*, for the ſituation thereof in a deepe fenne, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, held impregnable; where whileſt with faggots and earth the Turkes were buſied to make paſſage for their armie ouer the bogges, they might perceiue the Duke of *Mercueur*, Generall for the Emperor, with an armie of little more then 40000 horſe and foote come thither for the reliefe of the place, at their backes readie to charge them: with which the Baſha (after knowledge had of their ſtrength) ioyned in battaile; wherein many of either partie being ſlaine, the night parted the fray. But the next day, the Captaines of the Chriſtians were ſo much daunted, that they could not be drawne from their ſtrength: which the enemie perceiuing, the Tartars were ſent abrode to forrage, which roaming vp and downe the countrie for prey, met with a conuoy of 200 wagons laden with victuals, comming to the reliefe of the Chriſtians, which they tooke, and carried to their campe: the loſſe whereof added to their former feare, did ſo much diſcourage the Chriſtians, that they by night retiring, and being by the Turkes perceiued and followed, loſt (beſides certaine pieces of Cannon and the greateſt part of their luggage) 3000 men of their arrierguard. Preſently after this their haſtie retreit, the Turkes returned to

Caniſſa yeelded to the Turkes.

the ſiege of the citie, wherein the garriſon in deſpaire to be vnſet mutinying (and not without ſuſpition of treaſon in the Gouernor, which afterwards coſt him his head) came to a compoſition to giue vp the place, vpon condition freely to depart with bag and baggage. Which being accordingly performed, the Baſha made the towne to be more ſtrongly fortified then euer theretofore.

Yet notwithſtanding theſe deſaſters, the Emperor hauing obtained both out of *Italy* and *Germany* new ſupplies, the Duke *Mercueur*, Generall of the Emperors forces at the time of the yeere fit for ſeruice with an armie taking the field, beſieged the ſtrong towne of *Alba Regalis*, which for certaine daies he beating with the Cannon, thought to haue entred and taken the ſame by aſſault; but being by an ouerloper, aduertiſed, that through a lake on the other ſide of the city the ſuburbs might be ſurpriſed (which being takē the towne could not hold out) he ſent 1000 choſen men to attempt the ſame; who notwithſtanding that they found greater difficultie in the action then was expected, yet at the length a little before the breake of the day they got ouer; at which time vpon a ſigne giuen, the Duke on the other ſide made ſhew of ſo furious an aſſault, as though he would preſently haue entred the citie with his whole forces: whileſt the Turkes ranne to anſwere the alarme made by the Duke, thoſe which on the other ſide had paſt the lake, entring the ſuburbes vndiſcouered, with ſuch terrible cry charged the Turkes at their backes, that they in a tumult amazed, fled into the citie, of which, the Chriſtians (purſuing them) made a great ſlaughter. The ſuburbs wherein conſiſted

the

the chiefe ſtrength of the citie being taken; the Duke the next day with the Cannon hauing made two places aſſaultable, the citie was entred, and the garriſon put to the ſword: onely the Baſha, Commaunder of the place was taken, and ſent priſoner to the campe. Preſently vpon the taking of this citie, the Generall of Turkes forces hearing that *Alba Regalis* was diſtreſſed, leuied an army the 60 thouſand ſtrong to come to the reliefe thereof, who notwithſtanding that he was aduertiſed that the citie was alreadie taken, yet he neuertheleſſe, in hope to ouerthrow the Chriſtians, or by finding the citie vnrepaired, held on his way thitherwards: whereof the Duke aduertiſed, with an armie of a farre leſſe number, but much better men (for the moſt of the Turkes were but Viſonios lately taken vp) made towards him: and the two armies drawing neere the one to the other, a hot skirmiſh was entertained betwixt them; and the Duke being aſcertained of the baſenes of the Turkiſh ſouldiers, reſolutely giuing the onſet, at the firſt charge had the execution of 6000 of them, and had ouerthrowne the whole armie, had not certaine great troupes of Tartars appeared at their backes: by which meanes the Chriſtians forbearing to proſecute their good fortune, the Baſha had oportunitie to reforme his ſcattered forces, and ſo within few daies after to retire to *Buda*, but in his retreit they following him in the arrierguard, and tooke many priſoners, and amongſt them ſundrie French men of thoſe which had mutinied in *Pappa*; which Duke of *Mercueur* (for that they had for his ſake come to thoſe warres) procured to be pardoned.

Alba Regalis taken by the Chriſtians.

An armie of the Turkes foyled by Duke Mercueur.

Shortly after the Archduke FERDINAND with an armie attempting by ſiege, battery, and all warlike ſtratagems to haue recouered *Camiſia*, lay before it vntill that through the deſperate valour of the defendants (the moſt of which were Burgundians and French men) together with the Froſt, Snow, and extreme tempeſtuous windes which then happened, he was driuen to raiſe his ſiege; from which his people made ſo haſtie a retreit, that they could not be induced to take their Ordinance with them.

Camiſia beſieged and giuen ouer by the Chriſtians.

The taking of *Alba Regalis* the laſt yeere by the Chriſtians, being a place of ſuch importance, did ſo much anger MAHOMET the great Turke, that he reſoluing either againe to recouer the ſame, or elſe in the action to hazard the greateſt part of his forces, cauſed to that effect an armie of aboue 100000 vnder the commaund of MAHOMET Baſha to be leuied; who therewith comming from *Adrianople* to *Belgrado*, and thence to *Buda*, about the middeſt of Auguſt ſat downe before *Alba Regalis*; where he hauing planted his Cannon, made ſo terrible a batterie, as the like hath been ſeldome ſeene, but by reaſon of the mariſhes and fenny groundes, wherewith the citie was enuironed, he could not conueniently bring his people to giue the aſſault; whereupon he cauſing with great difficultie thoſe bogges to be made firme ground, brought his men to aſſault the counterſcarph, made without the walles for the defence of the foote of the rampart: in which attempt he hauing loſt many men, in the end he conſtrained the Chriſtians to withdraw themſelues within their ramparts; to be briefe, after many ſallies and retreits, and many aſſaultes giuen, with the loſſe of an infinit number of men, and effuſion of much blood, the Chriſtians were driuen to giue eare to a parley; during the time whereof, a damned villaine (who hauing renounced his faith was become a Turke) brought a battalion of the Turkes to a place which he knew to be but meanely guarded; where they being entred, made ſuch a noiſe that the reſt of the army thereby perceiuing their entry were therewith ſo much encouraged, that they againe ranne to the walles, where the poore Chriſtians being on either

Alba Regalis beſieged by Mahomet Baſha, 1602.

ſide

Alba Regalis taken by the Turkes.

side by the multitude of their enemies oppreſſed, were for the moſt part valiantly fighting miſerably ſlaine: onely the Gouernour and ſome few other, which after the furie were in their lodging found ſore wounded, had their liues ſaued. Thus was the ſtrong citie of *Alba Regalis*, which eleuen moneths before was by ſurpriſe taken by the Chriſtians, now againe recouered by the Turkes.

Shortly after the loſſe of *Alba Regalis*, the Emperours forces to the number of ſome thirtie thouſand men were drawne to an head in *Komara*, from whence in hope by doing ſome notable exploit to haue recouered their loſt honour, in not relieuing *Alba Regalis*, they went to *Buda*; where after the breaking of a bridge made ouer the *Danubie* betweene *Peſth* and *Buda*, they by a ſtratagem tooke the citie of *Peſth*, together with the ſuburbes of *Buda*; from whence (after that they had battered and ſundrie waies attempted the caſtle, and brought the ſame to the point to haue yeelded for want of victuals) they retired, for feare of an infinite multitude of Tartars, which making paſſage through *Walachie*, were comming to vnſet the citie.

Peſth taken by the Chriſtians.

1560.

After this, many ſeruices were worthely perfourmed by the Chriſtians, which the breuitie of this hiſtorie permitteth not at large to be related. And whereas I ſaid in the beginning of this diſcourſe, that when this Emperour was aduanced to the Imperiall dignitie, it was hoped of him that he would not onely haue reſtored the auncient Maieſtie of the Empire, but alſo haue inlarged the ſhortened bounds thereof: ſo without all doubt (as it appeareth by the hiſtories of his time) he would in farre more ample manner haue freed the ſame from the miſerable ſeruitude wherein they yet languiſh, if the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes would haue aided him with any indifferent aſſiſtance: or what is leſſe, if ſome profeſſing Chriſt had not in the higheſt of his fortune, by croſſing him aduanced the Turks proceedings, raiſing troubles, diſſention and ciuill warres in the countries of *Moldauia*, *Walachia*, and *Tranſiluania*; which countries ſo long as they continued firmely vnited to the Empire, did not onely moleſt the Turkes, and oftentimes deſeate whole armies of them, but alſo gaue the Emperor oportunitie (by his Lieutenants) to recouer ſundrie townes in *Hungary*; wherein being in power no way cõparable to the ancient Romane Emperors) he hath admirably to his high honor, maintained againſt the moſt mightie Monarch of the earth, a long, chargeable and bloudie war; ſuch as no Germane Emperor ſince the beginning of the Turkiſh Monarchie hath euer waged the like: and therein notwithſtanding the inequalitie of their forces, hath (without diminution) held and yet ſtill holdeth what he inherited, or as much in value. But foraſmuch as it is in the mightie hand of God only to redeeme that neuer ſufficiently pitied kingdom of *Hungarie*, with the confines thereof, from the miſerable oppreſſion of the Turkes: To conclude, I humbly beſeech his diuine Maieſtie to be pleaſed, ſo to vnite the hearts and hands of all profeſſing the name of Chriſt, that they not onely expell the common enemie out of ſuch places as he to the diſhonour of all Chriſtian Princes vſurpeth in *Europe*, but alſo releaſe from ſeruitude ſo many thouſands of diſtreſſed poore ſoules, which in extreme miſerie in ſundry parts of the world groane vnder the ſlauiſh yoke of their barbarous tyrannie.

The Chauncellor and other great men in Poland, the Poliſh King winking thereat.

FINIS.

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